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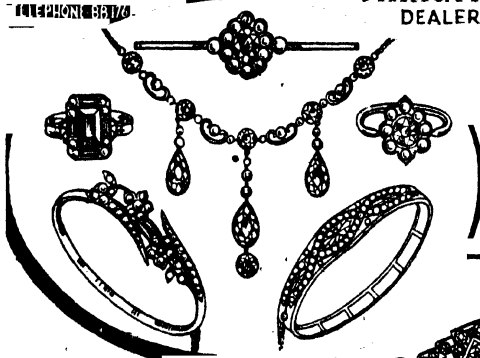
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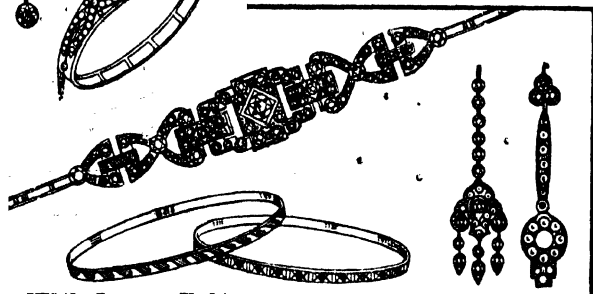
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APPENDIX A

RÔLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN NATIONAL LIFE

DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE, M.A., B.L., D.LITT.,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.

I consider it a proud privilege to be invited to address the Convocation of your great University, and I thank you sincerely for the honour which you have bestowed on me. Your University cannot claim a long history bearing marks of the toil of generations but within the short period of its existence it has secured a fame and a reputation peculiar to itself which have justly won for it an abiding place in the hearts of millions of our countrymen. Yours is a great seat of learning that has sprung into life amidst surroundings which remind us of all that is best in Indian civilization. Your renowned city was the metropolis of a Philosopher-King of the Upanishadic Age and the home of Parsvanatha, the celebrated Tirthankara of the Jainas. It stands in the vicinity of the holy steps where Gautama Buddha preached his first sermon, where Sankaracharya distinguished himself in Dialectics and Philosophy, where Tulsidas wrote his immortal songs, and where Sree Chaitanya distributed the nectar of divine love to high and low. Indeed, that great son of India whose name will for ever be enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen, not only as the most illustrious of your founders but also as one of the makers of New India, could not have selected a more appropriate site for the Hindu University of Hindusthan. May your University produce sages like Silabhadra and ardent missionaries like Dipankara who made this country the intellectual centre of the East and carried the torch

of Indian civilization beyond the heights of the Himalayas and across the shores of the Southern Seas ! Advancing years have now left their mark on the health of Pandit Malaviya, and I voice the sentiments of all sections of Indians throughout the country when I pray that he may yet be spared for a long number of years to see the ever-increasing development of his beloved University as an active and progressive seat of learning dedicated to the service of the nation. The present distinguished occupant of the office of Vice-Chancellor commands universal respect and confidence and the destinies of this University could not have been entrusted to a worthier person, whether from this country or from abroad.

I shall not attempt to analyse in detail the activities of your University but I must pay my tribute to the solid progress you have made in diverse branches of knowledge, literary, philosophical, scientific and technical. Scholars have flocked to your portals from distant parts of India, attracted by the richness and variety of facilities offered by you. The reputation of some of your departments, specially in the domain of science and engineering, has gone far beyond the limits of this province. If large and generous benefactions have enabled you to erect imposing and commodious buildings which have helped to create a beautiful city of your own, you have also been able to attract to your halls a long line of devoted teachers who have considered it their sacred duty to dedicate themselves to the cause of knowledge. I know financial difficulties have often been a matter of deep anxiety to the authorities of the University, and it is all the greater reason that one should gratefully acknowledge the spirit of sacrifice that has animated the members of your staff who have cheerfully carried on their work, often in

spite of great financial uncertainties. I hope the State will do its obvious duty towards this great national institution and, by giving you the necessary financial relief, will enable you to march along, with vigour and courage, on the path of progress and expansion.

Your University has paid and will pay due homage to the cause of spread of knowledge in its diverse branches but I would also ask you to fulfil in an abundant measure your obligations for the revival of the glory of Hindu culture and civilization, not from a narrow or bigoted point of view but for strengthening the very root of nationalism in this country. In this great land of ours where twenty-eight crores of Hindus live, the word Hindu sometimes stinks in the nostrils of many a son of India. A re-orientation of Hindu culture and ideals, of which your present Vice-Chancellor is one of the ablest exponents, will not only help to bring back to India that political freedom which she has lost but will also raise the soul of mankind throughout the earth to a higher level of thought and action.

As a University you have a great rôle to play in re-shaping the destinies of the people of your country. We must bear in mind the cardinal principle that we want to see developed and trained through education the whole nature of our *alumni*, intellectual, moral and physical, not merely for the purpose of qualifying for any special calling but to bring up good citizens, useful members of society, men, true and fearless, capable of bearing their part with credit in public and private life. Such University-trained men are needed in rich abundance in India today.

Interested persons often try to raise a controversy about the relative claims of elementary education and higher education in India, forgetting the fact

that the University expresses the corporate longing of the people for the higher things of the spirit. As University men we want that elementary education should spread from one part of the country to the other and that provision should be made for this purpose in a liberal and unstinted manner. Indeed, the failure of Government, which has remained in dominant authority in India for more than a century and a half, to discharge this obligation, is regarded as one of the black spots in its administration. Let us not, however, forget that eminent thinkers in countries where elementary education is both free and compulsory have felt that such an instruction, unless crowned by something which is higher, is not only barren but may even be dangerous. It is not enough to teach our democracy to read unless we also teach it to think. It is the ignorant and unthinking mind, with its trivialities, its uncertainties, and its clouded vision, from which we have most to fear.

Another class of critics in our country often advocates curtailment of University education in view of the increasing acuteness of the problem of unemployment. The Universities of India have on their rolls a little over one lakh of students, which constitute an insignificant proportion of India's population of thirty-five crores. It is not feasible for the University to find employment for all its alumni, although the University should do all it can to establish close contact with those men and institutions that control the fields of commerce, business and industry. These must know and understand one another and work in harmony for the larger welfare of the community. It is indeed one of the primary duties of the State, more than that of anybody else, to solve the problem of unemployment. In a country such as

ours, where so much still remains to be done, where more than thirty crores of people are still illiterate and the task of spreading the light of knowledge alone may occupy the energy of tens of thousands of educated youths, where raw materials still remain in perpetual abundance and are often at the mercy of exploiters and adventurers, where industrial expansion absorbing the valued services of thousands of skilled technicians yet receives only half-hearted recognition from the State, where the vital agencies of national defence such as the army, the navy and the air-force have yet to expand on an all-India basis, thrown open to all classes of people, free from artificial restrictions—in a country such as ours it is amazing that unemployment should stare ardent educated Indian youths in the face and that unpatriotic demands should be made for arbitrary restriction of higher education. It is true that no country can have a truly national system of education unless it enjoys the blessings of freedom. But let the Universities within their limited sphere do their duty with courage and foresight and so readjust and reorganise their courses of study that they may worthily meet the manifold requirements of our country in diverse fields of public service, social, industrial, economic and political.

An important subject to which I should like to refer is the progress of science and industry in this country. Faced as we are with international conflicts of gigantic proportions, it does not require much imagination to see that the scientific and industrial development of a country is essential not only for its prosperity but also for its very existence. In this sphere the Universities in advanced countries, backed by liberal and active support from their Governments, have played a vital

part. The industrial development of a country is, however, conditioned not only by research but also by the all-important questions, of finance and national policy. In Germany, as is well-known, the intimate co-operation, between Government, the Universities and the industrial organisations resulted in a very rapid development, although the industrial revolution came to that country considerably later than in Great Britain. Both in Japan and in Soviet Russia, it is the driving force of Government, mobilising and co-ordinating all the resources of the countries, that has led to their phenomenal industrial progress in recent years.

In this country, by contrast, we have a tragic story to tell. The Universities and the industrialists with their limited means have been ploughing practically lonely furrows. The University laboratories, particularly, have worked under great handicaps, which have been only partially lightened by the generous donations of a few benefactors. It is absolutely clear that unless the Government of the country pursues a settled and irrevocable policy of industrialisation and adopts co-ordinated measures for the furtherance of this object, industrial progress in this country can at best be only fitful. The danger of this industrial backwardness does not require any emphasis today. Even the Famine Commission of 1880 recognised that the problem of the dreadful poverty of the Indian people could not be tackled by improvement in agriculture alone, but required also the improvement of industries. The War of 1914-18 again threw into relief the pathetic industrial helplessness of India and the Indian Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916 to make remedial recommendations. But this Com-

mission was specifically debarred from entering into the question of tariffs or any other aspect of the fiscal policy of the Government of India. "The part of Hamlet must be totally omitted," Sir Frederick Nicholson honestly declared in his statement to the Commission. The Commission, nevertheless, made some fairly comprehensive recommendations within the province allotted to it. Although the able minute given separately by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya showed that even these fell short of public expectation and had some serious defects, there was no indication that they were going to be implemented by Government. A series of conferences met but the situation remained practically where it had been. It was indeed clear that Government had no heart in a policy of industrialisation, and it has required the war of 1939 to quicken Government again to some semblance of action. The Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, which was long overdue, has been set up with a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs, which is all too meagre for research in Government laboratories and the Universities. The corresponding organisation in Great Britain was set up in 1916 and it now enjoys an annual grant of a crore of rupees. Even the National Research Council in Canada, which has a population of only a crore and a quarter, has got an annual grant of about 13 lakhs of rupees from its Government.

It is not yet clear whether Government, in the midst of this deepening crisis, still realises that the industrialisation of India is the *sine qua non* for the safety of India, that the rejection of a full-fledged policy of industrialisation would be tantamount to a betrayal of the people of this country. Our Universities have their brains, their laboratories and their workshops, and in a very

large measure they can deliver the goods. Benares has amply demonstrated this in her own limited sphere. But where is the evidence that Government is eager or even prepared to mobilise these resources for a policy of industrialisation, which, in order to be effective, must not be confined to munitions industries alone but to all heavy and light industries necessary both in peace and in war ? Are we sure that the Eastern Group Conference will assist this all-round industrialisation of India ? Or is India going to supply chiefly the raw materials, and perhaps steel, for industries to be built up in countries other than India ? And is this going to be done in the name of rationalisation and co-ordination of war effort ? The other day the leader of an important delegation to this Conference suggested, with reference to the aircraft industry, that since it was already developed in Australia, the best rationalisation of war effort would be effected by the expansion of that industry in Australia and not so much by creation of aircraft industries *de novo*. There is a genuine apprehension that the industrialisation of India may still be prevented by vested interests and by the inertia of the old policy. Great things can yet be achieved if only the Government of India would realise the danger of adhering to the policy of retaining India as only a market for manufactured goods, of exploiting her raw materials for the benefit of foreign capital, and of regarding Indians as only hewers of wood and drawers of water. If Government, the Universities and the industrial organisations are made to participate in a national policy of intensive industrialisation, none can resist the early attainment of India's economic freedom. Deputation of a

few hundred Indians for training in British factories can hardly meet our needs and aspirations.

If the State policy hitherto pursued has hampered industrial progress on rational lines consistent with our vast resources and national requirements, there is another direction in which much fuller co-operation is possible, and is indeed essential, between the State and the Indian Universities, and this relates to the preparation of our youths for efficient and adequate military training in accordance with the needs of modern warfare. It is not for me to stress here the history of the control of the Indianisation of the so-called Indian army. But I believe there is none today who will deny that the policy of keeping Indians unarmed and unprepared for national defence has not only put this country in a highly perilous state but has practically emasculated the manhood of India. Indian Universities should demand with one voice provision for compulsory military training fully related to mechanised warfare. The existing arrangements for the University Training Corps constitute a most niggardly acknowledgment of the rights of the Indian youth. Only the other day one of the able representatives of your province in the Council of State raised the question of reorganising the University Training Corps as mechanised units. The characteristic reply of the Defence Department was "heart-felt sympathy" with the proposal but "great practical difficulties" in accepting it.

It is not want of funds or want of resources that constitutes the stumbling block. Such difficulties are not insuperable. It is the absence of the will, it is that old deep-rooted distrust and apprehension of possible repercussions, that stand in the way of taking effective steps for militarising the youth of India. What has England

not done for her own sake in her home territory since 1939 ? Are not stupendous difficulties melting away before the call of national service and solidarity ? Today the European war threatens the destruction of civilization itself. Whatever the merits or demerits of the respective combatants, philosophy, logic or reason will not weigh with any of them at a time when moral forces have almost ceased to function, and that Power will be the ultimate victor which has at its disposal the largest supply of brain-power and those forces of defence and offence which the knowledge and skill of man can invent. We are repeatedly told that India may become a part of the war zone sooner than many of us expect. If that be so, it is essential that the defence of India against foreign aggression and from internal chaos should be well-organised and broad-based on gigantic efforts of Indians themselves. Some progress has been made recently but we are satisfied neither with the extent of the arrangements nor, what is more vital, with the policy behind them. The Indian Universities should within their limited sphere be taken into full confidence and the youth of India should be thoroughly trained to defend their hearth and home just as the children of every free country claim to do.

A good deal of confusion prevails today about the ethical doctrine of *Ahimsa*. There is no doubt *Ahimsa* is one of the cardinal virtues taught by Indian thinkers of all denominations throughout the ages. "*Dharma*" consists in *Ahimsa*, proclaims the Mahabharata :

*Ahimsa lakshano Dharma
Iti dharmavido viduh.*

"*Ahimsa* confers immortality," declares the Code of Manu. The doctrine of *Ahimsa* is a

necessary corollary to the Hindu belief that the supreme spirit pervades the universe (*Sarvam Brāhmamidaṁ jagat*), that everything is strung on the Blessed Lord as rows of gems upon a thread (*Sarvamidaṁ protam sūtre maniganā iva*), and that welfare of all beings (*Sarvabhūtahita*) is a sacred duty. *Ahimsa* doubtless implies abstention from selfish and aggressive violence. But does it signify inertia and pacifism under all circumstances? Did not Sree Ramachandra, so kind to righteous men and women, including even Nishadas and Savaras, wage a war to punish the arrogant evil-doer who insulted womanhood and violated the sanctity of the peaceful hermitage? Were not “*Pāñchajanyasya nirghosho Gāndivasya cha nisvanah*” meant to strike terror into the hearts of those whose pride and conceit would not allow them to do justice and repair wrongs? Did not Sree Chaitanya roar like Narasimha to restrain the bigot and the oppressor? Did not the great Asoka himself lay as much stress on *Parākrama* (prowess) as on *Ahimsa* and declare in one of his Rock Edicts that there was a limit to his forbearance? “Should any one do him wrong, that must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty so far as it can possibly be borne with.” Even Buddhist theologians prescribed condign punishment for treachery and mischief-making, typified by the career of Devadatta. Readers of the Chachnama need not be told what pusillanimity masquerading as religious quietism may do to endanger the life and liberty of a people and destroy its morale.

If I have understood the history of my country aright, a pacifism that refuses to take up arms against injustice and makes one a passive spectator of oppression and aggression, does not represent the real teaching of India. Let us not forget

that valour was greatly esteemed by the sages and free rulers of India in olden times. When valour languished, the entire polity weakened. When the sword and the book of knowledge kept together, justice, equity and liberty ruled the affairs of the State. We want to see the reappearance of the ancient spirit of valour tempered with a spiritual wisdom consistent with our genius and present needs, which alone can recover civilization out of the chaotic condition of the modern age.

We live in an age when the need of *Parākrama*, ceaseless exertion, courage and valour, in all spheres of activity affecting the public weal, is more imperative than ever. The menace of invasion from without is within the bounds of possibility. Disruptive forces are at work within the country itself. A nation can only save itself by its own energy. But energy and strength hardly come to a people that does not enjoy the blessings of unity and freedom. Unity need not imply uniformity in every respect. In a country like India, with its huge extent, teeming population and diverse culture, a dull uniformity is not to be encouraged. India is traditionally a land of village republics, and local autonomy has had many noble champions whose patriotism and public spirit are beyond question. But accentuation of differences cannot make for strength. A divided India was always a prey to the foreign invader from the days of Alexander and Mahmud of Ghazni to those of Vasco da Gama, Dupleix and Clive. There is much disharmony and disunity in India today. Communal differences have taken such an acute turn that fantastic claims for the vivisection of our Motherland are widely asserted, backed by tacit

encouragement of the powers that rule the destinies of India today.

Political and social justice requires, not the disintegration of a country and destruction or humiliation of a class which shows initiative, intelligence and drive, but equality of opportunity for all, genuine freedom for self-fulfilment, in which all men irrespective of caste or creed may share. Slavery withered in the atmosphere of England when Catholic and Protestant, Anglo-Saxon and Jew, Northumbrian and Kentishman obtained equal citizenship. Can freedom flourish where religious and racial groups are encouraged to clamour for separate existence as segregated communities, and majorities are set up by Statute unalterable by an appeal to the general body of citizens? We have to sweep away the cobwebs of mistrust and the miasma of hatred if India is to fulfil her destiny and play her part worthily in the Commonwealth of Free Nations.

We are passing through momentous times and, situated as we are, we know not what the future has in store for us. There are obvious limitations within which the Universities of a country such as ours have to function. At this critical period in the history of India it is our duty, first and foremost, to give that training to our youths which will fit them to uphold, with dignity and courage, with faith and fervour, the flag of Indian liberty. Let the Universities hold aloft the torch of learning and make their students devoted to those subjects of study which will make them useful citizens and amply widen their horizon. Let our students become physically strong and morally unbreakable, never forgetting the eternal teachings of our great masters that, even when the body of man is chained, his soul may still remain

free and unconquered. Let Benares bring together twenty-eight crores of Hindus, not for the purpose of oppressing the weak and the depressed, but for uniting the Indian people and laying the foundations of the spirit of that true democracy which signifies a Government of the people, for the people, by the people. Political subjection has not yet completely destroyed the soul of India, but the perennial truths of Indian religion and philosophy have to be saved from the clutches of fear and superstition which dominate the popular mind, and the hearts of all, the rich and the poor alike, have to be blended together so that love for truth, righteousness, justice and equality that constitute India's great heritage may once again reign supreme.

Today nations intoxicated with power claim to justify their international endeavours and actions, specially in relation to their conduct towards weaker countries which they desire to dominate, on self-deceptive grounds of either God-gifted trusteeship or of elevation to a higher level of thought and achievement. Let us declare without fear and hesitation that to us justice and liberty as propounded by them are meaningless if they do not include their willingness to do justice to and honour the liberty of other men and other nations. It is not so much what our students learn, not so much what they know, as what they are, which should concern us. Do they love liberty, love it so much that they will fight for it, die for it and will accord it to others as well as claim it for themselves? Do they love their country, and not merely say they love it; do they love liberty and justice with a fervour that transcends their desire for ease and wealth and position? Let us remember that nations live or die according to the character of the people. Wealth, arms, munitions, disciplined armies and navies are

of splendid service, but the character of the people, the character into which the youth is growing, determines the life or death of the nation. An Indian politician of repute, in answer to the question as to what would happen if England lost the war, observed the other day that God who has so long protected India would then have to protect both England and India. But we do not wish to treat the Almighty merely as a useful Palladium. Heaven helps only those who help themselves. History affords us examples of great peoples who fell but rose again out of a sheer determination to win back their lost freedom, without which they thought life was not worth living. "Liberty," says Manu, the great Law-giver of our race, "is happiness and dependence is misery." *Sarvam paravasam duḥkham, Sarvamātmasavasam sukham.* Do we share the same feelings with equal intensity and devotion? With our ancient heritage, with the spirit of India still ennobling the mind of man, with our vast resources of man power and buried wealth, let a supreme effort be made by all classes of our people to organise themselves effectively for the liberation of our country, and in this task of mighty reconstruction let the trained youth of India heroically play a conspicuous part, not by mere surrender to emotions but tempered by a keen sense of practical wisdom and a thorough and efficient preparation, physical, moral and intellectual.

Let us pledge ourselves, body and soul, to the preservation of the noblest ideals of our race and culture and a life-long devotion to the cause of that enlightened liberty which a great seer has worshipped in words worthy to be written in gold, that will remain engraved in the heart of mankind for all ages to come :

"O Liberty, thou art the god of my idolatry !

Thou art the only deity that hatest bended knees. In thy vast and unwall'd temple, beneath the roofless dome, star-gemmed and luminous with suns, thy worshippers stand erect! They do not cringe, or crawl, or bend their foreheads to the earth. The dust has never borne the impress of their lips. Upon thy altars mothers do not sacrifice their babes, nor men their rights. Thou askest naught from man except the things that good men hate—the whip, the chain, the dungeon key. Thou hast no popes, no priests, who stand between their fellow-men and thee. Thou carest not for foolish forms, or selfish prayers. At thy sacred shrine hypocrisy does not bow, virtue does not tremble, superstition's feeble tapers do not burn, but Reason holds aloft her inextinguishable torch whose holy light will one day flood the world.'' *

* Address delivered at the Annual Convocation of the Benares Hindu University, 1940.

SOME FUNCTIONS OF A UNIVERSITY

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I deem it a great honour to be invited to deliver the Convocation Address of your University. It is true your University ranks as one of the younger seats of learning in this country. Yet one cannot overlook the peculiar circumstances leading to your foundation which brought within your jurisdiction many institutions that have for a long number of years steadily contributed their share to the cause of educational progress. If your University has known only thirteen summers, its habitation in this historic city of Agra, whose ancient and mediaeval associations are indeed unforgettable, gives you a dignity and a prominence which have a value all their own. The sacred river which glides past the battlements of your city carries our memory back to the heroic age of India, to the days of the Mahabharata and even to that of the Rig-Veda itself. The ancient castle of the city figured in the *qasidas* of the Ghaznavid period. The noble town which grew round it flourished under the fostering care of the greatest of the Great Moguls who founded the famous fort of cut red stone, the like of which those who had travelled over the world in the days of his son, could not point out. But it was left to his famous grandson to adorn the city with its brightest of ornaments—one of the seven wonders of the world—a crowning tribute in marble to India's womanhood. The land round

the Taj was also the birthplace of Faizi and Abul Fazl. For years it was the residence of Tansen and the resting place of many an eminent personage of the Mogul Period. A University founded in a city with such noble associations has a responsibility to the Motherland which needs no emphasis.

The last twenty years have witnessed the creation of several unitary teaching and residential Universities in different parts of India and admirable work is being done in many of them to advance the cause of higher education and research. The main feature of your University must, however, continue to be of the affiliating type, and while the colleges should be encouraged to carry on undergraduate teaching work in the various faculties, I would earnestly plead that you should organise in full co-operation with one another important schemes of original research consistent with the requirements of your province. They should embrace each of the great fields of human thought and achievement. It should be possible to develop the scheme in such a manner as to avoid duplication of work and permit a fair distribution of subjects in accordance with the conditions and circumstances of your institutions. I am well aware that such a scheme will need for its materialisation very large resources in the way of apparatus, libraries, laboratories and museums, which are all indispensable to modern higher education as elaborate costly machines are to modern industry. As higher education in every part of the civilised world is financed generously, if not lavishly, by the State, you must appeal to Government for increased grants, to enable you to discharge your main function. It is my firm conviction that, with the resources of the affi-

liated colleges properly organised and stimulated, your University can secure the assistance of the instructing staff and scholars who would be willing to devote themselves whole-heartedly to the sacred cause of advancement of the bounds of knowledge.

Universities in British India owed their foundation mainly to a desire on the part of the authorities to secure the loyal services of administrators and service-holders who could keep going the complex machinery of a bureaucratic Government in an orderly and efficient manner. There was also the idea of spreading in a conquered territory, through the agency of the Universities, a system of Western education which in those days of benevolent despotism was regarded by the rulers as a path of duty and the sure means of elevating India to what they thought to be a higher standard of life. Universities were not established as seats of learning nor was education attempted to be organised for the highest development of Indian culture and civilization. Nearly half a century after the establishment of the first University in India, the ideal of a teaching University where scholars might meet for the dissemination and advancement of knowledge was first formulated. But the general system of education was not even then closely linked up with those essential problems which called for early fulfilment, so that India might reach her destiny through education and regain her supremacy in the domain of culture and enlightenment as also in the social, economic and political spheres of activity.

While I shall be the last person to minimise the value and importance of the work which Indian Universities have done to advance educational pro-

gress in this country, to spread wholesome ideas among the people, to widen the outlook of millions of men, to instil in their minds fundamental ideas of progress and liberty, and to rouse the national consciousness of the citizens, I shall yet say that the time has come when a re-orientation of University education is urgently called for in order to suit the changing conditions of our country. Our Universities should no longer continue to be regarded principally as training grounds for the professions and services. The professions are overcrowded and recruitment to public services is now based on a variety of considerations where merit does not always play the most prominent part.

The colleges should provide at the base what has been known for generations as a sound liberal education that is catholic, expansive, free from narrowness and bigotry in ideas or doctrines, appropriate for a broad and enlightened mind. That education should be imparted through the medium of our own languages. The acceptance of this principle may raise initial difficulties but such difficulties have been overcome in free countries and India must also face and surmount them. In Eire, the Irish language, once said to be unsuited to the needs of modern civilisation, has been introduced with success. This is of fundamental value in the true building up of national life. It is more than a mere means of communicating ideas : it is the expression of the national spirit. The other day a vigorous attack was launched on the Nazi policy of attempting to destroy the language and literature of some of the countries over which Hitler holds his sway today. The critic rightly expressed his abhorrence of what constitutes a death-blow to the culture of those countries. In India also, for more than a century, education

imparted through the medium of a foreign language has unduly dominated its academic life and it has now produced a class of men who are unconsciously so de-nationalised that any far-reaching proposal for the recognition of the Indian languages as the vehicle of teaching and examination up to the highest University stage is either ridiculed as impossible or branded as reactionary. But I plead earnestly for the acceptance of this fundamental principle not on account of any blind adherence to things that I claim as my own but out of a firm conviction that the fullest development of the mind of a learner is possible only by this natural approach and also that by this process alone can there be a great revival of the glory and richness of the Indian languages. .

A problem that has presented difficulties in India but which to my mind is certainly avoidable relates to the recognition of different Indian languages by the Universities. In my University, elaborate provisions have been in existence for more than thirty years for the recognition of all the important Indian languages. At the post-Matriculation stage, a candidate coming from outside Bengal is encouraged to offer his own mother-tongue at his examination. Important Indian languages other than Bengali have been included for the M.A. Examination also. At the Matriculation stage, non-Bengalees are not compelled to accept Bengali as the medium of their examination. Hindi, Urdu and Assamese are recognised as media along with Bengali and have been given the same importance as the language of the province itself. Others are allowed the option to offer English as their medium. I do believe that the question of the study of important Indian languages should

not present any difficulty whatsoever in any Indian University, only if we remember the cardinal point that, in whichever corner of the vast country we might reside, we are bound to one another by ties of brotherhood and comradeship, and in generally helping one another in the field of education, we are but strengthening the foundation of that great Indian nationhood, the full attainment of which has been the dream of generations of Indians irrespective of caste, creed or community.

While I plead for the due recognition of our own languages, I recognise that English should remain a compulsory second-language and that it should be taught to all, mainly for the purpose of a correct expression of ideas and assimilation of knowledge to be gathered from books written in that great language. Provision should also be made for the study of other important languages, both Eastern and Western.

A thorough examination of the syllabuses and the courses of study, not from the standpoint of any one individual subject but in the light of the requirements of the entire educational structure, is also called for. We are pressed by our expert advisers, each speaking with unconcealed loyalty to his own special subject, to store the minds of our youths with knowledge. But what is sometimes forgotten is that the capacity of their minds is limited and knowledge that would be useless or superfluous in after-life must make room for that which is necessary and useful. Well did a distinguished scholar once observe that we shall not be able to apply our stock of knowledge with that readiness which the exigencies of life demand, if our mental store-house is like an ill-arranged lumber-room.

We have, therefore, to keep in mind the need for a liberal and useful education, on which will be raised the superstructure of such departments of study as will produce men and women trained in diverse branches of knowledge, theoretical and practical, which will make them fit persons in the service of the nation. The question has been and will be how far and how best we can combine education, that is, the bringing out of the faculties with instruction, that is, the imparting of valuable knowledge. If we can induce the right mood, achievement of the purpose will not be difficult. Each University should adequately reflect the peculiar needs of the country and the area it specially serves and should produce men who will not add further to the waste of human materials but possess both knowledge and culture so as to be absorbed in worthy occupations. To put it differently, we can say that true education should include the local idea, the national idea and the international idea.

A problem that has recently agitated the minds of persons interested in education relates to the relationship of students with colleges and Universities. In our country, from time immemorial, the teacher and the student stood in the same relationship as did a father and his son. In modern days, the atmosphere in educational institutions does not always lead to the formation of a healthy social life between the teacher and the student. This is all the more conspicuous in non-residential institutions where opportunities for mutual contact are necessarily limited. The situation often becomes embarrassing to educational authorities when exciting political questions agitate the minds of students and directly influence their conduct within the colleges, although the authori-

ties have no responsibility whatsoever for such situations or developments. My intimate association with the student community makes me assert unhesitatingly that we should miss no opportunities of discussing with them all those problems that agitate their minds, even though they may have no direct connection with their academic work. This close association and frank exchange of ideas soon melt away feelings of shyness and aloofness from their minds, and whatever their ultimate viewpoint, it creates an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence whose value cannot be over-estimated.

Unfortunate disturbances, such as strikes and noisy demonstrations, are becoming a common feature in educational institutions and this tendency should be discouraged in the interest of all concerned. If the controversy relates to a matter affecting the internal affairs of an institution and cannot be amicably solved by the college itself, the final decision should be left to a representative University Board. I see no reason why the University Regulations should not make the decision of such a body binding on the parties concerned. I know this interference on the part of the University may not always be welcomed by all educational institutions. But let me impress upon them that I would gladly accept, first and foremost, any satisfactory solution by the college itself without interference from anybody else. If this is not possible, I would much rather leave the decision in the hands of an impartial body of academic men than permit the disturbance to spread and be exploited by persons who may be least concerned with the welfare of the institution or of the students affected.

As regards disturbances due to extraneous reasons, I would beg of the students not to make the

educational institutions the forum for expressing their disapproval of questions of public policy which might deeply stir their minds. I am not one of those who favour University students remaining aloof from the burning questions of the day. I would not, however, like them to be engrossed in party politics, for I believe they should maintain their independence of outlook and zealously cultivate that spirit of clear and critical thinking, that free power of reasoning, which should be their main asset as they enter upon public life on the completion of their educational career. But nothing should prevent them from an active study and discussion of all important political questions of the day, and even, should they so desire, sympathising with particular schools of thought which they individually or collectively might choose to support. With good-will and understanding on both sides the University and College Unions should prove a healthy training ground for future citizenship. Frankly speaking, occasional outbursts of youthful feelings should not worry educational administrators. But when they are allowed to interfere with the regular routine of academic work, or create deadlocks on issues, small and insignificant, they become a disease which, if unchecked, will destroy the very foundation of that strong disciplined character which must be an essential possession of all young men and women anxious to dedicate their lives to the cause of their country's liberty.

I have noticed recently a notification issued by a Provincial Government laying down severe penalties for the maintenance of discipline amongst students. One threat held out is that such students as may come under the purview of the order will be debarred from Government service. To my mind, threats of

punitive action will defeat the very object which the authors of the order themselves allege to have in view. Besides, this particular threat is an idle one. For today admission to public services is controlled by various non-academic considerations and in any case it absorbs only a fraction of University-trained youths. Again, no words can be too strong to condemn any policy of espionage which encourages secret reports of the activities of the students to be supplied by the teachers themselves. Any attempted transformation of the free and sacred temple of learning into a branch of the Intelligence Department is a sure method of destroying the soul of India's manhood.

Enforced discipline such as these processes imply must make room for discipline from within. Modern psychology tells us that the mind of man cannot be built up by superimposed ideas and instructions without regard to its own living impulses. We shall be untrue to our work as teachers and administrators if we fail to make the right appeal to the student community and make them realise that the maintenance of sound discipline in educational institutions is a duty not cast on officers and teachers alone but must readily be shared by the students themselves. The mass student-mind is sound and pure. In every country, the youth adores the spirit of patriotism. The time of youth is the time for initiative and enthusiasm, for that disregard of consequences which makes men willing to undertake great things, the time when a man can do great things that the mass of men cannot believe to be possible. "Adore enthusiasm," says Mazzini, "worship the dreams of the virgin soul, and the visions of early youth, for they are the perfume of Paradise, which the soul preserves in issuing from the hands of the Creator." In a subject country

such as ours, the patriotic impulses of youth are apt to be all the more fervent and outspoken, and it will be the height of folly if thoughts and ideals that vibrate their minds and make them feel restless are not fully appreciated by us. The academic atmosphere can retain its sanctity and freedom, only with the loyal assistance of the students. We must do all that lies in our power to awaken them to the realisation that national problems have not been solved in other countries, and cannot be solved in India, by such childish methods as students' strikes and demonstrations within the colleges, that the best way of helping to cope with a national crisis that faces India today is for them to combine with the Universities in securing for themselves better education and better preparation for life.

For us who are responsible for shaping the policy of the Universities it would be well to remember the prophetic words of a great thinker that it would be a most deplorable thing to make the price of education for our youths the surrender of the years of the greatest initiative and enthusiasm and of the hope and capacity for great deeds to rigid surveillance or to the work of acquisition alone. Let us keep our students at work getting knowledge out of books but not while the enthusiasm of youth is ebbing away and the capacity of doing things is being gradually lost. Learning itself is not always of the greatest value. The man who is made is the great thing and the work of doing is the great thing in the man. But it is not the man alone that the University is to make. Let us teach our students and let us ourselves demonstrate that no man lives to himself, that no task can be more patriotic than that of binding the whole community together by common association and aspirations. The object of education is not

the construction of a single man who dies and is forgotten. Benefits to the community, to the nation, to civilization, are all that are of value, and the production of the individual man whose influence shall live for ever in the weal of humanity—that is the great object of every University. Let us lift up the mass of our countrymen from hard conditions of poverty and ignorance and let us produce the individual man framed and trained in our Universities who will worthily participate in that majestic progress. All our students may not become very learned, all may not even go very deeply into any one subject. But what is our education worth if we have not been able to push back their horizons, to remove their vision from the little concrete objects that fill a narrow and isolated life and to make them realise, however vaguely, the existence of a vast field of human life and interest, of history and science, of achievement and failure, of examples and warnings outside of themselves, beyond the period of their lives and even the limits of their province and country?

The need of a broad outlook and a clear vision was never so imperative as at the present moment. We meet in a time of storm and stress. Kings and crowns are tumbling down and countries that have long been the citadels of freedom are today the ruthless victims of superior force. India appreciates, more perhaps than any other country, what it is for a people to lose their political power and independence. Battling nations and warring ideologies contend for mastery in the East and the West. The roaring tide of partisanship and passion threatens to sweep away many of the institutions we hold dear, and, who knows, may even destroy whatever remains of the integrity of this ancient

land of ours. Distrust and prejudice, invariably associated with the doctrine of overlordship, still cloud the Indian horizon. In the words of a keen observer of modern times, racial and religious prejudices, which we had fondly believed to be the outcome of ignorant reaction, have been made the basis of national policy and learned men have been found able to reconcile the defence of this barbarism with their conscience.

Agra faced problems of serious import in the past when it first emerged to full view from the mist of antiquity. It found an India divided against itself—a prey to internal chaos and external aggression. The Central Government whose power had once been felt from the Himalayas to Madura had collapsed. Rival princes and barons fought for supremacy in the various provinces. The spectre of foreign domination loomed large on the horizon. Buccaneers from neighbouring continents were already intercepting pious pilgrims and peaceful traders, and trying to establish their lairs on the defenceless sea-board of India. How did the eminent men of Agra deal with the situation in the sixteenth century? They realised the supreme need of the country's unity. India, according to certain bureaucratic administrators and myopic politicians, is not one country or nation. But was not the unity of the land and its people emphasised by ancient writers? Did not the poet sing of the whole country as—

मेरा सोनिका हिन्दुस्थान,
तु हि मेरे दिलकी रोशनी,
तु हि मेरी जान ।

It is to the task of the unification of this land of Hindusthan that a long line of rulers, Hindu and Muslim, directed their energies in the past. In

the work of political unification in the sixteenth century, Akbar was ably seconded, among others, by Todar Mal and noble men of the house of Jaipur. Your city became the metropolis of a united Hindusthan and retained that proud position for well nigh a century. The Rajput and the Pathan, the Mogul and the Audhi Khetri, retained their individual culture. But they co-operated to establish an edifice carved in granite, and hewn out of the rock of liberalism, toleration and a broad-mindedness that did away with the artificial barriers raised by racial and religious prejudices. The structure stood till the recrudescence of intolerance and arrogance levelled it to the ground, to the eternal misfortune of our country.

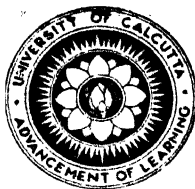
With unity had come freedom from the foreign menace. The Kings of Iran and Turan came to acquire a wholesome respect for the Government of Hindusthan, and the sea-rovers from the West were content to send pious missionaries and peaceful ambassadors to the Imperial Court. The quiet teachings of mediaeval *bhaktas*—apostles of *Ahimsa*—useful as they were in imbuing the people with ideas of catholicity, neighbourly charity and toleration, so essential for national organisation and solidarity, would not have sufficed to save the country from chaos and aggression, had they not been reinforced by the valour of the horsemen of Akbar, the spearmen of Man Singh and the cohorts of Todar Mal. Will the lessons of the past be lost on us? Shall we encourage movements that threaten to disrupt the unity of this country? It should not be forgotten that if Indian history teaches a lesson, it is this—that political disruption due to tribal jealousy and religious antagonism has been the harbinger of foreign domination.

If Indian unity is a desideratum, its essential pre-requisite is a broad toleration in every sphere of life. Racial and religious prejudices have often, throughout the ages, turned Europe into reeking shambles and disintegrated nations and "ramshackle empires," which, had they remained united, would have been better able to withstand the shock of external invasion. A loud lament has gone forth from an Anglo-Saxon statesman that his navy bears a heavier burden through lack of ports in a Celtic land with a predominantly Catholic population, which was once united to his country by stronger political ties. Perhaps the Catholics and Celts still remember Drogheda and Wexford, the penal laws and Coercion Acts. Our Motherland has to be saved, if necessary, with our life-blood, from Droghedas and Wexfords and their inevitable corollary—an Ulster in an "Emerald Isle" and a sullen Eire within a frowning Commonwealth.

Let men and women trained in Indian Universities of today unite in their efforts for the re-making of their Motherland. No country has attained greatness or liberty except through loyal and disinterested service of her children. The spirit of the New India must be born of struggle and arduous labour and sacrifice, of noble scorn of ease and luxury, of thirst for knowledge and its widest application to the alleviation of human misery and suffering, of a broad-based toleration and justice affecting the rights of the vast multitude of the Indian people, of a burning and unalterable faith in the political integrity of the country, of loyalty to truth and faith in God. Let us proceed on the path that leads to the Home of Liberty, of Justice, of Righteousness, undaunted by obstacles or failures, gaining courage and

strength from the everlasting truth that, even if the present generation comes to its journey's end before the goal is reached, our ceaseless efforts will inspire those who follow us, and they will carry on the unfinished duty with unabated energy and determination and know no rest or peace till Victory is achieved.*

* Address delivered at the Annual Convocation of the University of Agra, 1940.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RÂY, Kt., AND BHABESCHANDRA RAY, M.Sc.

XIV

SHAKESPEARE AS REVISER OF PLAYS WRITTEN BY OTHERS—TRILOGY OF
Henry VI AND *Titus Andronicus*

HAVING considered the principles of disintegration let us now read the trilogy of *Henry VI*, and see what additional light can be thrown on the vexed problem of the authorship of these pieces. Referring to *1 Henry VI* Maurice Morgan (1777) also denounces this drum and trumpet things at the very outset. Carlyle has remarked very emphatically that the author of the first part of *Henry VI* must be a stupid man.

In a previous issue of this journal, Shakespeare's authorship of *1 Henry VI* has been doubted and here we need not repeat our arguments once more. We shall try to concentrate our opinion upon the internal evidences afforded by the trilogy for making out its authorship. Let us take up the first part where the external evidences do not conclusively prove the Shakespearean authorship at all. This play has been guessed to be dated 1591.

The diction, vocabulary and versification of the first part of *Henry VI* appear altogether un-Shakespearean and correspond more with those of our poet's immediate predecessors; this piece is full of mythological allusions, allusions which are too frequent in Greene, Peele, Lodge and their several other contemporaries. These allusions sometimes appear dull and can well be regarded to be introduced merely as a proof of the author's learning. Malone in his famous dissertation on *King Henry VI* remarks: "The versification of this play appears to me clearly of a different colour from that of all our author's genuine dramas, while at the same time it resembles that of many of the plays produced before the time of Shakespeare." Versification, no doubt, supplies a good test for authorship of any poem but it cannot be considered fully conclusive unless supported by other tests. It can solve the problem only within some limit and we shall try to find out the actual limit shortly. But before that let us try to consider the versification of *Henry VI* with that of other contemporary plays written by Shakespeare and by his fellow playwrights or predecessors.

It has already been pointed out that *Gorboduc* is the first play to be written in blank verse in the English literature. Blank verse remained rather neglected until the great poet Marlowe popularised it. This blank verse may be end-stopped where the sense concludes or pauses at the end of a line, or it may be a run-on one where the author will continue to read the lines one after another without any pause whatsoever. Shakespeare's predecessors were just accommodating themselves with this new-fangled verse and were producing, in most cases, only the end-stopped lines. A few selected cases will clearly exemplify:

"A mighty lion, ruler of the woods,
Of wondrous strength and great proportion,
With hideous noise scaring the trembling trees,
With yelling clamours shaking all the earth,
Traversed the groves, and chased the wondering beasts."

Lochrine¹—(opening lines)

¹ "The lamentable Tragedie of Lochrine, the eldest son of King Brutus, discoursing the Warres of the Brittaines, &c., was entered on the Stationers' books by Thomas Crede, on July 20, 1594. On this entry no mention is made of the author of the piece; but in the title-page of the first edition, printed in November or December, 1595, it is stated to be newly set forth, overseene, and corrected by W. S."

Let us take at random a few more lines from the same play, *Huba, Prince of the Scythians*, exclaims in Act III, Sc. 2:

“ Let come what will, I mean to bear it out ;
 And either live with glorious victory,
 Or die with fame renown'd for chivalry,
 He is not worthy of the honey comb,
 That shuns the hives because the bees have stings,
 That likes me best that is not got with ease,
 Which thousand dangers do accompany;
 For nothing can dismay our regal mind,
 Which aims at nothing but a golden crown,
 The only upshot of mine enterprises.”

The authorship of *Sir John Oldcastle* has been conclusively attributed from a study of Henslowe's Diary to be proved composite authorship of as many as four dramatists.¹ Let us quote here a specimen of versification of this piece to show that the lines are generally end-stopped :

“ *Cob.* My gracious lord, unto your majesty,
 Next unto my God, I do owe my life;
 And what is mine, either by Nature's gift,
 Or fortune's bounty, all is at your service.
 But for obedience to the Pope of Rome,
 I owe him none; nor shall his shaveling priests
 That are in England alter my belief.
 If out of Holy Scripture they can prove
 That I am in error, I will yield,
 And gladly take instruction at their hands;
 But otherwise, I do beseech your grace
 My conscience may not be encroached upon.”

The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell, another apocryphal play attributed to our poet was entered in the Stationers' Register in the year 1602, with the famous sub-heading “as yet was lately acted by the Lord Chamberleyn his Servantes.” This play, though produced at a time when Shakespeare's name and fame were well-established with the theatre-going public, was written clearly on the

¹ *Calcutta Review*, January, 1940.

² Act II, Sc. 2.

traditional method of versification, namely, the abundance of end-stopped lines. To quote an example :

“ *Exec.* I am your death’s-man; pray my lord, forgive me.
Crom. Even with my soul. Why, man, thou art my doctor,
 And bring’st me precious physic for my soul.
 My lord of Bedford, I desire of you
 Before my death a corporal embrace.
 Farewell, great lord; my love I do commend,
 My heart to you; my soul to heaven I send.
 This is my joy, that ere my body fleet,
 Your honour’d arms are my true winding-sheet.
 Farewell, dear Bedford; my place is made in heaven.
 Thus falls great Cromwell, a poor ell in length,
 To rise to unmeasured height, winged with new strength,
 Hail, land of worms, which dying men discover!
 My soul is shrined with heaven’s celestial cover.”¹

Then again in *London Prodigal*, another doubtful play of Shakespeare, the versification is usually end-stopped. As an example we may cite the following lines :

“ *M. Flow.* A plague go with you for a Kersey rascal.
 This De’nshire man I think is made all of pork :
 His hands made only for to heave up packs;
 His heart as fat and big as his face;
 As differing far from all brave gallant minds,
 “ As I to serve the hogs, and drink with hinds;
 As I am very near now. Well, what remedy?
 When money, means, and friends, do grow so small,
 Then farewell life ; and there’s an end of all.”²

Apart from the apocryphal plays the extant pre-Shakespearean pieces have been most cautiously and carefully scanned by various authorities to show that the general characteristic of versification of all these pieces is the abundance of end-stopped lines. Even Marlowe, who has the unique distinction of introducing the blank verse as theatrical language to his credit, has been found to produce very many end-stopped lines in his plays. Instances may be regarded

¹ Act V, Sc. 5.

² Act IV. Sc. 3.

as superfluous, but in the interest of general readers who may not have the works of pre-Shakespearean dramatist lying on his table for reference, we think it worth while to quote a few instances of versification of a few pre-Shakespearean poets. Let us begin with Marlowe. In *I Tamburlaine* we find, for instance :

“ Gov. Still doth this man, or rather god of war,
 Batter our walls and beat our turrets down ;
 And to resist with longer stubbornness,
 Or hope of rescue from the Soldan's power,
 Were but to bring our wilful overthrow,
 And make us desperate of our threatened lives,
 We see his tents have now been altered
 With terrors to the last and cruellest hue ;
 His coal-black colours, everywhere advanced,
 Threaten our city with a general spoil ;
 And, if we should with common rites of arms
 Offer our safeties to his clemency,
 I fear the custom proper to his sword,
 Which he observes as parcel of his fame,
 Intending so to terrify the world,
 By any innovation or remorse,
 Will never be dispensed with till our deaths.
 Therefore, for these our harmless virgins' sakes,
 Whose honours and whose lives rely on him.
 Let us have hope that their unspotted prayers,
 Their blubbered cheeks, and hearty humble moans
 Will melt his fury into some remorse,
 And use us like a loving conqueror,”²

Again in *Faustus* and *Edward II*, the versification is usually of the traditional type, namely, end-stopped. As for specimen we may quote here a few lines :

“ Meph.. Now, Faustus, come, prepare thyself for mirth ;
 The sleepy Cardinals are hard at hand,
 To censure Bruno that is posted hence,
 And on a proud-paced steed, as swift as thought,
 Flies o'er the Alps to fruitful Germany,
 There to salute the woful Emperor.

Faust. The Pope will curse them for their sloth to-day,
 That slept both Bruno and his crown away.
 But now, that Faustus may delight his mind,
 And by their folly make some merriment,
 Sweet Mephistopheles, so charm me here,
 That I may walk invisible to all,
 And do whate'er I please, unseen of any."¹

Then again

"*Gav.* These are not men for me ;
 I must have wanton poets, pleasant wits,
 Musicians, that with touching of a string
 May draw the pliant king which way I please :
 Music and poetry is his delight ;
 Therefore I'll have Italian masks by night,
 Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shows ;
 And in the day, when he shall walk abroad,
 Like sylvan nymphs my pages shall be clad ;
 My men, like satyrs grazing on the lawns,
 Shall with their goat-feet dance the antic hay ;
 Sometime a lovely boy in Dian's shape,
 With hair that gilds the water as it glides,
 Crowns of pearl about his naked arms,
 And in his sportful hands an olive-tree,
 To hide those parts which men delight to see,
 Shall bathe him in a spring ; and there hard by,
 One like Actaeon, peeping through the grove,
 Shall by the angry goddess be transformed,
 And running in the likeness of an hart,
 By yelping hounds pulled down, shall seem to die :
 Such things as these best please his majesty.
 Here comes my lord the king, and the nobles,
 From the parliament. I'll stand aside."²

Marlowe was in fact the importer of blank verse in English dramatic world, but his prosody was not altogether free from limitations. The obvious result of this had been that in many places particularly when his characters come forward with lengthy speeches, the dramatist appears exceedingly monotonous. This intolerable monotony is not due to any want of imagination neither it is due

¹ *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*, Act III, Sc. I.

² *Edward the Second*, Act I, Sc. 1.

to verbosity but simply to the rigid framework of versification. Greene, Peele, Nashe and their contemporaries would all prefer end-stopped lines to run-on ones as can be found from the following few specimens :

“ My lord of Gloucester, and lord Mortimer,
To do you honour in your sovereign's eyes,
That, as we hear, is newly come a land,
From Palestine, with all his men of war,
The poor remainder of the royal fleet,
Preserv'd by miracle in Sicil road,
Go mount your coursers, meet him on the way ;
Pray him to spur his steed, minutes and hours,
Untill his mother see her princely son,
Shining in glory of his safe return.”¹

There is no good in multiplying instances of this type. Let us now proceed with the theme proper, namely : Did Shakespeare write the whole of the *Henry VI* trilogy, or did he revise them, or was he altogether innocent of the plays ? The study, as we have shown earlier has been made, almost by every Shakespeare Scholar with contradictory conclusions. These conclusions have been examined in a previous article with the same title, where it has been shown that “ *Henry VI*, more specially its first part was not of Shakespeare's writing alone but was the product of composite authorship.”²

George Peele, *Edward I.* Robert Greene.

¹ *Calcutta Review*, May, 1940.

MILITARY EDUCATION

G. M. JADHAV

MY object in writing this article is to create an interest in military education and induce many students to study military books. I shall begin with "The Art of War" by Sun Tzu.

1. "The art of war is of vital importance to the State.

2. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Hence it is a subject of inquiry which can on no account be neglected.

3. The art of war, then, is governed by five constant factors, to be taken into account in one's deliberations, when seeking to determine the conditions obtaining in the field."

Sun Tzu goes on to tell us what the five factors are: 1. The Moral Law ; 2. Heaven ; 3. Earth ; 4. The Commander ; 5. Method and Discipline. Sun Tzu has explained these factors carefully. It is remarkable to think that Sun Tzu wrote his book about 500 B.C. There are 13 Chapters in The Art of War :

1. Laying Plans
2. Waging War
3. Attack by Stratagem
4. Tactical Dispositions
5. Energy
6. Weak Points and Strong
7. Manoeuvring
8. Variation of Tactics
9. The Army on the March
10. Terrain
11. The Nine Situations
12. The Attack by Fire
13. The Use of Spies

I read The Art of War by Sun Tzu in 1910. I have here a copy of the 1910 edition English translation by Lionel Giles (Luzac and Co., London ; Rs. 7-14 net). I think every University and College Library should have a copy of this book.

Sun Tzu wrote his book in Chinese, his mother tongue. Many centuries ago the Japanese translated *The Art of War* by Sun Tzu into Japanese. This book has had a great influence on Japanese military thought. More information about this will be found in "*The Military Side of Japanese Life*" by Captain Kennedy. It will require a separate article to deal with this subject. I mention only one point here. The Japanese school children are taken to see the life of their soldiers. In every way an effort is made to create interest in national defence. In their system of education the Japanese give a great importance to national unity and patriotism. Talking about Japanese patriotism I am reminded of another book.... "*The Russian Army and the Japanese War*" General Kuropatkin, the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army in the Russo-Japanese War. I quote a few lines:

"Though our information as to the material and moral points of the enemy's strength can hardly be described as good, we very much under estimated—if we did not entirely overlook—its moral side. We paid no attention to the fact that for many years the education of the Japanese people had been carried out in a martial spirit and on patriotic lines. We saw nothing in the educational methods of a country where the children in the Elementary Schools are taught to love their nation and to be heroes. The nation's belief in, and deep respect for, the army, the individual's willingness and pride in serving, the iron discipline maintained among all ranks, the influence of the *Samurai* spirit, escaped our notice...." That was in 1904-5. What must be the state of affairs today in Japan? And what has been done in India in order to create a national army, national navy and national air force? Today Britain is paying about nine million pounds per day. And India is also paying a big amount every day. Things would have been quite different had Indians been trained to defend India long ago. The balance of power would have been different.

• THE ARTHASHASTRA

In the Artha Shastra of Kautilya there are a number of references to war, defence, and military matters. Some say the date of this work is 321 B.C. It is a matter of no small wonder that Kautilya wrote his book so many centuries ago. I sent a copy of the Arthashastra to Lt. Col. E. M. Benitez, Editor of *The Military Review*

published by the Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, U.S.A., I quote the following lines from his letter:

"The very interesting book, "Arthasastra," by Kautilya, has been received and I appreciate your kindness in presenting to our Library this valuable book. It contains many worthwhile chapters, particularly Book 10. Please accept our thanks for this addition to our Library".

If Kautilya were alive today he would feel quite happy to know that his book is in the Library of the Command and General Staff School. Consider for a moment what must have been the condition of life in America in 321 B.C. We know much about the state of life in Pataliputra (present Patna). There was a strong army and a strong navy here. And what remains today of that great empire? There are a few old ruins. Time passes and empires also pass away.

I would like to see closer co-operation between India and U.S.A. and other nations.

MILITARY BOOKS

I can give the names of at least 1,000 good books each in English, French and German on military science, military history, etc. I use the word military in its wider sense to include also naval and air force subjects. It is no good merely giving a list. If I succeed in creating interest in military education I shall feel amply rewarded. Since 1914 I have been making this propaganda. In 1914 I was only 18 (at the time) people shook their wise heads and laughed when I said, "Every Indian is a born defender of India. The defence of India is primarily the concern of the people of India." Then I pointed out how Indians from the different provinces and states of India should be given military, naval and air force training and education and trained to defend India. That was in 1914. And now it is 1940. Whose fault is it that Indians have not been trained to defend India?

In 1861 Mr. Gladstone said: "I would almost venture to say... that no community which is not primarily charged with the ordinary business of its own defence is really, or can be, in the full sense of the word, a free community."

Ruskin gave a lecture on War to the cadets of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, in 1865. Please read "The Crown of Wild Olives" by John Ruskin. Please read also "Generalship" by

General Fuller. In this book General Fuller has quoted freely from "The Crown of Wild Olives".

"No country is in a healthy state which has separated, even in a small degree, her civil from her military power." Ruskin.

And what do we find in India in our daily life and in our schools and colleges? Is there any systematic effort made to give the students a correct idea and education about the defence of India? How many Universities have Departments of Military Education?

In the books by General Fuller, Captain Liddell Hart, Captain Kennedy, Marshal Foch, Henderson, Moltke, Clausewitz, Goltz, etc., useful information will be found.

DEPARTMENT OF MILITARY EDUCATION

In order to organise a Department of Military Education there must be a Director who will become the life and soul of the Department; he must be a man imbued with the spirit of imparting military knowledge to his students. To know a subject is one thing and to impart your knowledge to others in a systematic and interesting manner is quite a different thing. The University must give the Director all the help he wants in order to buy the books, charts, maps, etc. Without a good military library no efficient work can be done. A complete course of two years can be prepared easily. The students who have passed their Inter. Arts or Inter. Science examination should be admitted to the Department of Military Education for the B.A. examination in military education. The Universities in India will do well to think about this matter.

I would suggest the following course of studies:

FIRST YEAR

BOOK	AUTHOR
The Art of War	Sun Tzu (selected pages)
The Arthashastra	Kautilya (do.)
The Way to Victory	Spenser Wilkinson
On War (chapter I)	Clausewitz
The Principles of War (chapters 1 and 2)	Foch
The Science of War (chapters 1 and 2)	Henderson

BOOK	AUTHOR
Elements of Tactics (chapters 1, 2, 3, 4)	Pakenham Walsh
Imperial Geography (chapters 1 and 2)	Lee
Imperial Defence (chapter 13 on India)	Boycott
Generalship	Fuller
Rise of the Christian Power (selected battles)	Basu
Maratha War	
Sikh War	
Indian Defence (army, navy, air force)	

For the Second Year also I can suggest a complete course. The object of the course is to induce the students to study the art and science of war for the defence of India. There are 18 Universities in India and one in Burma. These Universities can all co-operate. Many of the Universities have the U. T. C. Practical work should be done by the U. T. C.

The students of the Department of Military Education should hear lectures on any two of the following groups of subjects:

- (1) Literature. (2) Science. (3) Medicine. (4) Psychology.
(5) Education. (6) Engineering. (7) Architecture.

It is for the University concerned to prepare the Time Table and organise the lectures. These lectures on non-military subjects will be a help to the students. They will serve as a background against which the students can compare their military knowledge. Literature will give a good background to those who are interested in it. Chemistry, Physics, Botany, *etc.*, have their own educational value. Physiology, Anatomy, Pathology, *etc.*, give the mind a training which is also equally useful and important. In every University there are many Faculties. So it will be quite possible for the students of the Military Education Department to hear lectures on any non-military subjects in which they are interested.

In course of time there should be a good Military College in every province. Just think for a moment what would have been the condition of medical education in India if there had been only one

Medical College and only 100 men and women trained every year in it. It is almost too dreadful to think about such a calamity. But fortunately medical education received the help it deserved. If it is necessary to give medical education, I say it is equally necessary to give military education. We must fight against diseases and pestilence. It is just as important to be able to fight against enemies who are sure to invade India. You cannot train a national army, national navy and a national air force in a year or two. I know a careful plan of ten years will give us a national army and a national air force. Twenty five years should be enough for creating a national navy in India. It is with such ideas in the mind that we must organise our system of education. I do hope that every University will organise a Department of Military Education.

INDIAN DEFENCE

We should study Indian Defence under the following sections :

1. General Physical Features and Climate.
2. Historical Survey.
3. Political Divisions.
4. Constitution and Government.
5. Resources.
6. Communications ; rail, air, rivers, ports, roads.
7. The Defence Forces of India.
8. The Defence of India.
9. Military Education.

More information about sections 1 to 8 will be found in "Imperial Defence" by A. G. Boycott. There are 26 pages. I hope a number of Professors of Calcutta University will co-operate and prepare a small book of say 250 pages on Indian Defence. Eight Professors can do this work ; each one can write an essay of 25 typewritten foolscap (double space) pages on the section he knows best. I shall contribute 25 such pages on Military Education. This is a matter of co-operation which is so necessary in all military matters.

TEACHERS OF MILITARY EDUCATION

The students who join the Department of Military Education and complete the two year course will become good teachers of military education. . India today needs such teachers.

It is quite possible that a number of H. E. School teachers in Bengal may wish to join the Department of Military Education. These teachers have already the experience of teaching and they will profit by the two year course. In their case the course may be reduced to one year. The experienced teachers will learn more quickly than the young students who have just passed their Inter Arts or Inter Science examination. It is for the University concerned to work out these details.

The Director should be paid Rs. 1000 per month. There should be one Lecturer on Rs. 200 per month. For books, charts, maps, etc., a grant of Rs. 6,000/- should be given every year. All this depends on the finances of the University concerned. The time has now come for every University to organise a Department of Military Education. The U. T. C. must look after the practical work in each case.

1920 AND 1940

In 1920 I was at Bonn. I was able to see and hear many things in Germany. Once I was invited by some German scouts to see William Tell. I think most of us have read Tell. I went to the place mentioned by the German scouts. They were all young boys full of life and enthusiasm. They were good actors also. The French had occupied Bonn. I wondered what the French thought about Germany and about German education. I remember what I saw and heard even in the primary schools. The boys and girls were told that they should become patriotic and sacrifice everything for the good of the Fatherland. But to go back to Tell. I was much impressed by what I saw. The boys were very earnest. You remember the different scenes from the drama. I can see those scenes even today. When I was going home I met some French officers and I told them that by 1939 or 1940 the Germans would be again in Paris and that the whole world would read the words PARIS SILENT AS TOMB.

In 1914 I told my friends in France (I was hearing lectures on French literature and architecture at Rouen) that sooner or later Japan would attack China and move towards Burma. There was nothing very wonderful in this. Japan had taken so many ideas from Europe and she was sure to discover a "mission." Let that be. I told my French friends something else. I said that Mr. H. G. Wells would write books about the Future of Man. I hope you have already

read *The Fate of Homo Sapiens* (1939) and *The New World Order* (1940). I had read a number of books by H. G. Wells and from that one could say that he was the right man to place a plan before all nations. Please consider carefully *The Rights of Man* suggested in *The New World Order*. I can say today that there will be another war in 1960 or 1965 much worse than the present war.....unless the different nations adopt the plan suggested by Mr. H. G. Wells. In 1920 I said that London and other cities would be attacked and much damage would be caused. People laughed. The pictures I painted in 1920 we see today in the papers. Why all this war and its horrors? The answer is clear enough. Our social and economic system is thoroughly bad. There must be many changes and readjustments. You will say what has all this to do with military education. A great deal. Military education is not a watertight compartment. It is a part and very important part of human activities. The greater trouble we take to understand the causes and effects of war, the better for humanity. The future of India depends on the people of India. In *Homo Sapiens* and *The New World Order* by H. G. Wells Indians will find many useful suggestions for national unity and national solidarity. These two books should be translated into Indian languages. They should be published in one volume under the common title 'The Future of Man.'

BIHAR MILITARY SCHOOL

In February, 1938 I wrote a short note on military education and sent copies to the Ministers in different provinces and states. Dr. Syed Mahmud, ex-Minister of Education, Bihar, took great interest in the note. I wish the Ministers in other provinces and states had done the same. The Bihar Legislative Assembly passed the following resolution on the 12th of April, 1938:

"That this Assembly recommends to Government to take necessary steps to organise a National Militia for this province on the lines of the I. T. F. and to maintain duly trained volunteer corps as a reserve force ready for mobilisation at any time of emergency, and also make adequate provision for military training in schools and colleges and to establish a separate military school."

I think the Legislative Assembly of every province in India should have passed this resolution in April, 1938. This united action

would have produced a nationwide interest in and enthusiasm for military education and national defence. I prepared the plan of the Military School in November, 1938. I quote the following lines Bihar from the letter of a British officer who served in India for many years :

“ Very many thanks indeed for your letter and for the copies of the Syllabus of the Military College. I am most interested in the latter, and I do really congratulate you most heartily on its very sound and comprehensive character. Your young men will receive a much better training than they get at any university in the country, and I very much hope that some day I shall be able to come and see you at work. I do indeed wish you success, and am quite sure that you will get it.”

It is a pity that the Government of India did not help the Bihar Military School. We are told every day that Britain is fighting for democracy (whatever that may mean). It is but natural that the people of India should be able to defend India. Why are they not given the chance is something more than I can say. To me this seems a very shortsighted policy and I say so quite openly. There should be military schools, naval schools and air force schools in India.

MILITARY AND NAVAL SCHOOLS IN AMERICA

There are many good military and naval schools in America. The Government of America give rifles, ammunition, machine guns, howitzers, etc. to the schools ; military and naval officers are sent to train the boys. The same is done for aviation. And what do we see in India ? Are we living in the Age of Radio or in the Stone Age ?

Those who are interested in military schools, naval schools and air force schools in America should write to the Presidents of the schools for free copies of their prospectuses. The names of such schools will be found in the Redbook Magazine and in the Cosmopolitan, New York. I have given a few names at the end of this article in the Appendix.

MILITARY REVIEW

I think every college library should subscribe to the Military Review published by the Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, U.S.A. The annual subscription is only two

dollars. When you study the Review and see how much useful information it contains, you will subscribe to it.

In June (1938) issue of the Military Review there is an article on "The First Battle of History" by Captain Glen R. Townsend, Infantry. There are thirty pages devoted to the article which is well illustrated with maps and pictures of Egyptian military life. If you are a good student of military history you will study this article with the care it deserves. It is certainly good to go back to about 1479 B.C. and see how the Egyptian army it was trained and how it fought.

From Egypt I come to the Indus Valley civilisation. I should like to know something about the way in which the people of Mohenjo-daro organised their defence and trained the army for war. It is good to go back to the Mohenjo-daro period but I should also like to look into the future and see what will be the state of the world many centuries hence. We learn many things from the past which help us to understand the present. But is there no such thing as a science of the future which will enable us to predict with certain amount of truth the course of events and what will happen to mankind?

What about the people of India? Have we any definite plan? The people of India should remember the progress of aviation. Think for a moment what has been achieved during the last thirty years and how great is the progress of aviation. It was not the work of one man. Mr. H. G. Wells has carefully explained this point in his book "The New World Order." Many hundreds of people gave their brain power to make aviation what it is today. Cannot Indians also co-operate and each one give the best he can for making India a really first class power in every sense of the word? We should study the Rights of Man to which I have already referred. That should be the common basis from which we should start and every Indian should do his best to give suggestions and prepare plans to make India a prosperous country in which men and women can live in peace. Co-operation and co-ordination of effort will help us. It is not one man's job. It is the duty of every Indian to give his and her best for the good of India. In national defence and national government we have a common goal, a common ideal. Provincialism, caste and creed must disappear and we must have a united, free and strong and healthy India. I believe that military education will be a great help in creating this new kind of India.

APPENDIX

MILITARY SCHOOLS IN AMERICA

Westpoint Military Academy, Westpoint .
 New York Military Academy, Cornwall, New York
 Manlius School, Manlius, New York
 Valley Forge Military Academy, Wayne, Pennsylvania
 Staunton Military Academy, Staunton, Virginia
 Culver Military Academy, Culver, Indiana
 Western Military Academy, Alton, Illinois
 St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wisconsin
 San Diego Army and Navy Academy, Carlsbad, California
 Black-Foxe Military Institute, Los Angeles, California

NAVAL SCHOOLS IN AMERICA

United States Naval Academy, Annapolis
 Admiral Billard Academy, New London, Connecticut
 Admiral Farragut Academy, Pine Beach, New Jersey

AVIATION SCHOOLS IN AMERICA

Randolph Field, Texas
 Boeing School of Aeronautics, Oakland, California
 Parks Air College, East St. Louis, Illinois
 Curtiss-Wright Technical Institution of Aeronautics, Glendale
 Spartna School of Aeronautics, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Please write to the Presidents of these Schools for their illustrated booklets. It is just as well to see what the Americans are doing for military, naval and air force education. There are many good camps for boys and girls. Please write for that information also.

Books on military science may be procured from the Military Service Publishing Company in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The Military Review I have already mentioned. In it the names of many other good military magazines will be found.

The Classified Catalogue (Rs. 2-8) published by the United Services Institution of India, Simla, is very useful. It can be obtained from the Secretary of the Institution.

AGRICULTURE IN JAPAN*

A. K. M. ZAKARIAH

Ex-Mayor of Calcutta

IN Japan proper the rural population comprises half the total number, and in Chosen (Korea) and Taiwan approximately 80% of their respective numbers. So agriculture is unquestionably the most important line of industry in that Empire. It is the most productive pursuit of the nation. Under this condition of things, it is very unfortunate that Japan should be possessed of a small tillage acreage. The arable land in Japan proper represents but 15% of the total area. With both Chosen and Taiwan added, the aggregate percentage is no more than 17 of the total area. It may be pointed out by way of comparison that arable lands in a country like British India make up about 46·4% of its total area. Even purely industrial and commercial countries, like Britain and Holland, are credited with tillage acreage corresponding to a quarter of their total areas, while France, Germany, Italy, about 40%. Japanese agriculture is under an exceptionally heavy acreage handicap.

Japan's territory is at the best uncommonly small in proportion to her population. A number of islands comprising this limited area abound in mountains exceptionally high for islands, but notably lack in plain level lands. Her agricultural situation might have been considerably improved by the acquisition of colonies, but, as it happens, Chosen and Taiwan are scarcely less mountainous than their mother country. Under these natural conditions of the country, Japan's population density in proportion to her arable area is far greater than in any other country of the world.

Contradictory condition will be apparent in Japan's agriculture when it is seen what a great mass of agrarian people are pressed into this small area to make their living the best they can. Here lies the difficulty with which Japan, as an agricultural nation, has always been

* Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University Institute on 6th December, 1940. Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Ex-Finance Minister to the Government of Bengal and Ex-Mayor, Calcutta presided.

wrestling, and which she has not found the means of overcoming. To this condition of the country must be attributed most of the agrarian problems she has had to face in the past. To make things even more difficult, Japanese agriculture has of late years been hard hit by the low prices of field products. During the growing season of 1934 the crops were badly damaged by snows, floods, typhoons, and cold spells of weather. The low prices of agricultural products were due to over supply. Paradoxical as it may sound, Japanese agriculturists complain of at once lack of land and over production of crops. The self-contradictory situation is the result of a national policy confined to narrow purposes.

In view of the fact that the farming population in Japan constitute a large percentage of the total of the nation and agriculture is a key-industry of the country, the Government has set up various organizations for research and study of problems concerning this industry, applying the results thereof to all farming villages. They comprise the agricultural experimental farms established in all Prefectures, horticultural experimental farms, tea industry experimental farms, and stock farming experimental farms. On the other hand, agricultural societies have been organized for the purpose of guiding the farmers in the technique of the industry and of caring for their interest, and industrial guilds with the object of helping the farmers economically.

Under the Tokugawa Shogunate¹, farmers were restricted as to the kind of crops they might grow, while a favoured few were given special licenses for the cultivation of sugarcane and some other products. Not only did the statutory ban come direct from the Shogunate, but feudal clan governments, in their turn, put on their own restrictions and handed out their own favours. The farmers were unable to escape from those restrictions; one feudal government might be less strict than another and the tendency would be for an efflux of farmers from the areas with stringent regulations to the areas more lenient, but the government prevented such migrations by prohibiting the sale of cultivated lands. As each feudal clan tried to raise enough food stuffs for its own needs, the majority of the farmers were compelled to centre their energies on the production of rice and barley, the main food of the Japanese people. Like the Tokugawa Shogunate, the Meiji

¹ Government of the Tokugawas. Established by Tokugawa Ieyasu in the year 1603, for the period 1603-1867.

² From 1867-1912. Restoration.

Government² concentrated the energy on the agricultural developments but in a more informed manner. The export of rice and barley which was banned by the Tokugawas was permitted by the Meiji Government from January, 1872, the fifth year of Meiji, and since then free export of rice has been allowed in principle although limits have been imposed occasionally and for short terms, because of their need of regulating the price of rice. The reason for the Government initiating rice export was that it had decided to break away from the centuries' old custom of having taxes paid in rice and accept monetary payments only. It possessed a large amount of rice in its warehouses, an amount which was ever increasing, and this fact prompted it to dispose of its stock abroad to prevent the drop of rice prices and avert the consequent blow to Government finance. The Government consigned rice to British trading concerns, Walsh and Hall. The export lasted for two years, to January, 1874, and during this period a large quantity was shipped to Hongkong, Amoy, Shanghai, Swatow, Fukien, Sydney, Melbourne, London and San Francisco. By this sale the Government obtained Y 4,925,905.¹ Trade conditions abroad at the time were very bad and the amount the Government received was about Y 1,429,000 less than might have been realised by selling the rice at home, but it had the desired effect of preventing a fall in domestic prices. After all, the greater part of the rice had been taken over without payment from the Tokugawa Shogunate and Feudal clans, so the Government was by no means a loser on the transaction, and the farmers benefited as farm products were emancipated from all restrictions on trading. Tokugawa ban on the sale of land was removed in part in 1872. By removing the ban, the private ownership of lands had furthermore made the sale and mortgage of it easy by adopting a system of land certificates. The majority of the Samurais were naturally thrown out of employment by the Restoration of Meiji, and as they were warrior class this situation was a great menace to the new Government. In order to give them proper employments, the Government decided to encourage them in agricultural pursuits and as many parts of the country required developing, the Government in concert with former feudal Lords sent batches of Samurai immigrants to those districts. A liberal subsidy was given to them, and as the result proved satisfactory, the Government was successful in tiding over the possible crisis coming

1 Y 100 = Rs. 81½, present exchange rate.

from a sudden increase of jobless Samurais. Toshimichi Okubo, one of the greatest figures of the Restoration, concentrated his energy on agricultural development. The Komaba Agricultural School, Tokyo, predecessor to the College of Agriculture of Tokyo Imperial University, was founded in 1877 through his efforts. The Government protection for agricultural development was thorough-going. The appropriation of funds, establishment of agricultural schools and experimental stations, importation and application of best sugarcane, sheep-raising, cattle-breeding and sundry other necessary steps for agricultural improvement were adopted. An American agricultural expert, George A. H. Hall, was engaged by the Government in 1871 as an Adviser on live-stock breeding and farming. The importation of cotton seeds from Netherlands, the opening of the agricultural experimental stations and sundry other enterprises were undertaken, and officials and students were sent abroad to study agriculture. In April, 1881, the Government established the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, various Government enterprises were transferred to private managements. Various protective measures were adopted, such as, enforcement of the Japan Hypothec Bank Law, Agriculture and Industrial Bank Law, Arable Lands Re-adjustment Law, Staple Produce Traders' Association Law, and the Prefecture Agricultural Experimental Station Treasury Subsidization Law. Not only were these measures intended to protect the farmers from troubles peculiar to their own industry but also to protect them from difficulties arising from the growth of other industries and competition of foreign farm products. Farm products in Japan were diminishing in quantity and quality for various reasons, such as the climate, labour, wages and Japan's changing social and international relations. With the promotion of foreign trade, cheaper priced farm products from abroad, such as raw cotton, indigo and beans, began to be imported in large quantities and when the occupation of Formosa as a result of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-95, resulted in a rapid expansion of sugar cultivation in that region, large scale enterprises at home were rendered unnecessary. After the Sino-Japanese War bankruptcy was very rife among the farmers and relief was given to them by annual subsidy. In 1906, rice and unhulled rice were taken off the free list and a duty was imposed on their importation. Import duty on barley and that on wheat were raised higher. Again in the year 1911, the tariff on rice and unhulled rice was raised still higher. The Government also paid much atten-

tion to agriculture in other directions, for instance, the treasury was authorized to subsidize agricultural research and relieve farmers whose silk worms had suffered from disease. An Increased Mulberry Growth Encouragement Fund, Land Improvement Encouragement Fund, Insect Ravage Prevention Fund, and certain other Funds and Subsidies were paid out of the Treasury. As foreign rice and wheat were heavily imported agricultural interests suffered, a suffering that was not mitigated by the inflow of new capital, for capital was now being centralised in the cities and farmers, ever in constant financial difficulties, were compelled to borrow from money-lenders at high rates of interest. Educated landlords found it advisable to give up farming and rural communities lost their leadership where urban industry gained.

The Great War of 1914-18, affected agriculture all over the world. Production in foreign countries fell. As the prices of agricultural products rose Japanese food stuffs were exported in large quantities. There was also an increased home demand, cities were enjoying unprecedented prosperity and while the prosperity lasted the farmers benefited. But with the termination of the War reaction set in, prices dropped, and agriculture found itself in the well of depression from which it has not yet found itself extricated itself. The area of cultivation has steadily decreased after 1921. But the replacement of the gold embargo enabled Japan to dodge an immediate settlement of its most important domestic problem, that of the farmers. The factors entering the question were many and complicated, bearing directly not only upon the living standards of the agricultural community, which constituted 46% of Japan's population, of but upon the solvency of the Banks. Before the re-imposition of the gold embargo rice was selling at Y 17 per 'Koku',* against a cost of production estimated at about Y 30. The factors in this high cost of production were dear money (the farmer paying 10 or 11 per cent on his borrowings), high taxes (where a profit was shown the farmer paid more than double the amount paid by the merchants, and where there were no profits the disproportion was infinitely greater), the cost of fertilisers, and the cost of living forced upward over a period of years by rising tariff wall. The inability of the farmers to pay taxes and interest had forced down the price of real estate. Between the finan-

1, Koku = 4.86 bushels.

cial panic of 1927 and the replacement of the gold ban in December, 1931, such prices had fallen between 30 and 50 per cent, depending on locality. Lenders of real estate were carrying paper losses between Y 500,000,000 and Y 625,000,000, the figure representing the difference between the current market price of the land and the amounts due, including defaults in interests and instalments. The loss represented between 20 and 25 per cent of the value of the total agricultural mortgages outstanding. According to the investigation of the Hypothec Bank of Japan in 1937, the average value of land which had kept declining since 1926 became stationary in 1933 and then began to rise in 1934, and reached 8.9%. The reason for this rise in land value may be found in the stability of the agricultural industry because of the fixing of the immediate price of rice by Rice Control Law, high prices of rice in the year, the low interest rate which quickened the demand for arable land, gradual effect of the measures taken for the economic improvement of agricultural villages, the increased income of farmers from side-work stimulated by the general boom of industries in cities, and rise in prices in general.*

The average per capita tillage acreage in Japan, as compared with other countries, is 1/5th of Germany, 1/6th of France, and 1/30th of the U. S. A. (such figures are not available to me for British India). It means in other words that a given tillage acreage in Japan must furnish occupation and support agricultural workers five to six times as many as in France and Germany, and thirty times as many as in the U. S. A. Under the circumstances, what little arable area there is in the Empire, is cultivated by the most intensive methods. The average holding for each farming family is 2.5 acres in Japan proper. Labour is hard-taxed, no pains are spared to coax a greater yield out of the none too rich soil. Thanks to patient industry, however, the yield value per farm unit in Japan is higher than in other country. Even under the best condition of agriculture, however, the limited productive area of the country can offer only scanty means of livelihood to its over-flowing population.

The staple product of Japanese agriculture is rice. It is raised not only as the most important article of diet of the self-sustaining agrarian people but also as a commodity more valuable and profitable than others. As the chief food of the whole nation, rice had seldom

* Unfortunately, similar steps were not taken by the Government of Bengal during the period 1922-34, when the price of rice lands in West Bengal went down 150% or more.

been produced in circles until some years ago. Over-production of rice then became real. The farmers' economic position was made more difficult when, in addition, the prices of silk cocoons declined. Efforts are still being put forth to help the farmers out of the difficulty which is a result of the national agrarian policy devoted to production of rice and silk cocoons at the cost of other crops. Among other things wheat and fruit-growing is now being encouraged. The farmers are also introduced to rural industries which are to be pursued in addition to their regular occupation. They are being taught not to depend, as they have done in the past, on few kinds of crops, but on many-sided, integrated operation of lands.

- One striking fact in Japanese agriculture which differentiates it from that of other countries is, that the farmers and their lands are almost exclusively devoted to the production of human food, while in other countries 30 to 40 per cent, and in some instances as many as 50 per cent of the arable lands is turned to the production of animal feed. This situation is in part accounted for by the diet of the Japanese people, and in part, by the fact that the Japanese farmers compared with those of other countries, make far less use of the animals on their farms. The tillage area in Japan is broken in small holdings which must by necessity be cultivated by intensive methods. The farm animals in Japan proper number about 4 for every 10 farming families. Besides, they are not employed more than 50 days in the year, or 4% of the number of the days human labour is employed. Machines have of late been introduced for refining field products and for the purpose of irrigation and drainage, but in no instances have machines been used in cultivation work itself. When there is small area available for each family, the farms have perforce to be small holdings. To get any satisfactory yield out of such area the land must be intensively cultivated and the crops closely tended.

Agriculture, as a whole, is one of the naughty problems that Japan has yet to solve. The farmers' huge mortgage indebtedness is one of the most serious phases of the situation. The Government has been encouraging collective efforts for adjustment of their obligations. It has been successful only in part. Technically, too, Japanese agriculture remains to be improved in not a few points. Improvement of seeds is not the least important. The improved species of rice proved their ability of weathering bad conditions of nature. It is also necessary that more attention should be given to rural economy. The farmers while

casually concerned with their technical side of their work have remained indifferent to the matter of economy ; and the present situation is considered serious. Their economic position is strong so far as they are self-sufficient. Recent enquiry, however, reveals that their position is no longer what it was some years ago. It may be seen, for instance, that among the items of farm and household expenses enumerated under the ordinary conditions of agriculture, the farmers now-a-days are self-sustaining in half as many things as they were before. This means that the farmers have to make more cash payments than they used to do in former times.

Japan's national wealth has of late grown considerably. But her national economy can hardly be expected to develop properly or in full as long as her rural population, which constitutes the main stay of the whole nation, fails to emerge from their present stage of economic misery. While their economy is bad, national economy can never be sound. It is therefore gratifying to see that rural population are becoming matters of increasing general concern.

The principal agricultural products of Japan are rice, mulberry (silk), sugarcane, tea, fibres, wheat, barley, beans, potatoes and kitchen vegetables, of which rice and mulberry are most important. About the agriculture of mulberry and silk industry I have already written a few pages and read out at the Calcutta Corporation Commercial Museum. In this article I will only deal with the other most important product, *viz.*, rice.

RICE.

Rice, the most important food stuff of the Japanese, and of all the people of Orient is the staple crop. The average yearly production during the five years from 1926 to 1930 in Japan proper was about 302,000,000 bushels valued at Y 1,590,000,000. If to this the figure 96,000,000 bushels produced in Formosa and 35,000,000 bushels of Korea are added, the total production of the Japanese Empire amounts to about 433,600,000 bushels.

Japan ranks third in the list of rice producing countries, India being first and China second. As regards the quality, Japanese rice is superior to the Chinese, Indian and any other rice.

As the quantity grown is insufficient to supply the home demand,

importations had to be made every year. In 1930, about 6,000,000 bushels were imported from India and other places. In normal years when the price of rice is not excessive, an average of 5 bushels per person is consumed, and as the population is continually increasing a difficult problem is created, the increase in the annual rice harvest being less in proportion than the increase in the population. As a result, intensive cultivation is the rule, and every available piece of arable low land amenable to irrigation and all uplands that can be irrigated are planted with rice.

The rice is hulled by the farmer and put into straw bags, each containing about 2 bushels. It is then known as 'Gemmai' and has a brown appearance. The rice dealers polish it in the mills till it becomes milk white in which state it is ready to be boiled and eaten. This is the 'Hakumai' (white rice) of the market. Few people care to eat 'Gemmai,' although conceding that it carries the full feed value of the grain. The stalks when dry are known as 'Wara' and are used for making rope, straw-mats, sandals, rice bags and many other articles. The bran left after cleaning the 'Gemmai' is an indispensable ingredient in making pickles.

There are many varieties of rice plants, but they may be divided into two classes, those which only flourish in well irrigated land and those which will grow in dry fields. The greater part of the rice grown in Japan belongs to the former class.

The seed rice is soaked in salt water for a week and then washed in fresh water and dried before it is planted in well irrigated seed beds. After a few weeks the seedlings are transplanted into irrigated rice fields several spares of seedlings together and each lot about a foot apart. The planting out of rice is a great event, the whole family of the farmer engaging in the work, while the young folks sing songs associated with the occasion, which is an important one since on the abundance or paucity of the rice yield depends the life of the people. The planting out of the rice takes place between the end of May and early part of June, after which the farmer is careful to see that the fields are kept well irrigated and that the weeds are kept down. The weeding is the hardest part of the work as it has to be done during the hottest season. When the ears begin to ripen, the irrigation of the fields is stopped, and when the rice is fully ripe the plants are cut off close to the root, bound into sheaves and strung on racks in the fields where it is dried head-downwards in the sun. From planting to

harvest about five months are required. But in Formosa this time is little less and they get two rice crops in every year.

The Government of the land are always ready to render help and grant subsidy towards the rice cultivation. The cultivation is patronised by everybody from the Emperor down to the ordinary farmer. In the city of Tokyo I have personally seen the picture gallery of the Meiji Shrine where there are costly and very artistic pictures and paintings of rice planting. In one of those pictures I have noticed the Empress herself started the transplantation of the first few seedlings in an irrigated land just to give encouragement to the farmers at the beginning of the Meiji Restoration.

Official policy in the past has been chiefly bent on the adjustment of the price of rice. The government used to buy up on its own account certain quantities of rice, and when new crop was ready to be marketed, and this stock was released whenever the market was found tending upward in consequence of the deficient supply. Violent fluctuations of the market were also prevented by the adjustment of tariff protection. In the spring of 1933, a new Rice Control Law was enacted and by virtue of which the Government now may buy or sell unlimited quantities of rice at the prices to be pre-arranged for each year in consideration of the conditions of the market. By the enforcement of the same law, the import of rice has been prohibited since the same year. It was arranged in addition to grant bounties to farmers for storing unhulled rice. This policy has been successful to the extent of maintaining the price of the cereals above a certain level. If the Government do not set aside a certain quantity for purchase each year there would be no increase in surplus on hand. What is assumed as surplus for each year is simply left out for general consideration, the market improving little, the better for the quantities for which it is supposed to be released. There is, on the other hand, a considerable body of opinion in favour of a stronger form of Managed Rice Economy. These men even go so far as to advocate a Government monopoly of rice.

Half the total production of rice within Japan proper is taken by the farmers for their own household use. The balance of some 150,000,000 bushels, is marketed. Half this quantity, or 75,000,000 bushels, found their way to greater cities where the price is determined by conditions of the market. Since the local markets move according to the city quotations, the supplies from Chosen (Korea)

and Taiwan (Formosa), though forming but modest proportion of the total consumption, used to be factors of potency, disproportionate to their volume in determining the price of rice for the reason of being chiefly marketed in big cities. This situation has been remedied for the farmers to a degree by the new Rice Control Laws.*

What should be noted at this place is not uncommon fact that the farmers buy back part of the rice they once disposed of. These purchases amount to considerable quantities. Later in the season, they are enabled to buy back the cereals with the proceeds of silk cocoons and other things. The farming families in Japan proper number 5,600,000 of which about 4,700,000 are engaged in the production of rice and of these rice-growing families about 2,000,300 have to buy back more or less rice for their own family needs, their aggregate purchases amounting to approximately 38,000,000 bushels a year. For these farming families it is very important that the price of rice should not rise after their family rice has been consumed.

Among those who have but superficial knowledge of area are totally strangers to the true conditions of Japan by uncommon misno- tion obtain that because the Japanese people live mostly on cheap rice, the cost of living in Japan is low, and consequently the level of wages is not raised. As a matter of truth rice in general has always been quoted at a price higher than those of wheat in the international markets. Japanese rice, in particular, has always maintained a unique position within the country. Because of the very high cost of production, Japanese rice is always quoted in the domestic market at prices twice or even more than twice as high as those prevailing in the international market at any time, thus proving itself the most expensive of all cereals. For instance, in January, 1936, the whole- sale price of Japanese rice was quoted in Tokyo at 6 Yen 20 Sen per bushel. Computed at the present depreciated exchange rate of the Japanese currency, this price of rice is equivalent to 7s. 2d. Wheat on the other hand was quoted for the same month at Liverpool at 4s (inclusive of import duty) per bushel. In fact, the Japanese people live on the staple food which is the most expensive of all cereals.

The total world production of rice, though China's figure must

* I wish the Government of India had done the same thing, considering the importation of rice into India from Burma.

be estimated on a tentative basis, amounts approximately to 180,000,000 tons or about 65,00,000,000 bushels. In the production of rice Japan ranks third after British India (including Burma) and China, and followed by Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies and Siam. The countries with any capacity to export rice are British India, Indo-China and Siam. Their combined exports, however, amount to no more than 200,000,000 bushels a year or 55% of the amount consumed within Japan proper each year, or about a third of the amount of wheat transacted in the world's markets. So far as the market of rice is restricted, its price is hard to be adjusted internationally. Thus Japanese rice always maintain a price far above its world price level. Rice in Japan must indeed be said a precious thing among all products of the soil.

I am not an expert in agricultural science, but being a Bengalee, a rice eater, and having possession of a few hundred bighas of land in West Bengal, I tried to collect the informations noted above for the enlightenment of my countrymen. After the Battle of Plassey, when the British traders were determined to be permanent rulers of the country, they started policies to strengthen their purpose, and one of those policies which was introduced by Lord Cornwallis in the year 1791 was the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, Bihar and some other Provinces. The Moslems at that time were rich as well as holders of large land areas. In order to see them down, to make them weak and powerless, Lord Cornwallis made a conspiracy with the other communities of the country and that blessed arrangement, the Permanent Settlement, was enacted. Most of the lands belonging to the Moslem holders were transferred to others and the zeminderies were created in the Provinces and the Moslems mostly were deprived of their holdings. Since then the agricultural condition of the country deteriorated decade by decade and reached that worst stage which made the present Government to appoint the recent Floud Commission, the report of which is before the public now. A few hasty, impracticable laws were passed recently in the Legislatures, in order to see the advancement of agriculture and to help the agriculturist. What were the real difficulties and troubles and what were the immediate problems to be solved were not considered at all. Just to give an eye-wash and to make the next election propaganda smooth the majority party of the Legislatures has enforced such unworkable legislation over the rural population of the Province of Bengal; but

in a few years these laws are surely to remain in the Statute Books only, as dead letters and nothing else.

In West and North Bengal where we have got very large arable rice lands, very little has been done for proper irrigation. The agriculturists are entirely dependent on the favour of the Nature. If there be adequate rain in time, rice grows, otherwise the whole tillage area remains without crop and the famine comes year after year. In the time of the Moghul Emperors every village in the West and North Bengal had irrigation tanks which were sufficient enough for the irrigation of the tillage lands. But since the introduction of the Permanent Settlement, the zeminders were only concerned to get the rent, had left their village homes, lived in the city, never cared to see what were the needs for the improvement of agriculture, leaving everything in the hands of their officers (naibs and gomosthas). These employees took improper and undue advantages on the helpless ryots, realised the rent and other fictitious charges by every sort of high-handedness and heinous ways just to make themselves rich and keep their lords satisfied, by remitting money regularly to them. Most of the irrigation tanks were silted up and a greater part of them had been converted into agricultural lands—just to increase the revenue of the zemindary. No pasture land has been left and the cattle wealth deteriorated to the extremely wretched condition. The agriculturist became poorer day after day on account of constant failure of crops, the people had to mortgage their holdings at a high rate of interest to meet their home necessity as well as the rent money of the luxurious landlords living in the city, with dozens of costly automobiles, and numberless concubines. Epidemics, like, Malaria, Cholera, Small-pox, and other diseases became constant annual visitors in the rice districts of the country, people became short-lived, dwarfish, sickly, in their poor gloomy homes with loads of debts and sufferings. The government of the country never cared for this unhappy, unfortunate, melancholy people. They were only satisfied if their taxes were collected, their police force were duly paid, their officers' very high salaries were regularly drawn and the annual remittance to England was made in time. The villages, specially of the West Bengal, were full of jungles and became deserted and the smiles from the bright faces of the inhabitants vanished for ever. After some time of the British rule an Agricultural Department was started by the benign Government just as a show

but nothing has been done. Highly paid officers were appointed, theories were enunciated, but the practical grievances became still worse by the levy of more taxes, to meet the expenses of that theoretical department. The present Ministers, who are mostly people from non-rice districts, care very little to make tours even once a year to those parts of the districts, though the expenses of their tour money exceed double the Budget estimates, in touring about numberless times, in their particular constituencies in order to make their next election secure. Recently some canals were constructed in order to help the irrigation in some parts of the districts of Midnapore, Burdwan and Birbhum, but no relief came in through them on account of the high charges as well as the inefficiency of the department concerned. In the time of the Moghuls, when the land survey of the country was made, by great Todarmal, the then government engineers thought that certain provinces of India were not such where agriculture might improve by cutting out canals for irrigation, and Bengal was one of them. So the adequate number of irrigation tanks were dug out. These served two purposes, one just to irrigate the agricultural lands and another to breed fishes in those innumerable ponds and tanks which are another staple food of the Bengalee population. The irrigation by canal system in West Bengal cannot be helpful at all, rather if more canals are cut out now in West Bengal, the existence of the Port of Calcutta will be apprehended. If the waters of the tributary rivers in West Bengal are diverted to the canals for irrigations, the river Ganges will lose the supply of head water and may be silted up within a few years. The canal system of irrigation in U.P. and Behar has already done great damage to the river. No longer the river Ganges receives sufficient quantity of water from its tributaries in Behar and U.P., the result of which is open to everybody who notices the condition of the river. From Rajmahal to Navadwip the great navigable river which in the time of the Moghuls used to carry cargo in all seasons from Bengal to Agra, dries up from the month of February to June and the old country ports of Navadwip, Katwa, Berhampore, Azimgunge, have lost their river trade, aquatic traffic and transportation altogether due to the lack of head water supply from U.P. and Behar. So if more canals are cut out in Bengal, this great city of Calcutta, the pride of Bengal, the biggest exporting port of Asia, might have the same lot of Bengal's famous old port of Saptagram in the near

future. The Irrigation Department of the present Government of Bengal could have done immense good if they had advised the ministry just to re-excavate the irrigation tanks of West and North Bengal which would have not only solved the irrigation problem of the agricultural lands to a great extent but could have brought in a great trade of fish industry in the province making the economic condition of the people brighter and the sanitary condition of the country more healthful. But who cares for the poor, dumb, half-starved, half-naked, helpless population of the country? The officers are satisfied as long as their high salaries are paid, the Ministers are happy by giving employment to their relations and paying off their personal debts by making speculation on agricultural commodities of the country. As long as their Ministry is safe, as long as they can have good time in the palaces of Calcutta and in the cool olympic hill stations, no matter what happens to the agriculturist of the land. The Ministry will remain safe by bringing in Pakisthan, by introducing separate electorate, by reservation of seats in the Legislatures and the Municipal Councils, by introducing a defective education policy just to cripple the National University, depriving the duly qualified children of the soil of the jobs by bringing in co-religionists from other Provinces and foreign countries, by introducing communalism in the field of sports, and by bringing in Mayor from Karachi or Bombay and leaders from Iran and Arabia, and so on. The Ministry will still remain safe by enacting the Agricultural Debtors' Act and the Money Lenders' Act, so that some of the Ministers may escape their obligations and the poor ryots in the time of their rice plantations have no help in the shape of money or any other commodity and thus keep them starved.

I have quoted some of the Acts which the Japanese Government have introduced to solve their agriculturists' problem in order to show my countrymen that if there be sincerity, if there be *bonafide* wishes of doing good, even the rulers of a country of very small arable land can do immense good and benefit to the suffering agriculturists. I have also stated something about the Japanese Government's action to control the prices of the agricultural commodities in order to save the growers from drastic change of prices in the market. The Ministers of this Province easily could have done the same thing if they even wanted to do it.

Alas, Bengal—nay poor Mother India—I do not know when

salvation will come to you, when we will find the true sons of yours who will identify themselves as neither Hindus, nor Moslems, nor Christians, nor Sikhs, nor Parsis, but Indians and who will see only one Bengal, one India and not a Pakisthan and not a communal province. But still I am an optimist. Surely, they will come. From the immense sufferings of so many centuries, from the ashes and the graves of formidable destructions and noble sacrifices, certainly a real force, a real power will crop up, the country will be saved, the prestige will be upheld, a United Bengal, a United India will rise in the horizon—that is the only aim, only aspiration, only thought with which I strive to live.

WILLIAM COWPER AND INDIA

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THOSE who are shocked by the imperialism of Rudyard Kipling will have a sense of pleasing reparation in the poetry of William Cowper. William Cowper is not as much a poet of anti-imperialism as Kipling is of imperialism. But there are passages in his longer poems which are expressive of the sympathy he had for India and the disapproval he had for the Englishmen who oppressed her. Cowper is not a great poet. He is not even a great man. It was given to him to be only a good poet and a good man. Like Charles Lamb he endears himself to us by the naive and elemental force of his sheer humanity; like Charles Lamb he is a poem before being a poet. In one of his poems he describes himself as a stricken deer and even in his apparently satirical poetry the plaintive voice of stricken deer is always heard. A poet of gentle sensibility he had as much compassion for the helpless animals as for the poor villagers of Olney. And it was the mere man in him who was stricken at heart by the British oppression of India.

Cowper is considered as a precursor of romanticism. But it is not only his love of nature which makes him a herald of romantic poetry. He also anticipated that love of freedom which inspired the poets of the nineteenth century. If there is no detailed reference to India in the poetry of Shelley and Wordsworth it is not their apathy or their acceptance of imperialism which are responsible for it. It is the abstract and transcendental nature of their inspiration which makes them silent about any particular instance of oppression and tyranny. The Greek war of independence led Shelley into an ecstatic adoration of the spirit of freedom and the French Revolution drives Wordsworth into a contemplation of the moral destiny of mankind. Moreover during the period in which these two poets wrote the Indian problem was not a burning issue in England whereas Cowper produced his two well-known works at the time when the British Parliament was very busy in tackling the Indian question. Most of the poems and letters of Cowper were written when the city of London was filled with the scandal of the

Britishers in India, when Clive was brought to book for his open corruption, when the reports of the shameful oppression of Hastings in India were agitating the minds of his countrymen at home, when Parliament appointed select and secret committees to enquire into the affairs of the East India Company and introduced bill after bill for controlling them.

As we read the passages in which Cowper refers to the dealings of the Englishmen with India it will occur to us that in them Cowper does not merely indulge in a sentimental compassion or fashionable humanitarianism. As a well-wisher of India Cowper had the disadvantage of being a lover of his own country and the sufferings of India gave him as much pain as the cruelties of England covered him with shame. He sympathises with the victims as much as he is disgusted with the oppressors. He was aware of the demoralising effect which the spoils of India were bound to have on English life and English politics. He knew that the British traders were not only ruining India but they were also bringing ruin on themselves.

In his "Expostulation," he gives his countrymen such a warning—

"Hast thou, though suckled at fair freedom's breast
Exported slavery to the conquered East?
Pulled down the tyrants India served with dread,
And raised thyself, a greater, in their stead?
Gone thither, armed and hungry, returned full,
Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul,
A despot big with power obtained by wealth,
And that obtained by rapine and by stealth?
With Asiatic vices stored thy mind
But left their virtues and their own behind,
And having trucked thy soul, brought home the fee
To tempt the poor who sell himself to thee."

"Cowper," says Macaulay in his essay on Lord Clive "in that lofty 'Expostulation' which glows with the very spirit of the Hebrew poets, placed the oppression of India for most in the list of those national crimes for which God had punished England with years of disastrous war, with discomfiture in her own seas, and with loss of her transatlantic empire." The servants of the Company who for their avarice and extravagance were contemptuously called "Nabobs" were considered in those days as a curse upon England.

In the first book of the "Task" he wonders that the rapacity of the Englishmen in India should go unpunished when petty thieves in England are sent to the gallows:

"That thieves at home must hang, but he that puts
Into his over-gorged and bloated purse
The wealth of Indian provinces escapes."

The lines remind one of the ironic remarks of Bankimchandra's Kamalakanta that the right of conquest is as good a right as the right of theft.

His concern for India which he expresses in a passage in the fourth book of the "Task" shows the sincerity and the intensity of his feeling for the country. There we find him awaiting the postman whose twanging horn he hears and from whom he is anxious to know the latest news about India:

"Is India free? and does she wear her plumed
And jewelled turban with a smile of peace
Or do we grind her still?"

This sudden remembrance of India in such a quiet winter evening as the poet depicts in the poem shows that for India he had a very soft corner in his heart.

Biharilal Chakravarti has not written any poem for the exclusive purpose of expressing his love of freedom but in many of his poems he breaks into patriotic lines. This shows that his love of country is a natural and abiding emotion. Cowper's references to India are as sudden and his feelings for her must be as natural and abiding.

Later in the same book of the "Task" he characterises the British merchants as a corporation of plunderers—

"disclaiming all regard
For mercy and the common rights of man,
Build factories with blood, conducting trade
At the sword's point, and dyeing the white rod
Of innocent commercial justice red."

Cowper might have suspected that the weighing balance of a merchant would be changed overnight into the sceptre of a ruler.

In his letters, too, there are some reproachful references to the members of the East India Company. In a letter written to the

Rev. William Unwin in 1784 he bitterly attacks the Company for its avarice and ruthlessness—

“They have possessed themselves of an immense territory which they have ruled with a rod of iron to which it is impossible they should ever have a right unless such a one as it is a disgrace to plead, the right of conquest. The potentates of this country they dash in pieces like a potter’s vessel as often as they please making the happiness of the thirty millions of mankind a consideration subordinate to that of their own emolument ; oppressing them as often as it may serve a lucrative purpose, and in no instance that I have ever heard, consulting their interest or advantage.”

In another letter written to Lady Hesketh in 1788 he refers to the impeachment of Warren Hastings and remarks—

“Whatever we are at home, we certainly have been tyrants in the East ; and if these men have, as they are charged, rioted in the miseries of the innocent and dealt death to the guiltless with an unsparing hand, may they receive a retribution that shall in future make all governors and judges of ours, in those distant regions tremble.”

Cowper was not a statesman ; but his utterances on India have the accent of those impassioned indictments of the Britishers in India which the two great statesmen of the time made in the House of Commons. The speeches of Fox and Burke on the former’s India Bill of 1783 may well be read as an elaborate commentary on Cowper’s lines on India and the East India Company.

EDUCATION IN MUSLIM INDIA

S. N. HAIDAR RIZVI, B.C.S.

II

FIRST SYLLABUS FOR COLLEGES

THE result of his success was contributed to the now defunct Journal, *Al-Nadwa* of 1909 A.D. The syllabus differed in different periods of Muslim rule. During the period between the 7th Century A.H. and the end of the 9th Century of Hijra, *i.e.*, till before the reign of Sikander Lodi, *Sarf, Nahv*, Eloquence, Principles of Jurisprudence, Logic, Theology, Mysticism, Commentary of the *Koran* and Literature were the subjects included in the study and their mastery was considered to be necessary for qualification.

Greek Philosophy and Logic were very popular. Not much importance was attached to the study of Hadith at this period. One Maulana Shamsuddin, a specialist in Hadith, who came over to India during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khilji for popularising the study of the traditions returned disappointed as he found the ruler very unresponsive.¹ Another interesting information is that Malikite jurisprudence became popular during the Tughlak period (Popularising) of Indian history.²

A learned man of Baghdad visited India during the Tughlak period and brought with him two books namely *Tasrif Maliki* and *Majmaul Bahrain* on Malikite jurisprudence. Maulana Fakhuruddin Zardazi helped the gentleman by recommending the books to his students and wrote commentaries on them in order to make the subject more popular.

SECOND REVISION OF SYLLABUS FOR COLLEGES

It was in the reign of Sikandar Lodi that Sheikh Abdullah and Sheikh Azizullah, two distinguished savants of Multan, settled down in Delhi.³ These gentlemen effected certain improvements and

¹ *Tarikh Firuz Shahi* of Bagn.

² *Siyarul Auliya*.

³ *Badauni*.

changes in the syllabus of study. The disciples of Syed Sharif and Allama Taftazane also introduced some of the books of their famous teachers.

We have already noted the absence of traditions in the approved syllabus till at the end of this period. During the reign of Sikandar Lodi a celebrated scholar Syed Rafiuddin Salimi came to India. He began to popularise traditions and many distinguished Scholars of the age received instruction in *Hadith* at his house.¹ Later on Sheikh Abdul Haq *Muhaddis* of Delhi and Sheikh Jamaluddin popularised the study of *Hadith* in India as we will notice later on.

THIRD REVISION OF SYLLABUS FOR COLLEGES

Maathirul Karam of Ghulamali Azad, although written towards the end of 18th century, makes a positive statement that the syllabus of studies was revised in Akbar's time² and King appointed Shah Fatehulla Shirazi with the title of Azadul Mulk. The latter added Philosophy, Mathematics and Medicine and *Hadith* to the subjects of study. We read in the "*Wasiyat nama*" of Shah Waliullah that History and Political Science were also the subjects for study. Unfortunately we could not trace the names of the books prescribed for the latter two subjects.

FOURTH REVISION OF SYLLABUS FOR COLLEGES

The fourth attempt towards improving and reforming the syllabus was made by Mulla Nizamuddin, in the early part of 12th century A.H. The changes effected were considerable.³ I have preferred to give the complete syllabus and the list of books as approved and introduced by him.

¹ Muntakhabut Tawarikh of Badauni, Rauzatul-Ulema and Akbar-ul-Akhyar.

² Maathirul Karam of Ghulamali Azad.

³ *Darsi Nizamia* was introduced by Nizamuddin Sihalvi a resident of Sihalvi near Lucknow. The Mv. lived during the reign of Alamgir and was the founder of the famous Arabic School of Lucknow. Known as Firangi Mahal, many of the books which are used in connection with the Nizamia Syllabus were written by the pupils of Mulla Nizamuddin Sihalvi. The commentary on Logic was written by Mv. Nizamuddin and the book on Muhammadan law was written by Hafiz Muhibullah of Bihar, a pupil of Mv. Nizamuddin's father. The Nizamia Syllabus was modified in Delhi by Shah Waliullah (died in 1174 A.H.) who introduced into it the teaching of *Hadith* and prescribed *Sihab Satta* as a book for study (the traditions of the prophet). The modification was accepted by the Schools of Lucknow and Deoband. The syllabus was introduced in Bengal by Mullah Babrululum, son of Mulla Nizamuddin.

The syllabus was so comprehensive that it was survived down to our own days and its name *Darse Nizamia* is known to all of us though most of us do not know of the origin.

FIFTH REVISION OF SYLLABUS FOR COLLEGES

Then the fifth change was made and the syllabus was remodelled during the closing period of the Timurids.

By the way we may point out that some changes effected this time were the changes unfortunately for the worse. They were brought about at a time when the fall of the Muslim power in India was imminent and decay had already set in.

Three new subjects, viz., *Farai-iz* (duties) *Manadhira* (controversy) and principles of Hadith were introduced. For *Farai-iz*, *Sharifia*; for *Mānadhira*, *Reshidia* and for the third subject the explanatory notes of *Nakhbatul Fikr* were recommended. At this period considerable importance was attached to Logic and *Hadith*. For Logic the students were burdened with a huge list of books to be studied. Literature was considerably neglected and consequently neglect of Literature told heavily on the general intelligence and capacity of students.

BOOKS PRESCRIBED FOR THE COLLEGES TILL THIRD REVISION OF THE SYLLABUS

1. Nahv (Syntax) : *Misbah*, *Kafia* (by Nasiruddin Baidawi), and *Irshad* (by Kadi Shihabuddin of Daulatabad). After the second revision of Syllabus *Sharha Mutala* was added.

2. Jurisprudence : *Hidaya*. After second revision explanatory comments on *Wakaya* were added.

3. Principles of jurisprudence : *Minar* with its commentaries and *Usul-i-Baidawi*, after second revision *Tanzih Talwih* was added.

4. Commentary (*Tafsir*) *Madarik*, *Baidqwi* and *Kashshaf*. (In the third revision *Kashshaf* was dropped.)

5. Mysticism (*Tasawwuf*) *Awarif*, *Ahyaul-ulum*, *Fusus-ul-Hakam*, *Kuwat-ul-Kulub*, a little later *Nakdunnasus* and *Lamaat* were also added. In the third revision *Resalai Naqshbandia* and explanatory notes of *Jami* were added.

6. Literature (a) Prose: *Makamat*, *Hariri* (stress was laid on memorising), (b) Poetry: *Sabatul MuallaKat*.

7. Logic: Explanatory notes on *Shamsa*.
8. Theology: Explanatory notes of *Sahâif* or the introduction of Abu Shakur Salimi. After second revision, explanatory notes on *Aqa'id Nasafi* and *Muwafiq* were added. The third revision added *Hashia-i-Khiyali*.
9. Eloquence: *Mukhtasar* and *Matul* were prescribed after second revision.
10. *Hadith* (after third revision): Part of *Bukhari* and *Shamail Tirmizi*.
11. Philosophy (after third revision): Explanatory notes of *Hidayatul Hikmat*.
12. Mathematics (after third revision): A few tracts on Mathematics were prescribed. Names of books could not be traced.
13. Medicine (after third revision): *Mujiz-ul-Qanun*.
14. History (after third revision): Names of the books could not be traced.
15. Political Science (after third revision): Names of books could not be traced.

BOOKS PRESCRIBED IN THE FOURTH REVISION OF SYLLABUS

Nizamia Syllabus:

1. Sarf (Etymology): *Mizan*, *Manshaab*, *Sarfe Mir*. *Panjgang*, *Zabda*, *Fusul Akbari* and *Shafiya*.
2. Nahvi (Syntax): *Nahve Mir*, the explanatory notes of *Maiti Amil*, *Hidyatun Nahv*, *Kafiya*, and the explanatory notes of *Jami*.
3. (a) Logic: *Sughra*, *Kubra*, *Isaygoji*, *Tahzib*, the explanatory notes of *Tahzib*, *Kutibi with Mir*, and *Silmul-Ulum*, (b) *Hikmat* (Philosophy)-*Mabzi*, *Sadra* and *Shams bazgha*.
4. Mathematics (including Astronomy): *Khulasatul Hisab* and the first chapter of *Euclid*. Besides *Tashrihul Aflak* *Risal-ai-koshjya* and the first chapter of *Chighman*.
5. Eloquence: *Mukhtasir Maani*, and a part of original *Maani*.
6. Jurisprudence: The first portion of the explanation and the later portion of the original *Hidaya*.
7. The principles of jurisprudence: *Nurual Anwar*, *Tanzih Talqih* and *Muslamus-thabut*.
8. Theology—The explanatory notes of *Aqa'id Nasafi* and books on *Aqa'id* by *Jalali*, *Muwafiq*, and *Mir Zahid*.

9. Commentary: *Jalalain* and *Baidawi*.
10. Hadith: *Mishkatul Masabih*.

PERIOD OF ATTENDANCE IN COLLEGES

It is difficult to say what was the period of attendance in the classes. We find only one reference about the time of Jahangir. Sheikh Abdul Haq, *Mahaddis* of Delhi writes in *Akhbarul Akhyar* that the hours of study were from morning till noon and then from Zuhar prayer (after-noon prayer) till evening.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Schools and colleges had no provision for technical subjects. But those who had aptitude for arts and crafts would go to the houses of Technical experts and take them as their *ustads*. But such arts and crafts were mostly hereditary. The father was the teacher of the sons, the mother of daughters. Thus that training in particular arts and crafts was popularly imparted. Industrial education was imparted through the system of apprenticeship. The *Shuhrat-e-Am* (public works) department looked after it. The boys were often apprenticed with the artisans to the trade. The artisans received, thus, the services of the apprentice and the later in turn the tips about the trade. The boys began their technical education at an early age. At first they were expected to undertake the duties of the shop, such as the cleansing and fitting of tools. Later they began to perform the simplest operations of the trade. There was little definite instruction in theory but they gradually acquired skill by handling the tools and watching the workmen at their task. As soon as they made a little progress they were given small wages which went on increasing as they became more expert. After receiving full training either they went away to work independently or secured a permanent place in the master's shop.¹

Firuz Tughlak took a keen interest in the technical education of his slaves whom he had placed under the tuition of masters,—craftsmen in their workshops for learning different arts. There were in all one hundred and eighty thousand slaves at his disposal whom he

¹ Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. 1, pp.436.

got trained in arts and crafts. Barni writes that at one time one batch of twenty thousand slaves were turned into skilled artisans and tradesman under his care.¹

Such interest in technical education led to an abundant increase in the number of the technical 'experts. Babur² certifies to it. He says "for any work or any employment there is always a set ready to whom some employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages." Bernier also has during the reign of Aurangzeb at a later period testified to this statement.³

FEMALE EDUCATION

We have already discussed that in primary schools there was co-education. Now we have to see what the Muslims did for the higher education of females. Without entering into unnecessary details we would only refer to the activities of Sultan Ghiyathuddin Khilji of Malwa.⁴ He got the females educated in different arts and sciences. The historian states that some were taught the arts of goldsmith and ironsmith. Some were taught carpenter's work and trained in building ships. Tailoring, cooking, shoe-making, pottery, embroidery, oarsmanship and jugglery were common and ordinary subjects taught. Dance and music were also not neglected. The Sultan, in his zeal to promote education among females and equip them for manly works and duties, went so far as to impart even military education to the girls. He had an army of Turks and 500 Abyssinian female soldiers expert in the use of arms. He made his palace a centre of female education and the popularity of female education became so keen that a sufficiently big town inhabited by ladies sprang up. Only in his palace there were one thousand such educated ladies who had committed the entire Koran to memory. We are to remember that it was simply for his love of female education and we should not be misled to think that it was in any way aimed at satisfying his sexual passion or bad taste. All the historians are unanimous in

¹ Barni : *Tarikh Firuz Shahi*

² "Memoirs" edited by Erskine, Vol. II, pp. 243-44.

³ Bernier : *Travels in Mughal Empire*, pp. 268-69.

⁴ Firsihta

pronouncing him as the most religious and virtuous of kings. All the acts were purely humanitarian and were aimed at improving the condition of the fair sex in order to make them useful members of the society. These educated ladies were recruited for the Govt. services and as a step towards encouragement the king had opened a department in the palace where ladies performed all the duties of men. A *darbar* was held in the palace just as it was held outside. These ladies held the posts of *Amirul-Omra*, *Vazir*, *Wakil*, *Sarjamadar*, *Khazinadar*, etc., and it will be quite absurd to say that his attempt was only an innovation. It must have been an improvement on the policy of former Muslim kings and it cannot be regarded as an isolated example with no past and precedent.¹ Smiths in his *Architecture* at Fatehpur Sikri reproduces a plan of girls' school in Akbar's palace at Fatehpur Sikri. It surely indicates the interest of Akbar in female education. Ibn Battuta reports that there were 13 schools for girls only at Hinwar, and the ladies could generally read Koran. Many had even committed the Koran to memory.²

EDUCATION OF THE HINDUS

Another question to be discussed is whether all these educational activities of the Muslims were meant only for the muslims and they considered themselves to be responsible only for the education of their Muslim subjects. Undoubtedly this is not the fact. The State looked after the education of all without distinction of caste and creed. We read in the pages of the *Ain* that *Vedanta* and *Patanjal* were included in the subjects of study. I am tempted to think that both Hindus and Muslims attended the schools and colleges without distinction and these institutions were open to all. Only at Silapur in the district of Hooghly there were left about 150 educational institutions till the close of 18th Century A.D. which may be said

¹ For example I may refer to military training among ladies. Besides Sultana Razya and Nurjehan Begam, we read that one Gule Behisht, a lady general of the army was sent by Sultan Alauddin Khilji against Kaner Deo of Jalor. (*Firishta*). Then in the seige of Bijapure, Jani Begum, the daughter of Dara Shikoh and wife of Azam Shah (Sirarul Mutakherin Vol.IV) took once active part in battle. Another illustration is of Zero Mah, the queen of Kutub Shah. She was seen with a Sabre in hand at the head of Tartar and Habshi armed slaves when Syed Ahmed wanted to capture the throne against Abul Hasan. (*Siyar* Vol. IV)

² Lee : Ibn Battuta, p. 165.

to be the true representatives of the prevalent¹ *educational system*. In these schools even Muslim students studied the Theology and Philosophy of the Hindus. In schools and colleges the Hindus and Muslims received education in Arabic and Persian. If such were not the case how could the Hindus secure complete mastery over Persian and distinguished themselves as great Scholars and writers of this language. Besides Persian was the Court Language, and unless they were educated in these Institutions how did they manage to acquire this tongue and enter the Government services. We read that Hindus began to take interest in Persian since the days of Sikander Lodi and it is probable that Hindus began to enter these schools and colleges at that time. Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-law of Bankipur, has in his collection a picture illustrating Hakikat Rai of Lahore, a Hindu student, attending a school and being punished for some offence by the Moulavi.

In addition to these joint educational institutions the State and the princes as well as well-to-do persons of both the communities, i.e., Hindus and Musalmans endowed temples with lands and *Jagirs* for not only maintaining temples but also the schools attached to the temple. Generally the schools attached to temples in villages were of primary standard, but the temples in towns imparted education which may roughly be described as that of secondary School and College Standard. Till about 1791, there existed in all parts of the province a considerable number of private institutions where the indigenous learning was assiduously cultivated. The State utilized the pilgrims tax for the education of the Hindu students by creating endowments for these temples.² Mussalmans realized pilgrim tax from the Hindus. The money derived from this source was credited to Hindu temples for maintaining schools.³

¹ Khurshid Jehannuma, p. 511 (Bihar Library Calcutta MS.).

میلا پور مقامی است در علاقہ کلکی - در سنہ ۱۸۰۱ ع می کسی طالب العلم در مدرسہ - انہا تحصیل علوم عربی و فارسی می نمودند - اعانت مدرسہ مذکور از محاصل اراضیات عطیہ مریدیہ نواب گورنر ہیسٹنگس بہادر بود میشد و ہم در آنجا قریب یکصد و پنجاہ مدرسہ ہای خاص مردمان کہ در ہریکی از ان ہا از پنج تا بست و پنج کسی طالب العلم تحصیل وصول علم دینہ ہنود میگردند مقرر بودہ فاما درین روزہا ہمہ آنہا رو در تنزل رسانیدہ است -

² Max Müller writes on a strength of a report written by some Christian Missionary that only in Bengal there were sixty thousand Pathshalas, before the advent of the British in India (Cf. India by K. Hardy or Hardie, p. 6). See also Calcutta University, Commission Report.

³ Majma-ul-Baleaden of Yakut who bases his account on Istakharis' book, vol. 8, p. 201.

The principal seats of Hindu learning were Benares, Darbhanga, Puri, Bhatpara, Nadia and Vikrampur. The educational institutions and academies at these places were maintained partly by the State endowment and partly by the endowment granted by the Hindu chiefs owing allegiance to Muslim rulers. The liberal patronage was not only bestowed by princes and others in power and authority but also by *Zamindars*. Not only institutions but also persons distinguished as learned men received patronage and allowances from the State and the people and they in return imparted free education to Hindu students. The Hindu students in all these schools, which were known as *tols*, were taught the following subjects.

Logic (*Nyaya*), Law (*Smriti*), Philosophy (*Darsana*), Grammar (*Vyakarana*), Astronomy (*Jyotish*), Medicine (*Ayurveda*), Literature, Mathematics, *Vedanta*, *Prakrit*, *Vedas* and *Yoga*.

EXAMINATION AND STUDIES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The students were properly examined. The examination took the form of oral debates and discussions in assemblies of Pandits which frequently met in some public place.

May he be a Hindu or a Mussalman, when the student qualified himself at the examination, then a title was conferred on him which indicated the standard of his learning. Students used to go for studies to foreign countries and seats of learning like Baghdad, Mecca, Madina, Shiraz, Nishapur, Balkh, etc.¹

The reputation of Indian Scholars and Educational institutions and academies had spread throughout Asia and students from all parts of Asia visited India and studied here for years together as students.²

Laboratories for research work in different known sciences were set up. The great scholar and General Khan-i-Khanan is famous for his patronage to scientists by setting up laboratories at Agra and Gujrat.³

For astronomical research many Muslim kings got observatories constructed for the use of astronomers. Even to-day we can notice the remains of that famous observatory at Delhi which was constructed

¹ Barni and Firsihta.

² Badauni, p. 885.

³ Maathir Rahimi.

by Muhammad Shah for the use of the great astronomer Raja Jaisingh of Ambar.¹

It is no wonder therefore that India could produce, under such system and facilities of education, Historians, Mathematicians, Architects, Sculptors, doctors, Statesman, poets, Generals, Musicians, and dancers who challenged places of honour not only in their time but also in our own.

REASONS FOR EDUCATIONAL DECAY IN INDIA AFTER MUSLIM RULE

The readers may pertinently ask then what happened to this net work of educational institutions and why there is so much illiteracy to be found in India at present. If there was such an extensive organisation for education then there ought to have been naturally a nation claiming an overwhelming majority of literates. The simple reason for this is that all of a sudden the power slipped from the hands of the Indians into that of the Company. The Company realised revenue but did not spend a pice on education. During the early days of the East India Company's rule the promotion of education was not recognised as a duty of the Government. Even in England at that time education was entirely left to private and mainly to clerical enterprise. Says W.W. Hunter (*Vide Imperial Gazette, Vol. VI, p. 473*): "It was only in 1813 that the Directors felt it necessary to give their attention to education. A grant of a small amount of one lakh rupees was granted for the education of the whole country, but definite instructions were issued not to utilise it for starting any school and colleges. The grant was also not properly utilised." The available funds for education purposes were spent partly in printing oriental classics and partly in grants to educational societies, such as the Calcutta School Book Society, Calcutta School Society, etc.²

Between 1835 and 1854 practically all the public funds available for education were expended³ on schools and colleges founded and controlled by Government. Thus the existing indigenous schools were utterly neglected and left to their own resources. Even if they had been left to their resources, it would have helped the education of the masses; but unfortunately in 1828 the British Government

¹ *Sabhatul Marjanfi Tarikh Hindusthan Azad Bilgrami.*

² *Calcutta University Commission Report, Vol. I, p. 82.*

³ *Ibid., Vol. I, p. 87.*

directed a general examination of the title deeds on which really estate was held throughout Bengal. There followed eighteen years of special legal investigation, as the result of which considerable amount of landed property was resumed by Government. The resumption seriously affected the Muslim educational institutions and there were many such which were supported by endowments.¹

The Directors' despatch of the 29th September, 1830, forwarding the promotion of English has been rightly called by Mr. M. Azizul Haque, the beginning of the close of the Chapter of the Supremacy in India of Persian and Arabic culture.²

The country would not have suffered even then, if the whole resources had been utilised for English education. But unfortunately the problem was tackled leisurely and without proper and scientific planning. The same fate overtook Hindu Education. The East India Company was indeed supposed to be the guardian of temples and derived a large income from the imposition of a tax called the pilgrim tax. But the responsibility of guardianship was not fully realised and the tax was not utilised for education. It was abolished some time after, but no step was taken to subsidise education from some other tax or fund.³

I will do well to sum up the whole history by quoting from the minute recorded by Lord Minto on 6th March, 1811, on education in India. "The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, Chieftains and opulent individuals under the native Government. Such encouragement must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary examinations but especially in India, where learned professions have little, if any, other support. The justness of these observations might be illustrated by a detailed consideration of the former and the present state of science and literature at the three principal seats of Hindu learning, namely, Benares, Tirhoot and Nadia. Such a review would bring before us the liberal patronage which was formerly bestowed not only by princes and others in power and authority but also by Zamindars, on persons who had distinguished themselves by the successful

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 109.

² Calcutta University Education Commission Report, Vol. II, p. 82.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p.p. 82-84.

cultivation of letters at those places. The cultivation of letters was now confined (because of neglect) to a few surviving persons who had been patronised by the native princes and others under the former Government or to such of the immediate descendants of those persons as had imbibed a love of sciences from their parents.”¹

“In consequence of transfer of diwanie and this sudden change, the Muhammadan families have lost those sources of private emoluments which could enable them to bestow much expenses on the education of their children and are deprived of that power which they formerly possessed of endowing or patronising public seminaries of learning.”²

¹ History and Problem of Muslim Education in Bengal by Khan Bahadur M. Asirul Haque, C.I.E.

² Warren Hastings in his minute of 21st January, 1788, as reproduced in Bengal Past and Present, pp. 109-111.

SOME OBSERVATION ON THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF MOHAN LAL KASMERIAN

H. R. GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.

II

17. WORK AT KABUL

AT Kabul Mohan Lal was employed in raising money from the bankers, "in translating numerous documents which we discovered relating to the dreadful intrigues of the different chiefs against us," and in carrying on negotiations with the Afghan chiefs.

After some time the affairs in Afghanistan took a serious turn. On the 2nd of November, 1841, an outbreak took place in Kabul. The houses of Mohan Lal, Captain Johnson and Sir A. Burnes were attacked and plundered and Sir A. Burnes was murdered. Mohan Lal was captured by the rebels, and would have been cut to pieces, had not Nawab Muhammad Zaman Khan saved him and taken him to the Persian quarters. He was given shelter in the house of Khan Shirin Khan, the Persian chief. Sir W. Macnaghten was murdered on the 23rd December and the British army was soon afterwards annihilated.

18. HIS ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION AT KABUL

Mohan Lal was not only familiar with the court and cabinet of Kabul, but he knew men of all sorts and kept himself acquainted with unofficial currents of opinion. He could talk freely to the highest officials, to chiefs of the tribes and families, to Mullahs and merchants, could put them at their ease and get the information which he wanted. His comprehensiveness was remarkable. The strife of politicians in the foreground did not blur the distant landscape. His despatches, varied and vivacious as they were, proved of the greatest value to the authorities, and furnished excellent reading to-day. His analysis of the Kabul situation is as follows:—(A) "The only mistakes which his lordship (Lord Auckland) committed during the whole Afghanistan affair were on these two points of the gravest importance, one, in

appointing two such talented men as Sir William Macnaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes to act at the same time in one field of honour: and the second was that on hearing of the outbreak at Kabul, he delayed in insisting upon the Commander-in-Chief to order an immediate despatch of the troops towards Peshwar.”

The differences between these two dignitaries had appeared very early when Sir Alexander Burnes joined the Army of the Indus at Shikarpur; says Mohan Lal: “Here Sir Alexander Burnes stated that he could not proceed with the army to Kabul, to dethrone Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, with whom we have dined, and who had treated us as private friends. He added, that his presence in that capital, while under Sir William Macnaghten, would cause a sort of difference in the opinion of the chiefs in that country.”

I quote a few more instances of this dissension:

“Abdullah Khan Achakzai could not bear the treatment we gave to the chiefs when they visited Sir Alexander Burnes. They were kept waiting for hours near the door-keeper and then referred to me, as he did not like to see them, for fear of being supposed desirous of interfering with the business of the envoy, as he notes himself in these words: ‘I am hardly to be blamed, for I have no responsibility, and why should I work?’”

Just a little before the outbreak took place at Kabul, Mohan Lal discussed the whole situation with Sir Alexander Burnes and asked him to change their policy. “The reply was that he does not like to meddle with the arrangements made by the envoy.”

On the 2nd of November, 1841, when Sir Alexander Burnes’s house was besieged by the rebels he sent a note to Sir William Macnaghten for help, but it was never sent. Says Mohan Lal: The rebels “were not accompanied with more than fifty men, but not a battalion was sent to our protection.”⁴ Further on he remarks: “The Shah’s own regiment, under Mr. Campbell came to support Sir Alexander Burnes and had a hard conflict with the rebels, and as they received no succour, they were at last obliged to give way, nearly all of them being cut to pieces, and their guns captured.”⁵

¹ Life of Dost Mohd., ii, 305.

² Travels, 446.

³ Punjab Govt. MS. Records, Book 41-c-62.

⁴ Vincent Eyre’s journal, 413.

⁵ Dost Mohd., ii, 407.

These mutual disagreements between Englishmen themselves, had considerably weakened the position of Sir W. Macnaghten. Before he went to meet Mohammed Akbar on the fatal day of his murder, he had "entreated the military authorities to have two regiments ready outside the cantonment, with the view that, if Mohammed Akbar Khan was sincere, he might employ them for offensive acts against Amin Ullah Khan and if he was not sincere, they would take a defensive part and protect his person."¹

In short Sir William Macnaghten went out of the cantonments to meet Mohammed Akbar, and "looked back and saw that no troops were ordered according to his suggestions."²

"Very extraordinary indeed was the heroism of the British officers and troops," says he "to see their chief murdered within the distance of a musket shot, in the face of the English camp, and yet not to fire a gun on the perpetrators of the murder, nor on the draggers of his body which lay for sometime in the plains; I repeat it here again, that if the pride of power had not wrought upon the minds of political chiefs, they were sufficiently aware of the impending danger, and fully able to destroy it before it broke open on our heads; and the insurrection would not have grown so fatally strong, and continued from the 2nd of November, to the 22nd of December, if four Companies of soldiers from the Cantonment had been sent to save Sir Alexander Burnes in the commencement of the outbreak. And if the two regiments, as ordered by Sir William Macnaghten, had been sent out when he proceeded to treat with Mohammed Akbar Khan, the envoy in all probability would not have been murdered."³

Even some Englishmen proved traitors to their own cause. They had unfair dealings with Mohammed Akbar Khan. Mohan Lal says that they "flattered him most imprudently by giving him the views of all the parliamentary speeches, and by assuring him that England will not keep possession of Afghanistan, but that it disapproved the policy of the Indian Government, and has ordered the evacuation of that country. Why such information and speeches were translated by some of us to please Akbar Khan is a matter for others to determine, and is not one of my suggesting."⁴

¹ *Dast Mohd.*, ii, 422-23.

² *Ibid.*, 423.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 427.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 425-26.

(B) BRITISH OFFICERS' INTRIGUES WITH AFGHAN WOMEN

Mohan Lal denies the rumour "believed in the circles of the high authorities both in Europe and in India," which he says "is a most unjust and misrepresented accusation against Sir Alexander Burnes, for intriguing with the ladies of Abdullah Khan, the Achakzai chief." Further on he says: "I know well that the exposure of the truth on this subject will cause the animosity of many persons towards me. However, I shall not mention the names of the persons."

(i) One of the favourite concubines of Abdullah Khan, a prominent chief and one of the principal leaders of the late outbreak, left his house, and took shelter in the house of a "Sahab Log." He could not get her back through polite applications to that officer, and he therefore sent his nephew to complain to Sir Alexander Burnes. Burnes, "instead of giving soft words to the sufferer, said angrily that he was making false accusations against 'Sahab Log,' and then turned him out of the presence."¹

(ii) "A gentleman who had taken up his quarters at the house of Nawab Jabbar Khan, won the heart of the favourite lady of his neighbour Nazir Ali Mohammed, and she, crossing the wall by the roof, came to him. The Nazir waited upon me, and I reported the circumstance to Sir Alexander Burnes while the defendant was breakfasting with him. He of course denied having ever seen the lady, on which the Nazir was dismissed, and I myself was always disliked from that day by that gentleman for reporting that fact..... The lady was openly sheltered at the house of the same gentleman, after some time, and came to India under the protection of his relatives."²

(iii) "A European subordinate to the staff officer contrived the escape of another lady to his residence in the Cantonment. The husband of the lady "complained to all the authorities, and offered a very large sum to the King to have his fair wife restored to him; but she was not given up. He at last sat at the door of Sir William Macnaghten, and declared that he had resolved to put an end to his own life by starvation. When that authority appeared partly determined to order the lady to be given to her lawful husband, she was secretly removed to a house in the city. Hereupon the envoy

¹ Dost Mohd., ii, 898-94.
² Ibid., ii, 894-95.

appointed two of his orderly men to enter the house, and to give her into the charge of the plaintiff; but now the very officer who had offended Nazir Ali Mohammed and Hazar Khan Kotwal came to Sir Alexander and begged him to pacify the envoy, which he agreed to do. On this a sum of four hundred or five hundred rupees was offered to the husband if he will give up his claim to his wife and Sir Alexander Burnes employed Naysab Sharif and Hayat Qaslabashi to persuade the poor husband of the lady to accept these terms, stating that otherwise he will incur the displeasure of that authority. The poor man had no remedy but to fly to Turkistan, without taking the above-mentioned sum." ¹

(iv) "Two other gentlemen lived opposite to the house of the Nawab Mohammed Zaman Khan and Quddos Khan, and wrought a change upon the affections of their respective favourites. When all endeavours failed to get them back, the good Nawab wrote a civil note to the possessor of his fair one, saying that he himself had no need for her, and that he (the Englishman) had better keep her for ever. That gentleman having now been joined by his own wife has at length left her, I think, in an unprovided and destitute condition. But the other one belonging to Quddos Khan is well and respectably treated by her paramour." ²

(v) Mir Ahmad Khan, brother of Abdullah Khan Achakzai was deprived of his fiancée. She was taken from the house of her parents and given shelter in the house of a "Sahab Log," and was never returned. ³

(vi) Even the menial servants forcibly brought Afghan women in the Cantonment. When Nawab Jubbar Khan was leaving the Cantonment after his visit to that place, he heard the shrieks of a woman "captured by a waterman of the Sergeant of the Mission." ⁴

Mohan Lal remarks:—

"These instances of gallantry in the gentlemen, with numerous cases of the same nature, were disgraceful and abhorrent to the habits and to the pride of the people whom we ruled and it was the partiality of Sir Alexander Burnes to his friends in these circumstances which

¹ Dost Mohd., ii, 395-97.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 397.

³ *Ibid.*, 397-98.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 236-37.

made him obnoxious to dislike, and wounded the feelings of the chiefs, who formerly looked upon him as their old friend and guardian.”¹

19. SECURING THE HEADS OF THE AFGHAN REBELS

Mohan Lal served the British Government not only by corrupting the Afghan chiefs by appealing to their cupidity and advancing them lakhs of rupees under the instructions of the envoy, but also in securing heads of certain leaders of the revolt. The former I omit for want of space, but will give a little attention to the latter, without going into details. Lieutenant John Conolly, the envoy's cousin and immediate political assistant, in a letter dated Bala Hissar, the 5th November, 1841, writes: “Tell the Kuzzilbash chiefs, Shereen Khan, Naib Sheriff, in a fact all the chiefs of Sheeah persuasion, to join against the rebels. You can promise one lakh of rupees to Khan Shereen on the condition of his killing and seizing the rebels and arming all the Sheeahs, and immediately attacking all rebels. This is the time for the Sheeahs to do good service. Explain to them that, if the Soonees once get the upper hand in the town, they will immediately attack and plunder their part of the town; hold out promises of reward and money; write to me very frequently. Tell the chiefs who are well disposed, to send respectable agents to the envoy. Try and spread *nifak* among the rebels. In everything that you do consult me, and write very often. Meer Hyder Purja Bashi has been sent to Khan Shereen, and will see you.”

And in a postscript to this letter appeared the words: “I promise 10,000 rupees for the head of each of the principal rebel chiefs.”²

On the 11th of November, John Conolly again wrote to Mohan Lal: “Why do you not write? What has become of Meer Hyder? Is he doing anything with Khan Shereen? You never told me whether you had written to Naib Humza. What do the rebels propose doing now? Have you not made any arrangements about the bodies of the murdered officers? Offer 2,000 rupees to any one who will take them to cantonments, or 1,000 to any one who will bury them. Has not Sir Alexander's body been found? Give my *salaam* to the Naib. If Khan Shereen is not inclined to do service try other Kuzzilbash chiefs independently. Exert yourself, write to me often,

¹ Dost Mohd., ii, 398.

² Quoted in Kaye's History, ii, 202.

for the news of the Kossids is not to be depended on. There is a man called Hadjee Ali, who might be induced by a bribe to try and bring in the heads of one or two of the mufsidis. Endeavour to let him know that 10,000 rupees will be given for each head, or even 15,000 rupees. I have sent to him two or three times.”¹

Mohan Lal consequently selected two men Mir Masjidi and Abdullah Khan who were “the boldest and most influential leaders of the insurgents,” and they “were soon numbered amongst the dead.”² Mohan Lal, with a Shylock nicety refused to pay the balance to the assassins, alleging that the heads had not, according to agreement, been brought in. Consequently, the assassins, disappointed of their blood money, did not take any further service of the same nature.

Mohan Lal had paid his own money to his secret agents for securing the murder of these two persons, and later on he claimed this money from the Government of India. I have traced a few letters on this subject in the Punjab Government Record Office. One of them addressed by A. F. Richmond, Agent, Governor-General N. W. Frontier to H. Currie, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, dated Ludhiana, the 18th November, 1843, says:—

“2. As desired by Mr. Thomason’s letter, I required Moonshee Mohan Lal to produce original letters which he willingly complied with, and assented to their being forwarded to Government in order that all doubt as to their authenticity might be removed by comparing the writing with that of other documents which doubtless are to be found in the Government Office. I, therefore, forward the original notes and letters numbered 1 to 10 inclusive, agreeably to the list which accompanies them.

“3. It appears almost superfluous my troubling you with any observations regarding these several documents, as they are sufficiently explanatory in themselves; and on perusal of them Government will have no difficulty in judging of the meaning intended to be conveyed by the instructions to Moonshee Mohan Lal, provided the letters are found to be authentic.”³

¹ Quoted in Kaye’s History, 218.

² *Ibid.*, 365-66.

³ Punjab Govt. MS. Records, Book 158, letter 168. All these letters addressed by Macnaghten to Mohan Lal have been discovered by me in the Imperial Records Department, and I am using them in the Biography of Mohan Lal.

20. RELEASE OF BRITISH PRISONERS

After some time Mohan Lal fell into the hands of Mohammed Akbar Khan who severely tortured him. Even in confinement when he was daily bastinadoed, he contrived to negotiate with various chiefs for the release of British prisoners, who were being taken across the Hindukush to Bokhara to be sold as slaves under the charge of Saleh Muhammad Khan, and he admirably succeeded in this undertaking. I quote here only a few acknowledgments to this effect:—

(i) Major-General Pollock to Major-General Lumley:—

“I cannot conclude without recording my opinion, that to Khan Sheereen Khan and Mohan Lal, may be attributed the safety of the prisoners.”

(ii) R. Shakespeare to the Governor-General:—

“Mohan Lal deserves the credit of having been the first to open the negotiation with Saleh Mohammad which so happily terminated in the release of our prisoners.”

(iii) J. Outram to the Governor-General:—

“Mohan Lal, of Indian celebrity, of whom you have read and heard as the travelling companion of Burnes, and the.....man who, amongst all the British prisoners at Kabul, did.....most to uphold our honour and rescue our countrymen: I am sure I need say no more to interest your Lordship; but I may add that you will find him most intelligent on all Indian subjects, and particularly conversant with all relating to the Sikhs and our north-western frontier.”

21. BACK TO INDIA

Mohan Lal reached back to Ludhiana in January, 1843. At Karnal he met Mr. George Clerk who displayed genuine interest in Mohan Lal's progress. He frequently recommended him to the Government, and when he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, he recommended him for the post of the Deputy Collector of Rohtak, but this proposal did not materialise owing to the severe opposition of Major Broadfoot whom he had offended in Afghanistan by dining in the officer's mess. Mr. Clerk then collected all the public records from the office in Fort William regarding his services

from 1831 to 1843, and submitted his case for the consideration of the Governor-General, and ultimately got him attached to the political agency on the North-Western Frontier, under the envoy at the court of Lahore.

22. VISIT TO ENGLAND AND GERMANY

Mohan Lal remained at Ludhiana, doing nothing, and therefore he obtained leave of absence for eighteen months. He left Ludhiana on the 2nd April, 1844. At Indore he met his friend Shahamat Ali, the Persian Secretary to the Resident. He sailed from Bombay on the 19th July.

Mohan Lal visited England, Scotland and Ireland and received warmest hospitality from hundreds of Englishmen, including dozens of Lords and Mayors who tried their best to make his visit interesting and pleasant. His Royal Highness Prince Albert invited him for an interview in the Buckingham Palace, and met him several times afterwards at other places. Lord Ashley presented him to Her Majesty Queen Victoria. Afterwards the Queen invited him to a ball in the Buckingham Palace.

The bazars and theatres of London reminded him of "the fabulous tales of the gardens of the fairies." About the houses of England he has a complaint. "The houses are regularly built but very small and hot, by keeping the windows always shut. I never allowed the windows of my bedroom to be altogether shut, and the curtains were never drawn. England is not so cold as the people pretend. I always wore a thin shirt and white trousers. The rooms where dancing is kept up in private balls are awfully heated. I once fainted in one of these rooms, in the month of February, while I was sitting and enjoying a dance." His complaint about London is the fog and the smoke of the place. He was also very much struck by the extreme poverty of Ireland. "It was heart-rending to see the men and women, with large families, walking without shoes and sufficient clothing in the most piercing cold." Mohan Lal then paid a visit to Belgium and Germany. At Berlin His Majesty Frederick William IV, King of Prussia, invited him to dinner. He was warmly received by the King and the Queen. The King shook hands with him, talked to him in beautiful English and afterwards presented him with "a most charming likeness of his Majesty the King of Prussia. It was exquisitely carved in ivory, in a frame of solid gold, richly

embossed and enamelled, and bearing the following inscription, in the German language:—

An
Mohan Lal Mirza,
Aus Dem Stamme
Der Firsten,
Von Kaschmir,

Friedrich Wilhelm IV
Konig Von Preussen,
M. Decc. XLV.

Mohan Lal returned from Europe about the end of 1846. The Directors of the East India Company granted him a pension of £1,000 per annum; but it was attached by Mohan Lal's creditors partly on account of the money borrowed by him in Afghanistan for the British forces on his own responsibility and which was not paid to him, and partly to his extravagant style of living. Mohan Lal then made piteous appeals to the British Government to give him a post of Mir Munshi even on Rs. 150 per mensem, but this request was never granted. So Mohan Lal spent his days of retirement in misery and misfortune.

23. CAPTURE AND ESCAPE DURING THE MUTINY

About his capture and escape in 1857, Mohan Lal states in a letter which we quote below:—

To

The Secretary of the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab,
Foreign Department, Lahore.

Sir,

I have the honour to state that after being plundered in Delhi on the 13th of May of all my property (excepting the library which was in next house) to the value of about 10,000 Rupees, and twice

seized by the mutineers for being shot, I managed on the 26th of May last to steal my escape from that city concealed in "Palkee" in the train of the family of "Wulleedad Khan" Talookdar of "Malaghur," 2 miles north of "Boolundshur" on the Meerut road, with the view of my going to Agra or Meerut.

2nd. "Wulleedad Khan" was a loyal subject and pensioner of the Government till the 10th of July last, during which space of time he continued to meet the collector and obey his orders.

3rd. Mr. Sapte, the collector, desired me to keep him informed of the state of things of "Malaghur" and its owner and thus I became the medium of his communications as will be seen by his letters marked in the margin and when Wulleedad Khan rebelled I became a prisoner.

4th. "Rao Goolab Singh" a loyal and greatly rich "Talookdar" sent a party of horsemen with letter (at my secret request) asking the rebels to release and send me to him, but the Traitor would not agree, having intention to murder me on the day of his Fort being attacked and favourable terms not granted to him by our Government.

5th. However through the aid of the merciful Providence I contrived on the 29th of July last to escape from the Fort of "Malaghur" to "Bahadur Ghur" on the Ganges, where Mr. Sapte, the collector of Boolund Shuhur, and Mr. Dunlop, the collector of Meerut, sent me letters as marked in the margin. The latter gentleman did also send an escort kindly for my protection.

6th. In Meerut Mr. Williams, the Commissioner, requested me to submit to him the plan of the "Malaghur" Fort with report on its defences and which I have given him as you will see by the copies of the report and acknowledgments marked in the margin and now a force has been sent to punish the traitor.

7th. In a few days I shall be at Kurnaul. If it would please the Chief Commissioner to employ my poor services with force, or with an officer, coming to the camp before Delhie, they are at his disposal. It is the bounden duty of every loyal subject and faithful servant of the British Government to volunteer himself for services in any way they may be required of him at this crisis.

8th. May the British flag be hoisted on the Palace of Delhi, and

in every disturbed station, and the rebels' annihilation are my poor prayers to the almighty God.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

4th Sept., 57.

Mohan Lal.

Meerut.

Tell Munshi Mohun Lal that I am much obliged to him for his letter and narrative, but that I have no occasion for his services.

1857 Deptt.

From

Moonshee Mohun Lal,

Meerut,

D/4

8th Sept.

R. 8 Sept.

Forwarded copies of certain documents and details, the manner he effected his escape from the insurgents at Delhi and Malagurh and offers his services for employment on the present emergency.

24. CONCLUSION

To conclude this sketch I may perhaps record that Mohan Lal embraced Islam, became a Shia. retained his assumed name of Hasan Jan and got the appellation of Agha into the bargain. He was probably led to take this step in view of his long residence in Muslim countries, his constant association with the Muslim style of life, the non-co-operation of his Hindu brethren and last but not least the presence of Muslim women in his harem. At Ludhiana, where Mohan Lal seems to have settled down, there is a road called Mohan Lal Road and Imambara known as Imambara of Agha Hasan Jan situated in the Mohan Lal Road. In the Imambara there lives a gentleman named Agha Muhammad Fasih who declares himself a descendant of Mohan Lal and in this capacity receives an allowance of four rupees per mensem from the British Government. The gentleman appears in very poor circumstances; when I visited him last, I found him in the company of a few young men, probably playing at cards, in a small, dirty room furnished with a broken mat and a rotten *charpai*. He received me very hospitably and served me with a lemonade drink in spite of my protests. He also showed me some papers about Mohan Lal containing a few typed memorials and memoranda.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Death of James Joyce

Mr. James Joyce, the noted writer and author of "Ulysses," has died at a Zurich hospital, aged 56.

Death of Henri Bergson

The death at the age of 82 of Dr. Henri Bergson, the noted French philosopher, is announced in a Vichy Press message.

Henri Louis Bergson was regarded as the greatest French thinker of his day. He represented the modern æsthetic philosophic movement and added scope to the theory of life which is known as Neo-Lamarckism. He was the most strenuous opponent of the mechanical conception of life.

In his most profound work, "L'Évolution Créatrice" Bergson broke completely with all philosophic systems of the past and opened out new ways of thought which led to surprising conclusions. The importance of this book is regarded as equal to that of Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason." In "Le Rire" he struck out in quite a different direction and dealt with the question of the comic spirit. The two works "Matière et Mémoires" and "Introduction à la Métaphysique" gave rise to lively discussions when they first appeared. Among his other books are "Essai sur les Données Immédiates" and "L'Énergie Spirituelle."

Bergson was in 1901 elected a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Philosophiques and in 1914 of the French Academy. He was also a member of the Council of the Legion of Honour. In November, 1928, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Born in Paris, Bergson received his early education at the Lycée Condorcet and later attended the École Normale Supérieure. On completing his training he was appointed teacher of the history of literature. In 1883 he became professor of philosophy at the Angers Lycée and two years later he went to Clermont where he held a similar post. From 1888 to 1889 he was professor at the Collège Rollin, from 1889 to 1897 at the Lycée Henri IV and from 1897 to 1900 he was "Maître de Conférences" at the École Normale. From 1900 to 1921 he was a member of the staff of the Collège de France in Paris.

Literacy Day in U. P. .

The U. P. Government has decided to observe February 16, as the Literacy Day throughout the province to focus the attention of the public

on the efforts that are being made to eradicate illiteracy from the province and to take stock of the work done last year.

People and institutions interested in the cause of literacy have been invited to co-operate with the local workers to make the "Day" as successful as during the previous years.

"The important feature of the programme will" says a Press Note "be the part to be played by the students. Students should be specially invited to take a pledge to work for the literacy and 'no thumb impression' campaign during the summer vacation. Many Anglo-Vernacular institutions and vernacular Middle Schools have literacy associations. These associations should be encouraged to take their proper share in the celebrations

"Now that the scheme has also been introduced among women it is very desirable that co-operation of the public-spirited ladies should be sought for and local ladies should be requested to take full share in the Literacy Day celebrations."

Rural Careers for Medical Men

The suggestion that a larger number of medical practitioners should settle in villages was made by Dr. Saratshasi Sirkar, in his Presidential Address at the Annual Re-Union of past and present students of the National Medical Institute at 32, Gorachand Road, Calcutta.

After referring to the lack of facilities for proper medical treatment in rural areas Dr. Sirkar described the various difficulties that stood in the way of medical practitioners in villages. He said that despite these difficulties a larger number of qualified medical men should practise in villages, for this would not only benefit the villagers but would also solve to some extent the problem of unemployment among medical men. He also suggested that Government should establish at least one charitable dispensary in each union.

Mr. Rabindranath Ray, Chairman of the Reception Committee, referred to the prevalence of quacks in villages and said that until Government eradicated this evil by legislation the condition of medical licentiates would not improve.

Literacy Campaign

The Allahabad University Social Service League started its cent. per cent. adult literacy campaign in the rural areas close to the University. A party of members of the League left for nearby villages in connection with rural uplift work and to organise a village adult school at Usarahi.

Mysore State Students' Conference

The view that students could no more separate their academic life from real life than a judge could separate his judicial from actual life was expressed by Dr. K. B. Krishna, the Andhra leader, presiding over the Second Mysore State Students' Conference at the Town Hall.

Referring to views recently expressed by Sir Maurice Gwyer on the question, Dr. Krishna said that the Chief Justice had assured them that he had no desire or intention to interfere with the political views of students. Sir Maurice wanted that a clear line should be drawn between the students' academic life and his working hours on the one hand and his outside activities on the other. Dr. Krishna declared that such a separation in actual life was impossible.

Historical Records Commission

The Government of India, it is understood, have been considering the question of re-organising the Indian Historical Records Commission and have already prepared a memorandum on the proposed re-organisation.

It is further understood, Government have sought the views of the provincial governments and the universities on the subject.

18th Century Indian History

Fresh materials to write Indian history of the 18th century, it is understood, have been secured by Dr. N. K. Sinha, Lecturer in History, Calcutta University from reprints of all the MSS. published as also transcripts of unpublished materials to be found at Lisbon, Portugal and Nova Goa (Portuguese India) relating to Portuguese relations with Mysore. An attempt is now being made to get all these Portuguese papers translated into English. Dr. Sinha proposes to make over all these papers, published and unpublished, including their English translation, to the University Library which are expected to be a very valuable addition to its collection.

Military Training

The recent speed-up of advanced training for officers to meet the steadily growing requirements of the defence expansion now in progress is bearing fruit, but, it is pointed out, difficulties are still being felt in obtaining a sufficient number of suitable candidates as cadets for emergency commissions.

Following expansion and intensification of the training of all grades of officers, about a hundred officers will go through the Quetta Staff College every half year. This is some four times the peace-time quota.

The junior officers' training school at Poona, which trains junior officers in the responsibilities of company commanders, has from September last year embarked on a course designed to train 100 officers every two months.

The senior wing of the officers' training school at Belgaum has from April last year been training over 40 every two months in the responsibilities of battalion commanders. This wing is in the near future to be amalgamated at Poona with the Poona School, and the combined output will exceed 20 senior and 80 junior officers trained for battalion and company command respectively every 6 weeks.

As regards new recruitment, despite wide-spread publicity, Indian candidates for emergency commission of a standard suitable to be called

up for final interview by the central interview board have not so far become available in the number required.

Advisory Board of Education

The Central Advisory Board of Education concluded its session in Madras recently. It is understood that unanimous agreement was reached on all the questions discussed.

It has been decided to release for sale to the public in future reports of the Proceedings of the Board when these have been confirmed. Until now the proceedings have been kept confidential. A report on the proceedings of the last meeting will be available on February 1.

The Board accepted the invitation of Sir Akbar Hydari, on behalf of the Nizam's Government, to hold its next meeting at Hyderabad on a date to be fixed by the chairman.

Miscellany

THE TREATMENT OF CRIMINALS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

In 1936, the Soviet Government promised a new All-Union criminal code to replace the individual codes existing in each of the seven Republics which made up the Union at that time. As yet there has been no new code enacted, but there has been published a considerable number of articles revealing the outline of the code to come. Writers have not limited themselves to discussion of technical details. They have re-examined basic theories set forth twenty years ago when the first statement of policy relating to criminal law was adopted.

The choice of penalties open to Soviet judges is set forth in part in Article 20 of the 1926 Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R., and it runs from warnings and fines to banishment, compulsory labor in labor camps, or imprisonment. By Article 21, there is added as "an exceptional measure of social defence," the supreme penalty of shooting. In subsequent articles, the code provides for conditional sentences in the form of a suspension of the sentence pending good behavior for a certain specified time, and conditional release before the expiration of the sentence under a system of parole.

Many of these forms of punishment or social defence have fallen into complete disuse. No longer are citizens deprived of their citizenship and banished from the U.S.S.R. This was a penalty which was of value only so long as persons who had worked all their lives for revolution looked upon banishment from the scene of their hopes and struggles as the worst kind of penalty, and only so long as enemies banished abroad could not be of service to outside elements seeking to use disaffected persons in their efforts to unseat the Stalin government. All of the other penalties on the list remain in use, although often not in the manner which early leaders expected.

Lenin sounded the keynote of the early period. He wrote in February, 1919, that there must be greater use of the privilege of suspending sentence, of the penalty of public reprimand, and of the favourite of Soviet penologists—the penalty of correctional labor without deprivation of liberty. Of recent years, the trend appears to have been away from these milder forms. Unfortunately, the statistics for most recent years have not yet been published in detail. Taking the recent sketchy figures with more detailed reports for early years, and with the articles of writers in Soviet legal periodicals who demand a return to the less vigorous policy advocated by Lenin, one gets the impression that, as the total number of criminals diminishes, the remaining criminals face courts which have been showing an inclination toward the more severe forms of punishment which make up in immediate protective qualities what they lack as long-range rehabilitative factors.

Statistics showing the distribution of sentences for the years 1928 to 1934 in the R.S.F.S.R. are as follows:—

Table 1. Forms of Penalties in the R.S.F.S.R. in Percentages

Types of Treatment	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Suspended sentence	7.3	3.4	2.7	4.1	1.1	1.2	1.4
Deprivation of freedom							
(1) To one year	25.6	3.8	1.8	1.9	1.5	0.7	1.4
(2) One to three years	3.9	5.9	6.2	9.1	10.9	11.5	12.7
(3) Three to five years	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0	2.7	4.5	4.6
(4) Over five years	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.6	3.8	12.3	7.0
Total*	31.2	11.7	9.6	12.6	18.9	29.0	25.7

* These totals are of the item "Deprivation of freedom" only. They do not include "Suspended sentence."

Types of Treatment	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Correctional labor	22.0	50.8	56.9	57.5	54.2	49.7	56.9
Banishment from populated areas with or without obligation to live in specified place	...	1.6	4.5	7.3	3.9	4.3	0.5
Fines	31.0	26.7	17.1	13.1	12.2	7.2	5.3
Public reprimand	2.6	4.4	6.0	4.2	3.7	2.2	2.2
Deprivation of civil and other rights	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.08	0.06
Other measures	0.1	0.4	2.5	0.9	5.84	6.3	7.9
Freed from punishment	5.6	0.7	0.2	0.1	0.86	0.04	0.02

As is made clear by these tables, the tendency toward deprivation of freedom has been increasing, but the penalty of correctional labor without deprivation of liberty has also retained much of its popularity with Soviet judges. This latter penalty has long been used as a means of punishing the delinquent while leaving him in the current of his daily life, so that he may make use of the opportunity of continued employment to re-establish himself as a law-abiding citizen. In essence, the penalty is a mild one, and has been hailed as indicative of the emphasis of the Soviet penal policy upon rehabilitation rather than punishment. A sentence of this nature provides that the person so sentenced shall work

at a specified place, usually the one in which he was employed at the time of committing the crime, for periods ranging up to a year. During this time, the employer must deduct a fixed percentage from his wages, as defined in the sentence. The labour union officials are also to be notified, and it is expected that the criminal will be subjected to some measure of social censure. During the term of the sentence, the person under sentence is not allowed credit toward a pension or toward increases in wages which occur periodically in accordance with the length of time spent on the job.

A similar Table brings the figures up to 1935 for the entire U. S. S. R. It reads as follows:—

Table 2. Forms of Penalties in the U. S. S. R. in Percentages, 1935

Types of Treatment	First Half-year	Second Half-year
Suspended sentence	7.1	7.3
Deprivation of freedom		
(1) To one year	0.8	1.4
(2) From one to three years	19.3	20.5
(3) From three to nine years	13.5	15.7
(4) For ten years	1.9	1.8
Total *	35.5	39.1
Correctional labor	50.2	46.2
Fines	5.0	5.0
Other measures	2.2	2.1

* "Deprivation of freedom" only; does not include "Suspended sentence."

The Table for the R. S. F. S. R. has recently brought the totals nearly up to date, as follows:—

Table 3. Forms of Penalties in the R. S. F. S. R. in Percentages

Types of Treatment	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938 (1st half-year)
Deprivation of freedom	25.7	36.3	39.3	44.6	38.4
Correctional labor	56.9	50.1	46.8	40.4	48.7
Other (fines, etc.)	17.4	18.6	18.9	15.0	17.9

Examination of the mass of material appearing in the Prosecutor's journal may throw some light upon the trend of thinking of Soviet jurists as regards the penalty of correctional labor without deprivation of liberty. The controversy was opened by one of the most popular *Dotsents* in the Moscow Judicial Institute who wrote that the aspects of social censure were no longer present, for in many cases the fellow-workmen in the factory did not even know that sentence had been passed. He also argued that courts followed developments so little that persons under sentence moved freely from job to job, the only restriction being that they were required to notify the employer at the new job of his duty to deduct part of the wage at the source and pay it over directly to the officers of the court. Because of this situation, it was argued that the only feature of importance left to the penalty was the deduction from wages, which amounted to nothing more than a fine paid by instalments due on each pay day. The argument of the *Dotsent* was supported by a writer who declared that he wrote from five years' experience as the chief of a bureau whose task it was to supervise persons sentenced in this manner. He reported that supervision had generally become unimportant and that it would be better to replace this hybrid penalty with an out-and-out fine, or with a decree suspending sentence during a probationary period.

While these men were criticizing, a heavy attack was levelled at these critics for failing to appreciate the real extent of social censure involved. The critics were found to have erred in failing to evaluate correctly the very real loss which resulted to a person prevented from counting his time at the job while under the sentence in qualifying subsequently for a pension and for promotion. Of recent months the editors of the Prosecutor's journal have indicated their approval of the penalty, and there is every indication that it will appear among the penalties provided for in the new All-Union Code. The approval of the editors represents a victory for the retention of penalties fitted in principle to the rehabilitation of criminals. At the same time, it has been indicated by the critics of the present system that in practice the penalty has lost its features as originally planned and has become a punishment in the form of an instalment fine. Time will tell whether the practice of the courts bends to the goading of the theorists who have risen in defence of a programme which was suffering under the carelessness of the judicial and administrative authorities — J. N. Hazard of the Institute of Current World Affairs in the *American Sociological Review* (August, 1940).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Vivekanander Katha-O-Galpa.—By Swami Premaghanananda. Published by Ramakrishna Mission Vidyapith, Deoghar, Sonthal Parganas. 3rd edition. Pp. 96. Price 8 as.

Swami Premaghanananda has offered in this book some of the stories told by Swami Vivekananda to his American audiences, mostly for purposes of religious instruction. They represent the virtue and wisdom associated with Hindu genius and have usually been taken from the sacred books of the Hindus. The lesson they convey is high and elevating but the stories themselves have a wonderful simplicity which has been preserved in their present Bengali version. There is also a story about a Mahomedan Faqir in this book which the Swamiji had originally heard from Ramakrishna. Like most of the other stories in the present collection, it shows what great things are done by faith in God.

Swami Premaghanananda has prefixed an account of Vivekananda's life to his book. The life and work of Vivekananda will form one of the brightest chapters in a history of modern India. It will do our country good to remember his message. The greatness of his love for his fellowmen, the lesson of self-reliance and courage he taught, his faith in God and the strength and manliness of his temper are things which we should never forget.

Swami Premaghanananda's book is meant for juvenile readers and has been written in an easy, idiomatic, and attractive style. The stories will convey both pleasure and instruction, without any of that didacticism of manner which so often spoils books written for children. It will be good if the author finds time to bring out a number of other books for young readers, containing the teaching of Vivekananda and Ramakrishna through fables and stories, along the lines of the present work.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

A History of Tirupati.—By Rajasevasakta Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishna-swami Aiyangar. Vol. I. Published by Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Committee.

On the hills of Tirupati stands the famous shrine of Venkatesa, one of the most sacred spots of South India, where pilgrims from far and near flock in thousands, especially on auspicious and festive occasions. It enjoys an eminence, seldom enjoyed by any other holy place in South India, and a mass of tradition and literature has, by degrees, accumulated round the establishment. It is befitting, therefore, that the Devasthanam Committee has thought it proper to compile a history of the shrine and place it before the public. It is also a matter for congratulation that the Committee could requisition the services of Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, whose researches in South Indian history are well known.

In seventeen chapters the author has given us the history of the Tirupati establishments from its foundation down to the end of the 18th century A.D. He has drawn his materials from literature as well as from inscriptions and should be congratulated on the vast mass of information that he has been able to gather. With infinite labour and painstaking energy he has

rummaged the pages of old literature, both Tamil and Sanskrit, as well as the files of inscriptions, and brought to his aid such an amount of material as would do credit to any researcher.

Literature and tradition have been the chief sources of his information from the earliest times down to the time of Rāmānuja, the great Vaiṣṇava teacher, who flourished in the latter part of the 11th century and the early part of the 12th. It appears, however, that too much stress has been laid on the works of the early Alvars, whose dates, again—2nd or 3rd centuries A.D. to the 8th century A.D. as given by the author—are not acceptable to all. Nammalvar, the fifth of the saints in question, gives evidence of a highly elaborate hierarchical cult of Viṣṇu in *vyūha*, *vibhava* and *arccā* forms as well as of the emotional side of Viṣṇu worship, for which reasons it is difficult to place him in the very early period to which the author is inclined to assign him. Moreover, the religious predilections of these Alvars, as exhibited in the works attributed to them, indicate for them a late date, when sects had begun to form distinctly. The Pūtanā episode referred to in some of the works of the Alvars presupposes a knowledge of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata tradition, which is certainly later, much later, than the period, of which the author is speaking. The numerous extracts from the classical Tamil literature and the literature of the Alvars are fine pieces of poetic composition and religious devotion. They are useful for a proper study of the growth of the Vaiṣṇava cult and philosophy. But, we are afraid, they do not prove much as regards the antiquity of the shrine—first, because the dates suggested are not always beyond doubt, and secondly, because the references to the shrine are not always explicit.

Regarding the founder of Tirupati, the author himself betrays some confusion between the Tondaman of the so-called Purāṇic tradition and the Tiraiyan of the Sangam tradition. The traditions are so confusing and full of legendary matter that it is better to leave them out in sober history. The author has not cited the exact references of the Purāṇic tradition and the alleged Purāṇic version, placing the date of the organisation of the shrine between the institution of the era "now-a-days" known by the name of Vikramāditya and that of the Saka, hardly merits serious consideration unless the authentic character of the tradition is demonstrated by references to relevant texts.

In spite of the author's attempt to prove the staunch Viṣṇuite character of the shrine, the composite nature of the deity is quite evident even in the professedly eulogistic extracts in honour of Viṣṇu. Apart from the apparent Śivaite elements in the composition of the deity, there are others, which may belong to the cult of some folk god, and the idea is not quite improbable that the shrine in its origin belonged to some primitive folk-cult, that was later on incorporated into the orthodox system under the all-absorbing cult of the great god Viṣṇu, to whom all others are made subordinate.

During the early period, i.e., till the 8th century A.D., the inscriptions are not very helpful for the history of the shrine. From the period of Chola ascendancy, however, there are more and more references to the establishment in the royal charters, and a history of the shrine on these data is more or less well grounded. Yet one or two inaccuracies demand notice. The British Museum plates of Chārudevī are quite explicit in indicating the relationship of three generations of early Pallava kings—(1) Mahārāja Vijaya Skandavarman in whose reign the grant was issued, (2) his son Yuva-mahārāja Vijaya Buddhavarman, the latter's wife Chārudevī who issued the grant and who was the mother of (3) Buddhyaṅkura. Hence the statement of the author (p. 218) that the charter was issued by the

queen-regent in the name of her minor son Vijaya Buddhavarman, sometimes read as Buddhyaṅkura, is surprising. Vijaya Buddhavarman and Buddhyaṅkura were two different persons, father and son, and Chārudevī was the queen, not the mother, of Vijaya Buddhavarman, who was the son of Vijaya Skandavarman. The identification of Yuva-mahārāja Viṣṇugopa with Kumāravaiṣṇu, again, is not tenable.

In spite of these limitations, the work is a useful contribution, as giving within a reasonable compass much of the available material for a study of the history of this famous shrine. A number of plates enhances the value of the publication.

S. K. SARASWATI

Dharma and Society.—By Gualtherus H. Mees, M.A. (Cantab.), LL.D. (Leyden). Published by N.V. Servire, The Hague, and Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1. Pp. xvi + 206, 4to 1935. Paper 9s 6d net, cloth 12s 6d net.

The justification for reviewing a book like the one prepared by Dr. Mees five years ago is that the subject has a perennial interest for all students of Indian culture. The catholicity of Indian outlook in all human concerns, its pronounced concern for humanity in the crises of individual existence, its earnest and constant attempt to attain to something like a balance between other-worldliness and the stern reality which sharply comes out at every corner of life's progress—all these are in marked contrast to the elaborate system of caste which Hindu society has built up and which bids fair to stand four-square to all the political winds that blow, not excluding the latest drive by Mahatma Gandhi.

The subject has attracted Dr. Mees, and naturally ; Dr. Mees has been in constant touch with Indian thought ; he has imbibed no irreverence for the thought from social prejudice or political position. He has tried to analyse the conception of Dharma as in the Hindu thought, and to define it accurately as far as possible ; he has then proceeded to treat caste in the same way, and also to enquire into its origin : this is in brief the subject of the first part of the book. In the second part, he has tried to clarify some aspects and attributes of *varṇa* and caste, and to throw light upon some historical and actual social problems, in India and outside.

Dr. Mees has sought to confine Dharma to scriptural interpretation ; but the idea is broad-based in the people's heart. Irrespective of scriptural sanction, the word finds a sympathetic response in the man in the street in India, however 'unlettered' or 'unemployed' the man may be. At least in Bengal, where the cult of Dharma-Rāja has long been in vogue in the western parts, the associations of the word are difficult to understand only by reference to the ancient books of knowledge. This Dharma-Rāja is different from the personified form of Dharma of the same name referred to by the learned author on p. 38.

Dr. Mees comments on the Āśrama system in these concluding words of the Part I of his book : "one may say that the Āśrama system has on the whole been applied and followed rather faithfully ; perhaps not so much in the consummate social realization of the various *virtues* of the four grades as according to the intention and spirit of the *fourfold division* of man's life. The weakness of the Āśrama system lies in that it was conceived only for persons high in the cultural hierarchy" (pp. 75-76). The comment, if the reviewer is allowed to say so, had been anticipated and answered by Prof.

Radhakrishnan in his book *The Hindu View of Life* on p. 92, in the concluding paragraph of his third lecture, and the words are worth quoting: "When the wick is ablaze at its tip, the whole lamp is said to be burning."

Dr. Mees seems to be in favour of varna as opposed to caste. It is not possible to hold that there is any antagonism between the two, but it is necessary to realise how society may again be constituted on the basis of some well thought-out plan. The welter to which society is being recklessly driven all over the world will seem to be appalling to all lovers of humanity, and the way out of the impasse is to co-ordinate our thoughts, ideas and actions *vis-a-vis* politics and society, the reconstruction of which looms large in all future programmes for the stabilisation of the world.

However we may translate the word varna, it has always some reference to colour, as defining a race. This implication cannot be ignored in any explanation of Varna, but must underlie it.

Dr. Mees is to be congratulated on contributing to the problem that seems to be eternally demanding our attention and never capable of a final solution.

There are certain inaccuracies in the book. On p. 113 there is a mention of Mr. A. V. Thakur of the Servants of India Society; the correct name is Thakkar, not Thakur.

The following passage by itself contains many misstatements: "The so-called 'pagan renaissance' in Bengal brought forth the great poet Michael Madhusudan Dutt. The Brahmo Samāj, a religious movement to reform Hinduism and to combine the best elements of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, spread from Bengal to some other provinces. Ram Mohun Roy, Devendranath Tagore, Kesav Chandra Sen were its pioneers and leaders. When the Brahmos began to lose their solidarity, the Ārya Samāj was founded to renew Hinduism internally. The saint Ramakrishna followed in the footsteps of the mediaeval saints. At times he broke all possible caste-rules, as also his great disciple Vivekananda" (p. 101).

This is fair neither to Brahmo Samāj nor to Ārya Samāj, neither to Ramakrishna nor to Vivekananda. It would be interesting to know the sources of Dr. Mees' information on these particular points and to his reasons for accepting them. Was it on trust, or after examination?

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Co-operative Farming.—By S. K. Dey, I.C.S., Magistrate and Collector of the Nadia District. Published by Indira Dey, Collector's House, Nadia. Pages 121. Price Rupee One.

It is an outline of the theory and practice of a scheme in Agricultural Economics now being tried in the Nadia District in Bengal under the guidance of the author himself. The author has analysed the economic forces which are at the root of the agrarian situation in Bengal and has given an indication of the new forms for the organization of these forces so as to yield better and more profitable results. He has reached his conclusions from practical experience in the fields and as such they are not merely of theoretical value.

The fundamental problem in the agricultural situation, according to the writer, is the dependence of an increasing population on a fixed supply of land. But since the agricultural industry is being run at a loss, the solution of the economic problem lies in relieving the pressure of population

on agriculture through industrial expansion, which naturally requires a good deal of time. Meanwhile, to alleviate the immediate situation and to accustom the people to the advantages of large scale operations, the author has advocated and tried the experiment of co-operative farming through consolidation and amalgamation of existing land fragments.

The author is an economist and as head of the District has opportunities of giving practical shape to his ideas. The scheme as outlined is now being tried at three places in Nadia, the largest experiment being carried through the Jehangirpur farm in Krishnagar under the direct supervision of the Collector himself.

The theoretical discussions and conclusions of the author as also the practical proposals set forth by him are sure to be of considerable interest not only to social workers but also to the public in general.

The Appendices at the end of the book give practical idea of the scheme outlined.

SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYYA

The India That Shall Be.—By Annie Besant. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1940. Pp. 265.

Price Re. 1-12.

Indian Politics has always been marked by a spiritual substratum that makes it more akin to the prophetic wisdom of the Hebrews than to the temporal shrewdness of modern European statecraft. The cosmopolitan sentiments of India place it even above ancient Israel which could never shake off its racial narrowness. An Indian Jonah would never grudge the deliverance of a Ninevah. And it appears from the spiritual emphasis in the political thought of modern India that the fulfilment of its political aspirations would synchronise with the moral awakening of the world at large. "The India That Shall Be," which is a collection of signed articles by Annie Besant, contains the social and political ideas of a woman who was both a political leader and an inspired thinker. Many of her utterances contained in this volume have the impassioned accent of a seer. "The world cannot feel assured of lasting peace with one-fifth of its population in a state of unrest, held down by repressive legislation." The world is now too grievously feeling the truth of what she said twenty years ago.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Congress in Office: Speeches and other Contributions by C. R. Reddy, M.A., (Cantab.), Hon. D.Litt., M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, Waltair. Collected and Edited by Abdul Hameed Khan, M.L.A., Ex-Mayor of Madras, Editor-in-Chief, "Deccan Times."

Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan, who has collected Dr. Reddy's speeches and writings, has done so with the avowed object of dealing "with the constitutional issues arising out of the Congress's acceptance of office," because he believes that a way out of the present impasse may be suggested by a careful analysis—such as Dr. Reddy offers—of the forces at work in the political atmosphere of our country to-day. Mr. Hameed has said in his short but valuable preface that the communal troubles which are rife in our unfortunate country owe more to false propaganda than to anything else.

Dr. Reddy has given in these pages a survey of the Indian situation from many different aspects and although he does not always see eye to eye with the Congress, he does not hesitate to declare: "Irrespective of Party, I am sure the good wishes of all will be with the Congress, for they can secure the conquest of power from England, its transference from the British into Indian hands, better probably than their political rivals in India." He has urged the Congress to co-operate with Government in forming an Indian Federation and carrying on its work. For he believes that the special powers belonging to the Viceroy under the Federation will not be exercised and that unless a compromise is effected by the Congress the cause of progress will suffer. The Congress, however, is unwilling to develop this accommodating spirit.

Dr. Reddy sees in international-mindedness a cure for obscurantism in politics. In his view, unless the past ceases to overshadow us, there is no hope of a united India and the problem of communal differences will continue a serious menace to the peace and progress of the country.

Dr. Reddy's views on the Princes, Minorities, and Communities deserve to be studied with care. But opinion on these matters is still greatly divergent and no amount of discussion is likely to achieve the necessary unanimity. Dr. Reddy seems to recognise the fact when he points out that Hindu-Muslim unity without which a national state in India cannot arise can take place only by the mediation of Mahatma Gandhi and not by talks and discussions. In our country the right kind of leadership is extremely valuable and the vast majority in India still look up to the Mahatmaji for guidance.

Dr. Reddy's speeches cannot be read without an occasional feeling of annoyance on account of the words like 'Laughter,' 'Loud Laughter' and 'Cheers' which are scattered profusely through the reports of his public utterances. These no doubt show the extent of his popularity but a detached reader feels that they are a constant hindrance to serious reflection, in the interest of which Dr. Reddy might have less played the rôle of a conscious humourist.

Dr. Reddy as an exponent of constitutional problems in India is thoughtful, analytical and sound. A student of Indian politics will find his views informed and enlightened.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Sainik Bangali.—By Subadar M. B. Sing. Second Edition.

Bengalees are not a military race. But this is not to say that the Bengalees are cowards. That they are well at the lyre is no proof that they cannot wield a sword; that they have not killed their thousands is no proof that they cannot die in thousands for a noble cause. There is a kind of deadly intoxication in warfare which almost eliminates a soldier's fear of death. During the last fifty years the youths of Bengal have displayed the nobler and rarer heroism of dying sober on the scaffold and dying by degrees in the prison-house. A pusillanimous nation cannot breed such monsters. The heroism of Bengal is the heroism of a willing martyr; it is never the heroism of a professional and uniformed slaughterer.

In the last Great War the 49th Bengali Regiment showed that sturdiness and discipline, that quickness and bravery, which make the best of soldiers. The Bengali Regiment did not have to take the firing line but

the service which they rendered by standing and waiting, and the part which they took in suppressing the rebellion at Kurdistan displayed all the qualities of efficient and fearless soldiers. "Sainik Bangali," which is the private journal of a Bengali soldier of the 49th Bengali Regiment, is a lively document of heroic Bengal which proves once for all that, if they will, the Bengalees can fight and fight gloriously at that. It represents the feelings of the youths of a noble and puissant nation unable to assert herself owing to lack of opportunities. If the Bengalees be given a good military training, they would give a glorious account of their efficiency and valour. It is time that England had known that the Davids of Bengal do not only sing, but they can also slay a Goliath.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

East India Company (1784-1834).—By C. H. Philips, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Manchester University Press. Pp. 374.

Before the Mutiny, the Government in India very often acted independently of the Company's home government. When Ellenborough became President of the Board of Control, he was shocked to find that the Board was dealing with events that had taken place in India two years before. Moreover, the relations between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control were the most variable in character. In these circumstances, a tendency to ignore the Company's home government has become very visible among students of British Indian history.

Dr. Philips gives us, I believe for the first time, a very thorough account of the influence exerted by the Board of Control, the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors on British policy in India and the relative value and importance of these parts. He gives us very full information as to the extent of influence exercised by the Presidents and the force and direction of the pressure exercised by the East India Company interest in England.

The author very effectively refutes views that have come to be generally accepted. A group of historians have emphasised that the India policy of the Directors was directed to keep their dividends at a high level and by their desire to increase their patronage. But dividends were fixed by the Acts of 1784 and 1793 and were payable from the sure profits of the China trade. They opposed the aggressive policy of Wellesley and Hastings, though these conquests increased their patronage. The Directors' attitude was explained by Grant in the following words: "The Company's position of equilibrium is overshot. In the sphere of ruling there is to be discovered an optimum spread of such power as the ruler may possess and beyond that limit there is the danger of disruption of energy and loss of effectiveness relative to the powers expended." Dr. Philips proves that the direction provided the essentials of successful home government, the necessary knowledge and stability. The Presidents saw India in terms of the English political situation. The Company's home government on the whole worked well and with the advantage of detachment could compare developments in Madras with those in Bengal, realised quite early the inevitability of higher teaching through the medium of English and checked the Bengal Government's attempt to force the system of their district administration on the other provinces.

The narrative of the tussle between the president of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors is very interesting reading and supports the contention that, generally speaking, a united direction could successfully resist the president. Wellesley has left his impress on British Indian history as the most expansionist governor-general. But the Dundas-Wellesley correspondence shows that the President was ever more grabbing than the governor-general. Wellesley wrote to him: "If you will have a little patience the death of the Nizam will probably enable me to gratify your voracious appetite for lands and fortresses. Seringapatam ought, I think, to stay your stomach for a while, not to mention Tanjore and the Poligar country. Perhaps I may be able to give you a supper of Oudh and the Carnatic, if you should still be hungry." Ellenborough as president is proved to have been a man of some insight. He sent the first despatch for 30 years from England which enjoined on the Indian government an extended interference in the internal affairs of native states.

Dr. Philips shows a sharp and unerring power of finding his way through masses of figures and details. This book will serve as a guide to those who want to work on the British period of Indian history where the available material is extraordinarily voluminous,

N. K. SINHA

Ourselves

[I. *Knighthood for the Vice-Chancellor.*—II. *Professor H. C. Mookerjee Retires.*—III. *Head of the Department of English.*—IV. *Dr. Amiya Chakravarty.*—V. *Re-appointment of the Controller.*—VI. *Our Representative on State Faculty of Unani Medicine.*—VII. *Scholarships for Post-Graduate Students at Forest Research Institute, Dehra-Dun.*—VIII. *Scholarship for Research on the Splitting of Oils.*—IX. *Research on Fresh Water Fishes Grant by Imperial Council of Agriculture.*—X. *Government Circular regarding Suspension of Work for Half an Hour Daily for Prayers.*—XI. *Conference of Teachers of English at Lucknow.*—XII. *Indian Statistical Conference.*—XIII. *Facilities for Practical Training in Posts and Telegraphs.*—XIV. *English Teachership Certificate Examination, September, 1940.*—XV. *Teachers' Training Certificate (General) Examination, September, 1940.*—XVI. *Teachers' Training Certificate (Geography) Examination, September, 1940.*—XVII. *M.B. Examinations, November, 1940.*—XVIII. *D.P.H. Examination, Part I, November, 1940.*]

I, KNIGHTHOOD FOR THE VICE-CHANCELLOR

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huque, C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A., Vice-Chancellor of this University, was knighted on the New Year's Day. The Post-Graduate Department and the University were closed for a day as a mark of appreciation of the honour conferred on the Vice-Chancellor.

We respectfully offer our congratulations to him on the occasion.

II. PROFESSOR H. C. MOOKERJEE RETIRES

Professor H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A., retired from the English Department of the University on the 31st December, 1940. He was Professor of English for a period of four years and six months, having joined the post in June, 1936, when he laid down the reins of his office as Inspector of Colleges. Dr. Mookerjee, who has recently joined the field of politics as member of Bengal Legislative Assembly and also as an All-India leader of the Christian community, was unfailing in his attention to the work of his Department and under his guidance the interest in original research in English was greatly stimulated among advanced students who sought his help and direction.

Dr. Mookerjee, who is already known to the public in India for his princely donations to the University which amount to well over five lakhs and fifty thousand rupees, served the University as Professor practically without drawing any remuneration. He credited his salary to the various endowments which he had created for affording facilities for vocational and scientific training to young men of his community.

Although Dr. Mookerjee has retired from the Department of English, he is still associated with the University as Fellow and member of various committees. We look forward to many years of fruitful collaboration with him on this Journal, of which he is one of the Editors.

* * *

III. HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

At the meeting of the Senate held on the 14th December last, Dr. Mohini Mohan Bhattacharje, M.A., Ph.D., was appointed Reader and Head of the Department of English from the 1st January, 1941 up to the 30th June, 1944. Dr. Bhattacharje has been serving the University as a Lecturer in English since 1917 when the Post-Graduate Department was first created. He had a consistently brilliant academic career, and he was the first recipient of the Premchand Roychand Studentship for research work in English in 1918. He was admitted to the Doctorate of Philosophy in 1932 on a thesis entitled "Platonic Ideas in Spenser." In 1936 he was elected to the Ghosh Travelling Fellowship, and he spent over a year in Europe for further study and research. He visited many Universities in France, Italy, England and Scotland, and worked during the period in the British Museum and the University College of London, and in the libraries of the Universities of Paris and Rome. His published works have attracted wide-spread attention, and have been highly appreciated by competent English and Continental scholars and in the leading literary journals like the *Modern Language Review*, the *Modern Language Notes* and the *Year's Work in English*.

We offer our sincere congratulations to Dr. Bhattacharje on the well-deserved distinction that has been conferred on him by the University.

IV. DR. AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty M.A., D.Phil (Oxon.), who has been appointed a whole-time Lecturer in the Post-Graduate English Department of the Calcutta University, had served the Viswabharati as a Professor of English for about six years. He afterwards went to Oxford and took the Doctorate Degree from the Balliol College, Oxford, with a thesis on Post-War Poetry. He was then appointed a Senior Research Fellow of the Brasenose College. On return to India he taught in the Post-Graduate classes of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, for a period of two years.

Dr. Chakravarty's thesis has been published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, under the title "Dynasts and Post-War Poetry." The work has been very favourably commented upon by leading English journals including the *Times Literary Supplement* which devoted a leader to a discussion of Dr. Chakravarty's thesis.

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V. RE-APPOINTMENT OF THE CONTROLLER

Dr. Benodebehari Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., whose terms of office as Controller of Examinations would expire on the 31st March, 1941 has been re-appointed for a further term of five years.

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VI. OUR REPRESENTATIVE ON STATE FACULTY OF UNANI MEDICINE

The Government of Bengal have decided to establish a General Council and State Faculty of Unani Medicine in Bengal, which is to consist of thirty members including one representative of the Calcutta University.

The Hon'ble Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque, Kt., C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A., Khan Bahadur, has been appointed representative of this University on the General Council and State Faculty of Unani Medicine.

* * *

VII. SCHOLARSHIPS FOR POST-GRADUATE STUDENTS AT FOREST RESEARCH INSTITUTE, DEHRA-DUN

The Government of India will in the near future award scholarships of the value of Rs. 75 each to two Post-Graduate students

for three years, who will be required to work at the Wood Seasoning Section at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra-Dun.

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VIII. SCHOLARSHIP FOR RESEARCH ON THE SPLITTING OF OILS

A scholarship of Rs. 3,000 has been granted to Dr. M. N. Goswami of the University College of Science, of which Rs. 1,200 has been contributed by the Tata Oil Mills Co., Ltd., Bombay, and the rest by the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, Government of India, for conducting research on the splitting of oils. Dr. Goswami has already started his research on the subject.

* * *

IX. RESEARCH ON FRESH WATER FISHES GRANT BY IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has sanctioned a grant not exceeding Rs. 6,500 from its funds for extension of the Scheme for the investigation of life history, bionomics and development of fresh water fishes for a period of two years and two months with effect from the 1st December, 1940.

Our University in whose laboratories the investigation had been carried on in the past has signified its acceptance of the grant to the Government of Bengal and the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

* * *

X. GOVERNMENT CIRCULAR REGARDING SUSPENSION OF WORK FOR HALF AN HOUR DAILY FOR PRAYERS

A Government circular has been issued to the effect that, in addition to the facilities allowed to Muslim students for the *Jumma* praying, work should be suspended for half an hour in the early afternoon every day in all Government and aided Colleges which have Muslim students on their rolls, in order to facilitate performance of *Zahar* prayer.

The matter has been brought to the notice of the University by the Principal, Krishnath College, Berhampur, pointing out the difficulties that the suspension of work will cause, especially as changes in the time-table are not feasible because students in some cases come from long distances by train. He has made the suggestion that permission be granted to his college to shorten the length of the lecture periods or to reduce their number for necessary readjustments in view of the Government order. The Principal has been informed by the Syndicate that the University was not consulted on the subject before the order was issued and that the suggestions made by him cannot be accepted as they are bound to affect prejudicially the educational interest of the general body of students.

Our University has asked the College authorities to address Government, stating the difficulties in the matter.

* * *

XI. CONFERENCE OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH AT LUCKNOW

A Conference of Teachers of English was inaugurated at Lucknow in December, 1940. At the invitation of the conveners, representatives were sent by many of the Indian Universities. Dr. Mohini-mohan Bhattacharje, now Head of the Department of English, represented the University of Calcutta.

The Conference was opened by the Governor of the United Provinces on the 19th December and was presided over by Mr. Amarnath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad. Though a few original papers were read in the Conference, the main question discussed was the position of English in the Universities in view of the prospective adoption of the Vernaculars as media of instruction. In Bengal this has already come, and other provinces are trying to follow suit. In the Nizam's Dominions instruction is offered in Urdu even in the University. The Conference just inaugurated will, it is hoped, offer concrete solutions of the difficult questions that are now exercising the minds of educationists with reference to the teaching of English as language and as literature.

The Conference is to be held annually, and a Standing Committee has been appointed, consisting of the representatives of the different Universities, to draw up the necessary rules and

regulations and arrange for the next meeting of Conference. Dr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharje has been elected to represent the Calcutta University in the Committee.

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XII. INDIAN STATISTICAL CONFERENCE

Prof. Nikhilranjan Sen, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., attended the Indian Statistical Conference held at Benares in the first week of January, 1941, as representative of this University.

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XIII. FACILITIES FOR PRACTICAL TRAINING IN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

The Government of India have offered facilities for practical training in the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department to students of our University and the Institute of Science, Bangalore, for a period of one year. Our University has forwarded to the Electrical Engineer-in-Chief the names of two candidates for the purpose.

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XIV. ENGLISH TEACHERSHIP CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, SEPTEMBER, 1940

Nine candidates were registered for the above examination, of whom six passed and three failed. The percentage of passes is 66·6.

* * *

XV. TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE (GENERAL) EXAMINATION, SEPTEMBER, 1940

The number of candidates registered for the examination was five, of whom two were absent, two passed and one failed. The percentage of passes is 66·6.

XVI. TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE (GEOGRAPHY) EXAMINATION,
SEPTEMBER, 1940

Ninety-six candidates were registered for this examination, of whom eighty passed, fifteen failed and one was absent. Seven candidates passed with distinction. The percentage of passes is 83.1.

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XVII. M.B. EXAMINATIONS, NOVEMBER, 1940

(i) *Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination, November, 1940*

Thirty-two candidates were registered for this examination, of whom twenty-two passed and two failed. The percentage of passes is 68.7.

(ii) *The Special Examination in First M.B. Chemistry
(under New Regulations), November, 1940*

Eight candidates were registered for this examination, of whom four passed and four failed. The percentages of passes is 50%.

(iii) *First M.B. Examination, November, 1940*

Sixty-five candidates were registered for this examination, of whom thirty-eight passed, twenty-five failed and two were absent. The percentage of passes is 60.3.

(iv) *Second M.B. Examination, November, 1940*

One hundred and forty-three candidates were registered for this examination, of whom one hundred and one passed and forty-two failed. The percentage of passes is 70.6.

(v) *Third M.B. Examination, November, 1940*

One hundred and twenty-one candidates were registered for this examination, of whom eighty-eight passed, thirty-two failed and one was absent. The percentage of passes is 71.9.

(vi) *Final M.B. Examination, November, 1940*

Two hundred and four candidates were registered for this examination, of whom ninety-two passed, one hundred and eight failed and four were absent. The percentage of passes is 45.

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XVIII. D.P.H. EXAMINATION, PART I, NOVEMBER, 1940

Thirty candidates were registered for this examination, of whom twenty-eight passed and two failed. The percentage of passes is 93·3.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

- Gleanings from my Researches Vol. I**, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal). D/Crown 8vo pp. 461 + xx.
- University Question Papers, 1935**. D/Demy 16mo pp. 1160.
- Federal System of the United States of America**, by Dr. Naresh Chandra Roy, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 308 + vi. Rs. 3.
- Buddhi-o-Bedhi**, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 78.
- Gitar Bani**, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray. Demy 8vo pp. 198.
- Bangla Sahityer Katha (2nd Edition)**, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 219 + 18. Rs. 1-8
- Asoka (with illustrations)**, by Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 84. Re. 1.
- Europor Silpakatha (with illustrations)**, by Mr. Asitkumar Halder. Demy 8vo pp. 146 + 10. Re. 1.
- Industrial Finance in India**, by Dr. Sarojkumar Basu, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 436 + xvii. Rs. 6.
- Nyayamanjari, Part I**, by Pandit Panchanan Tarkavagis. Royal 8vo pp. 490. Rs. 5.
- General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, Vol. I**, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A. Demy 4to pp. 180 + vii.

Books in the Press

JANUARY, 1941

1. Gleanings from my Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. History of Indian Labour Legislation, by Dr. Rajanikanta Das, M.A., Ph.D.
4. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. III, edited by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
5. Adam's Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, edited by Mr. A. N. Basu, M.A., T.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, by Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Studies in the History of British in India, by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
9. Post-Graduate Volume (Arts and Science). 1939.
10. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
11. University Question Papers, 1936.
12. Krishni-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
14. Early Career of Kanhoji Angria, by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., (Oxon.).
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharatiya Banaushadhi Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc., and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Nyayamanjari, Part II, Edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkavagis.
19. Ramdas and Sivaji (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecture*, 1939-40), by Mr. C. C. Dutt, I.C.S. (Retd.).
20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.
21. Rivers of the Bengal Delta (*Readership Lectures*), by Mr. S. C. Majumdar, M.A.
22. Khandakhadyaka, Sanskrit Text, edited by Mr. Prabodh-chandra Sengupta, M.A.
23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil., D.Litt.
24. Siddhantasekhara, Vol. II, by Pandit Babua Misra.
25. Kabita Sangraha, III, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. K. N. Mitra, M.A.

26. Old Persian Inscriptions, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
27. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. History of Bengali Language and Literature, by Late Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
29. Calculus of Finite Differences, by Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A.
30. Industry in India, by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.
31. Din-i-Ilahi, by Prof. Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A., B.L.
32. Lectures on Art, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E.
33. Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A.
34. Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement 1937.
35. University Question Papers for the year 1933.
36. Bharater Deb Deul, by Mr. Jyotishchandra Ghosh.
37. Manasamangal, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A.
38. History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, by the late Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D.
39. Buddhist Historical Traditions, by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.
40. Orthographical Dictionary, edited by Mr. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya.
41. Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
42. Journal of the Department of Science, Vol. I, No. 8.
43. Vedantadarsan-Advaitabad, by Dr. Asutosh Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.
44. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
45. Rasekharer Padavali, edited by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., and Dwareschandra Sarmacharyya.
46. Bkah Babs Bolun, by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
47. Narayana Pariprecha, by Mr. Anukulchandra Banerjee, M.A.
48. Manjusrinama Sangiti, by Mr. Durgadas Mukerjee, M.A.
49. Padma Puran, by Kabi Narayan Deb, edited by Dr. Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
50. Haramani, by Mr. M. Mansuruddin, M.A.
51. Dharma Sadhana by Mrs. P. R. Sen, M.A.
52. The Development of Hindu Iconography, by Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, M.A.
53. University Regulations.
54. Ralindra Sahityer Bhumika, by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.Litt.Phil., Dip.Lib., F.L.A.
55. Selected Inscriptions of Different Periods, by Dr. Dineschandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
56. Jiban Maitrer Padma Puran, edited by Mr. Sambhucharan Chaudhuri.
57. Upanisader Alo (Revised Edition), by Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
58. University Calendar for the year 1941.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

I. INDIAN CULTURE

A History of Indian Literature, by M. Winternitz, Ph.D.,
Professor of Indology and Ethnology at the German
University of Prague, translated into English from the
original German by Mrs. S. Ketkar and revised by the
Author. *The only Authorised Translation into English.*

This monumental work of Prof. Winternitz is too well-known to need any introduction to the public. In order to make it accessible to those interested in Indian Literature but not well-versed in German, the Calcutta University has undertaken the publication of an English version. In order to bring the work up to date the author revised the whole work for the English translation. Many chapters have been re-written entirely, smaller changes, corrections and additions have been made almost on every page and the more important publications of the last twenty years have been added to the references in the Notes. Thus the English translation is at the same time a second, revised and improved edition of the original work.

Vols. I and II are the translations of the original German works with notes revised by the author and published during his lifetime. The preparation of Vol. III has been undertaken by an Editorial Board of experts on the subject. This volume is intended to complete the work left unfinished by the death of Prof. M. Winternitz. The whole work will occupy several volumes.

Vol. I. Introduction, the Veda, the National Epics, the Puranas and the Tantras. Demy 8vo pp. 653. 1927. Rs. 10-8.

Vol. II. Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature. Demy 8vo pp. 673. 1934. Rs. 12-0.

Vol. III. *In the Press.*

Some Problems of Indian Literature (*Readership Lectures delivered at the University*), by the same author. Royal 8vo pp. 130. 1925. Rs. 2-8.

Contents:—The Age of the Veda—Ascetic Literature in Ancient India—Ancient Indian Ballad Poetry—Indian Literature and World-Literature—Kautiliya Arthasastra—Bhasa.

Sino-Indica, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A.. D.Lit.

Dr. Bagchi has undertaken a series of publications called *Sino-Indica*. The work is a study of Chinese documents relating to India. As the researches were begun in France, the volumes had to be written in French.

Vol. I. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I (In French)*. Royal 8vo pp. lii + 436. 1927. Rs. 15-0.

It is the first systematic work which deals with the history of translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese and their translators. The work contains the biographies of all Indian, Iranian, Sogdian and other monks who went to China in the early centuries of the Christian era. A history of their activities, as preserved in the Chinese documents, is given. The first part covers a period of six hundred years, first century A.D. to sixth century (589) A.D.

Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I.—"The author has brought together everything he could on the biographical notices of the translators and gives a register of their works. The large number of references to the literature that might come in question is to be specially congratulated. . . . This assiduous work will have the recognition everywhere which it deserves." (Translated from German—*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1929, 2.)

"His important work does honour to him and his teachers . . . a fresh proof of the eminent talents of the Bengali race." (From French—*Revue Bibliographique*, 1928, October, Bruxelles.)

"An important contribution. . . . There are some of the important informations from this historical study with which it is full." (From French—*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques*.)

"Work of great value that makes an important contribution to the history of Chinese Buddhism." (From French—*Chronique d'Histoire des Religions*.)

"He has been able to bring out this first volume of a *magnum opus* which vindicates once more the importance of Buddhism in the history of India and testifies to the sound preparation of the author. . . . This is a schematical history of the spread of Buddhism and, with it, of Indian culture into China. . . . One of the best achievements of Buddhistic scholarship, the first contribution of young India to the systematic and comparative study of Buddhism."—Prof. G. Tucci (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 2).

Vol. II. *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome I.*
Double Crown 8vo pp. 336. 1929. Rs. 15-0.

It is a critical edition of two ancient Sanskrit-Chinese lexicons of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., compiled by a Ser-Indian monk, Li-yen, and a Chinese monk, the famous Yi-tsing. The work has been enriched with notes added by Prof. Paul Pelliot, Membre de l'Institut de France, Professor in College de France.

Vol. III. *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome II.* Double Crown 8vo pp. 204 (pp. 337-540). 1937. Rs. 15-0.

The second part of the *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois* contains a detailed study of five Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries which have been preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka. These are—the *Pan yu tsu ming* of Li-yen, the *Pan yu ts'ien tseu wen* of Yi-tsing, the *T'ang fan wen tseu* of Ts'uan-tchen, the *Pan T'ang siao si* and the *T'ang fan leeng yu chouang touei tsi*, all of which were compiled in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Dr. Bagchi has discussed the problems raised by these vocabularies, their authenticity, the biography of the authors, the Prakritic, Iranian, and Central Asiatic elements in the vocabulary, the method of Chinese transcription, etc. A detailed Chinese-Sanskrit index containing more than two thousand words supplies the basis for future Sino-Sanskrit lexicographical works.

This work is of capital interest to students of Buddhism, of Indian history, to Sinologists, to linguists and to all those who are interested in the early history of cultural exchange between China and India.

Vol. IV. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome II.* Royal 8vo pp. 306 (pp. 437-742). 1938. Rs. 15-0.

It contains a history of the Chinese Buddhist literature from the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D.

The work will be completed with detailed indexes in a separate volume which is now in the press.

The Evolution of Indian Polity, by R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Demy 8vo pp. 192. 1920. (*Slightly damaged*.) Reduced price Rs. 4-8.

Contains a connected history of the growth and development of political institutions in India, compiled mainly from the Hindu Sastras. The author being the famous discoverer and translator of the *Kautiliya Arthashastra*, it may be no exaggeration to call him one of the authorities on Indian Polity.

Contents:—I. Tribal State of Society. II. Elective Monarchy. III. The Origin of the Kshatriyas. IV. The People's Assembly. V. The Duties and Prerogatives of the Kings and Priests. VI. The Effect of Jainism and Buddhism on the Political Condition of India. VII. The Empire-building policy of the Politicians of the Kautiliya Period. VIII. Espionage. IX. Theocratic Despotism. X. The Condition of the People—Intellectual, Spiritual and Economical.

"... The titles of the lectures will indicate the wealth of information contained in them.....Some of the facts mentioned by Mr. Sastri will be an eye-opener to most people, who are fond of imagining that Indians have always been 'vain dreamers of an empty day,' occupying themselves with things of the Great Beyond, supremely contemptuous of mundane affairs, regarding them as *Maya*, *illusion*.....All desirous of knowing the conditions of life in Ancient India should read carefully this fascinating volume, which is one more evidence of the splendid work that the Post-Graduate teachers of the Calcutta University are doing."—*Hindusthan Review*, July, 1923.

Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, by Richard Fick (translated by Sisirkumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.). Demy 8vo pp. 390. 1920. Rs. 7-8.

Dr. Fick's Die Sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas Zeit has, for many years, been of invaluable assistance to all interested in the social and administrative history of Buddhist India. But those ignorant of German were unable to make use of that book and their warm gratitude will be extended to Dr. Maitra for his eminently readable translation. The book is too well-known to need any review; suffice it to say that the translation is worthy of the book. Now that this scholarly work is made available in English, it should find a larger circulation."—*Hindusthan Review*, July, 1923.

Contents.

Chapter I—*Introduction*—The Brahmanical Caste-Theory.

Chapter II—*General View of the Castes*—The Brahmanical Caste-Theory in the Pali canon—Theoretical discussions about the worthlessness of the caste—The Essential characteristics of castes.

Chapter III—*The Homeless Ascetics*—Translation to the homeless condition a universal characteristic of Eastern Culture—Causes of Asceticism.

Chapter IV—*The Ruling Class*—The Kshatriyas—Superiority of the Kshatriyas over the Brahmanas.

Chapter V—*The Head of the State*—The chief representative of the Kshattriyas is the King—General View—The Duties of the King—Limits of Royal Power.

Chapter VI—*The King's Officers*—General View of Ministers.

Chapter VII—*The House Priest of the King*—Historical Evolution of the Post of *Purohita*—His Share in Administration.

Chapter VIII—*The Brahmanas*—General View of the Brahmanas according to the Jatakas—The Four Asramas—Duties and Privileges of the Brahmanas.

Chapter IX—*The Leading Middle Class Families*—The Position of the *Gahapati*—the *Setthi*.

Chapter X—*The Guilds of Tradesmen and Artisans*—Stage of Economical Evolution in the Jatakas—Organisation of the Artisan Class.

Chapter XI—*Casteless Professions*.

Chapter XII—*The Despised Caste*.

Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India (*Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Law*), by Nareschandra Sengupta, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo pp. 109. 1914. Re. 1-8.

In this book the author traces the sources of Ancient Indian Law with reference to the environments in society and deals with matters regarding legal conceptions historically, initiating a somewhat new method, mainly following the one indicated by Ihering with reference to Roman Law in the study of problems of Hindu Law.

Pre-Historic India, by Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D. Second Edition, *Revised and Enlarged*. Demy 8vo pp. 542 (with 53 plates). 1927. Rs. 7-0.

Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (*Readership Lectures in the Calcutta University, 1919*), by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras. Demy 8vo pp. 468. 1923. Rs. 6-0.

In the course of these lectures the author has made an effort to evaluate the influence of South India upon the main currents of Hindu Culture generally. He considers the main problem in its varied aspects. The first important topic is the connection between the Aryan north and the Dravidian south, and the main point for consideration is the religious contact and the position of the Brahman in South India. The Buddhist influence in this part of the country is found to be comparatively small, and the Brahmanism that is established in the land is found to be pre-Buddhistic in point of character. From this, under the influence of the new venue, Brahmanism itself undergoes a change towards the religion of devotion to a personal God intervening in the affairs of people. Following this in a natural line comes the worship of a personal deity in various forms, together with all the paraphernalia of that worship leading ultimately to that point of religion that holds the field named somewhat vaguely as Hinduism. The literary influence is considered in a chapter devoted to the study of the peculiar Tamil classic—the Kural. Then follows a number of Chapters bearing on the history of the Pallavas which, from the cultural point of view, is essentially the period of reconciliation of the two cultures—Aryan and Dravidian. Saivism and Vaishnavism are the two offshoots which, beginning perhaps in the moderate systems, developed schools of thought more rigorous and leading ultimately to the extreme forms of the two sects.

The other topics considered are the administrative evolution of South India exhibiting features characteristic of the region and nautical enterprise and expansion of Indian culture beyond the seas. These important topics are dealt with in a way to admit of easy elaboration.

"They are one of the first fruits of the policy of Calcutta University to create a department of Indian Studies—linguistics, archæology, anthropology and history. Dr. Aiyangar writes with a practised hand and with the discernment of an experienced seeker after historical truth; and his lectures form a contribution of some considerable value to the growing amount of literature on Indian Anthropological Studies. Beginning with the coming of the Aryans, which means the Brahmans, to South India, the author proceeds to describe, mainly historically, the main currents of culture.....The author proceeds to analyse the influences exerted on and by South India when orthodox Hinduism was tainted by alien influences.....From religion Dr. Aiyangar passes on to commerce, and devotes a considerable portion of this work to showing how South India is responsible for the spread of Hindu culture to the Eastern islands and even so far as China.....The author finally traces the type of administration which grew up in South India and which, as he points out, has left traces to the present day. The whole work is full of interest to the enquirer into the early stages of Indian culture; it will be of much value to the scholar, and not without utility to the administrator."—*Times of India (Bombay)*, Nov. 14, 1923.

Extract from Indian Antiquary, Vol. LIII, for January-February, 1924 :—

"Sir Richard Temple writes : '.....They (the Lectures) are so full of valuable suggestions that it is worthwhile to consider here the results of the study of a ripe scholar in matters South Indian.....To myself, the book

is a fascinating one and it cannot but be of the greatest value to the students, for whom the lectures were intended.".....

Prof. Hultsch of Halle, for very near 20 years Epigraphist to the Government here, in a letter, dated 22nd August, 1923, writes : "I have again to thank you for a fresh volume from your pen which I have added to the other works of reference. Your *Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* which will have shown Bengal scholars what a wealth of information has been and can still be gathered in the far-off Tamil country and how many interesting problems are offered by Tamil literature and historical documents. Your books have done much to arrange and combine stray and fragmentary facts and to make a cosmos of the chaos which Southern history and literature used to be not very long ago—chiefly owing to the absence of any chronology."

Sir Richard C. Temple, Editor and Proprietor of the *Indian Antiquary*, in a letter, dated the 2nd September, 1923, writes : "I am much impressed with your *Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* and I am making a précis of it."

Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, by B. R. Chatterji, D.Litt. (Punjab), Ph.D. (London). Demy 8vo pp. 303. 1928. Rs. 6-0.

"Within this thesis there are probably assembled all the facts at present discoverable concerning Indian influence in Cambodia.....Mr. Chatterji seems to have studied all the available inscriptions (of Cambodia) and he has tracked down an immense number of relevant passages in early Indian, Chinese and Arab literatures.As a scholar writing for scholars Mr. Chatterji seems to have done his work well....."—*Times Literary Supplement*, 6th September, 1928.

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Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, by Sylvain Lévi, Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch. Translated into English, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit. Demy 8vo pp. 216. 1929. Rs. 2-8.

"A most valuable book."—*Sir G. A. Grierson*.

"It is a most valuable book, and I am very glad to possess a copy. Indeed for some weeks I had been trying to find a copy of it in this country but had failed, so its arrival has been doubly welcome.....It is most convenient to have the important essays of Lévi, Przyluski and Bloch in one volume and their value being enhanced by the additional notes of Prof. B. K. Chatterji and Dr. Bagchi himself."—*Sir George A. Grierson*.

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Indian Ideals in Education, Philosophy and Religion and Art (*Kamala Lectures, 1924*), by Annie Besant, D.L., with a Foreword by the Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves, Kt. Demy 8vo pp. 135. 1925. Re. 1-8.

The lectures were delivered in the Calcutta University by Dr. Annie Besant under the auspices of the Kamala Lectureship established in memory of his beloved daughter by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I.

Philosophical Discipline (*Kamala Lectures, 1926*), by Mahamahopadhyay Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo pp. 179. 1928. Re. 1-8.

Contents: Chapter I—*Discipline in Indian Systems*—(i) General—(ii) Vedanta—(iii) Purva-Mimamsa and other 'Hindu' Systems—(iv) Buddhism and Jainism—(v) Upanishads: Synthesis of Indian Philosophy.

Chapter II—*Discipline in other Oriental Systems*—(i) Zoroastrianism—(ii) Mithraism—(iii) Taoism—(iv) Confucianism—(v) Egyptian Religion—(vi) Babylonian and Assyrian Religion—(vii) Judaism—(viii) Christianity—(ix) Islam.

Chapter III.—*Discipline in Western Philosophy*—Greece and Rome—Modern Philosophy—Conclusion.

Rationalism in Practice (*Kamala Lectures, 1932*), by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. Demy 8vo pp. 99. Re. 1-8.

The lectures briefly discuss certain questions of general interest and are only intended to provoke thought in the younger generation.

Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals (*Kamala Lectures, 1929*), by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D. Demy 8vo pp. xix + 242. 1935. Rs. 2-8.

The thesis of the author is the evolutionary character of the moral ideals of Hindus as embodied and reflected in their sacred laws, customs, social life and conduct. He shows that the moral rules and ideals which have obtained among them have not been immutable and stationary, but have changed, and are bound to change, in the course of time in accordance with their social and economic environments. The need for such adaptation is stressed as an essential condition of life in the modern world. The author examines the defects and merits of Hinduism and the value of the contribution of Hindu thought to moral culture. He discusses the influence of the doctrine of Karma, the question of moral progress, the effect of the impact of Western ideas and culture upon Hindu ideals, the drift of modern forces and tendencies and their bearing upon the future outlook of Hindu society. The subject is treated throughout in the light of comparative thought and in a spirit of detachment. The author enforces his points by numerous references to parallel conceptions and practices in Western countries.

J. H. Muirhead (Editor, *Library of Philosophy*): "I have read sufficient to appreciate its value for the understanding of the very interesting subject with which it deals. I have found the comparisons which the author makes between Hindu and Christian standards and practices particularly instructive.....It seems to me extremely well written by one who has spared no pains to master the literature, both Eastern and Western, on the subject and I congratulate the press of Calcutta University on the production of so scholarly a work."

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The Times Literary Supplement (London): "The thesis is full of interest and is treated with the knowledge of affairs and in the liberal spirit which Sir Sivaswamy has often displayed on public platforms and in the Legislative Assembly."

Vedanto Kesari (Madras), April, 1935 : " He sheds the light of a mature and scholarly mind on many intricate and vexed problems of Hindu ethics and has as ably defended the fundamental principles of Hindu morality from the charges of ignorant foreign critics as he has rescued it from the zeal of rigid orthodoxy."

Prof. Franklin Edgerton (Yale University) : " I have found the book interesting and stimulating. It shows sound and deep learning, and at the same time a spirit of broad and intelligent tolerance worthy of India's best traditions. I should think its influence would be profoundly beneficial, and I heartily wish that it may enjoy the greatest possible popularity."

Prof. William Ernest Hocking (Harvard University) : " The very important contribution it makes in fields which are of special interest to me, the development of Hinduism and the relation between religion and government in India."

The History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, by B. M. Barua, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (London). Royal 8vo pp. 468. 1921. Rs. 10-8.

The book gives a clear exposition of the origin and growth of Indian Philosophy from the Vedas to the Buddha, and seeks to evolve order out of chaos—to systematise the teachings of the various pre-Buddhistic sages and seers, scattered in Vedic literature (Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads) and in the works of the Jainas, the Ajivikas and the Buddhists.

Prof. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, M.A. : " The only book of its kind. No student of the Philosophy of Upanishads can afford to neglect it. The book shows accurate scholarship and deep insight on every page."

Bharatiya Madhya Yuge Sadhanar Dhara (*Adhar Mookerjee Lectures for 1928, in Bengali*), by Kshiti-mohan Sen, Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian Religion and Mysticism, Visvabharati, Santiniketan, with a Foreword by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. xvi + 135. Re. 1-8.

In this work the author has given for *the first time* an outline of the religious history of India during the Mussalman rule. He has criticised here the popular theory that India was acquired by Mahomedan invaders *merely* by means of the sword and has properly appreciated the part of the Moslem saints, orthodox as well as heterodox, in conquering India for Islam. This unique work is based principally on materials collected by the author from hundreds of religious shrines (including many obscure ones) visited by him during the last thirty years. Another feature of the work is that it reveals the natural love of spiritual matters on the part of the common people of India.

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Viswa-Vidyalyayer Rup (*in Bengali*), Inaugural address delivered at the Calcutta University, by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. 30. 1933. As. 8.

Sikshar Bikiran (*in Bengali*), by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. 23. 1933. As. 8.

Manusher Dharma (*Kamala Lectures, 1930, in Bengali*), by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. ix+119. 1933. Re. 1-8.

Sakti or Divine Power, by Sudhendukumar Das, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). Demy 8vo pp. 310. 1934. Rs. 3-0.

An attempt has been made to trace the origin of the idea of Sakti as Divine Power from Jñān or the 'Mother-Goddesses' of the Vedas and show how it developed through the speculations of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads and finally culminated into the Śvetasvatara conception of full-bodied philosophical principle of 'Supreme Divine Sakti' belonging to God himself, hidden in his own qualities. It is an historical study based on original Sanskrit texts. It contains for the first time a thorough discussion on the philosophy of the Kashmere Trika School and that of the Lingayat School of Southern India from the texts both published and unpublished.

Sri Aurobindo and the Future of Mankind, by Adharchandra Das, M.A. Double Crown 16mo pp. 143. 1934. Re. 1-0.

The author has interwoven into a connected statement the contents of a number of articles contributed by Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, on the true meaning of Vedanta Philosophy and has presented his book in a very interesting and attractive manner.

"Mr. Adharchandra Das in the Four Chapters of his book gives us a sound and clear account of Aurobindo's main views, and points out incidentally that they are based on the central principles of Indian culture. We are all grateful to him for bringing together in a brief and accessible form the main teachings of Aurobindo Ghosh."—*Foreword*, Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

"The book is well-written and though quite small in size, gives a remarkably clear and comprehensive account of Mr. Ghosh's views."—*Hindu*.

"Mr. Das has made a close study of Aurobindo's writings and has published a remarkable book."—*Advance*.

"This little book deserves a careful reading inasmuch as it proposes to appreciate and criticize Sri Aurobindo's philosophy, which, so far as we are aware, has not yet been attempted by any."—*Prabuddha Bharata* or *Awakened India*.

"Mr. Das's simple and clear exposition is an aid to the study of modern Indian philosophy with occasional side glimpses into the thought-currents of contemporary west. Mr. Das is the first to drive his plough on the virgin soil and he silently fingers at its growth. He is congratulated on the way he has accomplished his task he set for himself."—*A. B. Patrika*.

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Ancient Indian Numismatics (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1921),
by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.,
Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Cul-
ture, Calcutta University. Demy 8vo pp. 241. Rs. 4-14.

The book contains a course of lectures on Numismatics, a part of Archæology, delivered by the Professor in 1921. The subjects of the lectures are as follows:

- I. Importance of the Study of Numismatics.
 - II. Antiquity of Coinage in India.
 - III. Karshapana: its Nature and Antiquity.
 - IV. Science of Coinage in Ancient India.
 - V. History of Coinage in Ancient India.
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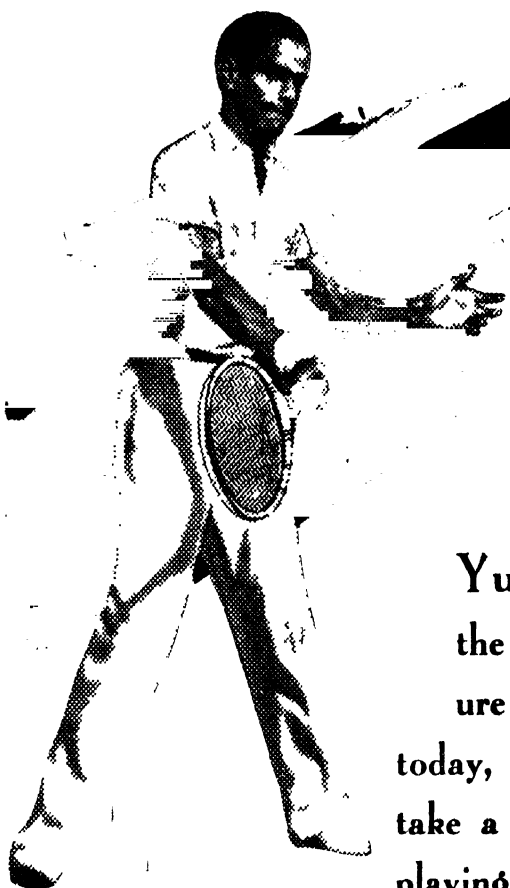
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FEBRUARY, 1941

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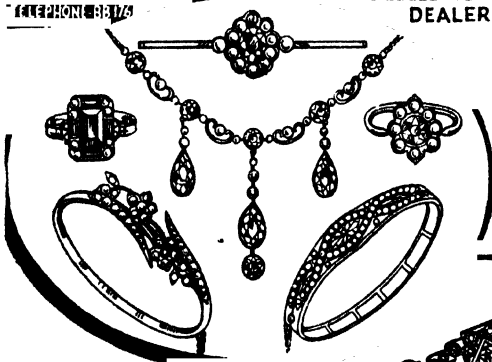
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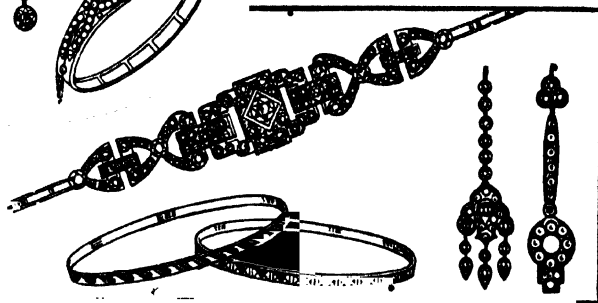
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1941

SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RÂY, Kt. AND BHABES CHANDRA RAY, M.Sc.

XV

SHAKESPEARE AS REVISER OF PLAYS WRITTEN BY OTHERS—TRILOGY
OF *Henry VI* AND *Titus Andronicus*

IN the previous issue an attempt was made to compare the diction and versification of the trilogy of *Henry VI* with those of the contemporary plays. The only external evidence in favour of Shakespearean authorship of the *Henry VI* trilogy is its inclusion in the First Folio, the editors of which were Shakespeare's fellows ; but there is a number of evidences which will even go to question its inclusion therein. The most formidable one is the non-inclusion of this trilogy in Mere's 1598 list of plays. Malone adduces a series of arguments which, if accepted, would prove that Shakespeare was never the sole author of the plays, most particularly the first part. He might have been a mere collaborator-apprentice, could have been a reputed reviser, but never the sole author.

Malone observes that "in all the tragedies written before his time, or just when he commenced as an author a certain stately march of versification is observable. The sense concludes or pauses almost uniformly at the end of every line; and the verse has scarcely ever a redundant syllable." Malone, however, compares the versification of many a play from Shakespeare's predecessors and states that "the tragedies of *Marius and Sulla* by T. Lodge, 1594, *A Looking Glass for London and England* by T. Lodge and R. Greene, 1598, *Soliman and Perseda*, written before 1592, *Selimus, Emperour of the Turks*, 1594, *The Spanish Tragedy*, 1592, and *Titus Andronicus*, will all furnish examples of a similar versification—a versification so exactly corresponding to that of the first part of *King Henry VI* and *The Whole Contension of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, etc., as it originally appeared, that I have no doubt these plays were the production of some one or other of the authors of the pieces above quoted or enumerated."

I Henry VI does not in fact abound in rhymes although one particular scene is entirely in rhyme. In the earlier productions Shakespeare markedly used rhymed or alternately rhymed lines to carry his thought, and we can legitimately expect that the author of *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* would use more rhymed lines in this play which should be his first production.

As for the second and third part of the trilogy the problem of the authorship appears to be a bit less knotty for from internal evidence it is generally admitted that Shakespeare's hand is traceable in them. It is assumed that the master mind of dramatic art picked up the running plays from others' pen versified thema new, remodelled them according to his own liking and improved them very much. Malone admits that "several lines, however, and even whole speeches which he thought sufficiently polished he accepted; and introduced into his own work, without any or with very slight alterations."

Now to return to the versification test. We must mention here that the test is not in fact very easy to apply. J. M. Robertson, the most enthusiastic disintegrator of Shakespeare, declares, "That Swinburne appears never to have seen the profound difference between Marlovian and Shakespearean verse, and that Coleridge came only late into the true knowledge, would seem to signify that the right vision or mental audition in this matter is not easy."

The present authors cannot help quoting here Rabindra Nath who himself admits that there has been a marked change from time to time in his thought and verse :

“आमार काव्येर ऋतुपरिवर्तन घटेछे वारे वारे । प्रायइ सेटा घटे निजेर अलक्ष्ये ।
काले काले फुलेर फसल बदल ह्ये थाके तखन मौमाछिर मधु जोगान नतुन पथ नेय ।”¹

Up till the present day four distinct theories have been advanced on the problem of the authorship of the trilogy. The first theory that the entire or nearly the entire play of *1 Henry VI* comes from the pen of anyone but Shakespeare had been put forward by Drake² and supported by Malone, Collier, Dowden and Furnivall.

On the positive side Dr. Johnson emphatically argues that “from mere inferiority nothing can be inferred ; in the production of wit there will be inequality.” To support Johnson, Steevens holds, “This historical play might have been one of our authors’ earliest dramattick efforts ; and almost every young poet begins by imitation. Shakespeare, therefore, till he felt his own strength, perhaps survilely conformed to the style and manner of his predecessors.” Hudson gives his firm and settled judgment that the main body of the play is certainly Shakespeare’s. Dr. Johnson’s argument is indeed difficult to flout and the remarks of Steevens just quoted appear rather weighty. But in this type of conjectural investigation none should overlook the external evidences altogether. Though the date of Shakespeare’s leaving his paternal home for London is not definitely known, it is true he did not do so before 1583. Most biographers agree this to be 1586. Shakespeare’s first child of invention saw the light of the day in 1593. *1 Henry VI* is dated 1591. Shakespeare himself does not recognise the play to be the first child of his imagination and so also does the author of the *Palladis Tamia*, we mean Francis Meres. The present authors fail to understand why these external evidences are overlooked at all. The explanation of Shakespeare’s not admitting *1 Henry VI* as his first heir of invention has nevertheless been attempted. They say that Shakespeare liked not to recognise plays as his heirs of invention but there is nothing

¹ Rabindranath, *Nava-Jatak*, Preface.

² “The band of Shakespeare is nowhere visible throughout the entire of this “Drum-and-Trumpet-Thing as Mr. Morgan has justly termed it.”—*Shakespeare and his Times* (1817).

to support this. He might not have objected either to spurious or to attributed publications but why should the ambitious young playwright hesitate to recognise a play which was rather popular with the general public. Francis Meres was not in London when *Henry VI* plays were holding the board. He wrote his *Wits Treasury* in 1598 when, it has been said, these plays were forgotten in London. This argument appears rather far-fetched. To forget a play—a popular one—in course of only seven years is indeed strange and we are slow to accept it.

The next alternative theory is one of revision of an earlier play of some unknown author. Theobald was the first to advance this theory. To quote Theobald, "Though there are several master-strokes in these three plays which incontestably betray the workmanship of Shakespeare, yet I am almost doubtful whether they were entirely of his writing. And unless they were written by him very early, I should rather imagine them to have been brought to him as a director of the stage; and so have received some finishing beauties at his hand. Coleridge, Gervinus, Halliwell-Phillipps and many others echo the same view. The real author and the true title of the source-play have been lost to the posterity and there is absolutely no means to find out the truth of this hypothesis. The only other theory is the theory of collaboration which has been sponsored by authorities like Grant-White (1859), Ingram (1904), Hart (1909) and others. There have been some differences of opinion regarding the personnel of the probable collaborators. For example, Grant-White holds "that within two or three years of Shakespeare's arrival in London, that is, about 1587 or 1588, he was engaged to assist Marlowe, Greene and perhaps Peele in dramatizing the events of King Henry the Sixth's reign." Ingram believes this to be the work of two men, Marlowe and Shakespeare, and Hart opines "that Shakespeare was invited to lend a hand to Greene and Peele."

The last two theories, namely, the revision and the collaboration theories apparently alike are materially different. While the revision theory does not help us to find out the real author, the last theory attempts to do so and can successfully explain why there have appeared quite base materials with a lot of sublime ideas.

It has been stated already that the lines of *Henry VI* have been scanned and rescanned by almost every Shakespearean critic in an

honest endeavour to make out the authorship, and majority of them are of opinion that the opening lines, *viz.* :

“ Bed. Hung be the heavens with black, yield day tonight
Comets, importing change of times and states,

Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky,” etc.,
are characteristically Marlowian.

Marlowe's traceable influence spreads over *1 Henry VI* so abundantly that none of the acknowledged Shakespearean students has ever denied it. One may profitably consult A. W. Verity's essay on “ The Influence of Christopher Marlowe on Shakespeare's Earlier Style ” in this connection. Verity remarks, “ If, for instance, from Shakespeare's authentic works not one undoubted use of the curious phrase ‘ to this gear ’ can be quoted, if the expression occurs repeatedly in Marlowe's plays, and if, as is the case, we find the word in *Henry VI* and *Titus Andronicus* in passages where the general style and atmosphere is Marlowesque, the coincidence surely must cost its atom of weight in favour of any theory that would assign the passages in question to the author of *Tamburlaine*. Individually such points may be of infinitesimal importance ; collectively they are not so contemptible. Every writer has his vocabulary, and having once used a word he is likely to employ it again. Now in *Titus Andronicus*, as Mr. Fleay points out, there are 204 non-Shakespearean words.” Verity next sorts out too many non-Shakespearean words from the three parts of *Henry VI* and submits the list in the appendix. By ‘ non-Shakespearean ’ Verity, however, means ‘ that the word is not found in any of the undoubted plays.’ Those who are in favour of allotting the play entirely to Shakespeare's pen accuse him of imitating Marlowe but the present authors cannot understand why collaboration is so emphatically denied. Collaboration was not inadmissible—nay, it was far more common—in those early days.

Greenian touches in the play are indeed controversial and according to Tuckerbrook it is wholly “ unlike him (Greene) in the inflexibility with which it harps on the historical note, and in its absence of humor, sentiment, or pathos. Greene, of course, may have written the play, but it is less like his avowed work than that of any contemporary dramatist.”

Peele has been suggested as co-author by various critics for not very unrecognisable similarity. Indeed the similarity has been very

marked. The defamation of the French Joan of arc in *1 Henry VI* can be fully compared with that of the Spanish Queen Eleanor in *Edward I*. Critics of this school are almost unanimous in accepting Peele as collaborator of Shakespeare. The following lines of Tuckerbrook, the editor of *1 Henry VI* in "The Tale Shakespeare," are worth quoting, "It is not by a process of elimination merely that I arrive at George Peele as the most likely author of the old *Harry the Sixth* play. Indications of several kinds point in Peele's direction. He was, at the time the work was produced, distinctly the most conspicuous exponent of Jingoistic national pride—a trait of which Marlowe shows absolutely nothing and Greene hardly more."

Even if we accept the last theory, that is, the theory which speaks of Shakespeare's re-handling of an earlier source play, the simultaneous presence of Marlowe and Peele's remnant influence unmistakably points to the conclusion that they were the joint authors of the play which came to our poet's table for revision at a subsequent date. This he did no doubt with enough care. This theory of revision is as hypothetical as the collaboration theory and comparing the two the present writers find no reason to discard the collaboration theory.

(To be continued.)

THE MODERN AGE IN INDIA

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LET me thank you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over the Modern Indian History Section of the Indian History Congress. A younger man might have brought to your deliberations a clearer vision, a keener perception and a surer sense of realities ; but our youthful colleagues are busy elsewhere making history and salvaging civilisation. Until better times bring them back to their old and accustomed spheres, older men must not hesitate to step into the breach, hold the torch aloft and keep the sacred flame burning.

Before we proceed to examine any specific problem we have to answer three definite questions. Can we reasonably agree to a chronological division and regional segmentation of history ? If so, what should be the determining factor in ascertaining the line of demarcation ? To what extent can a particular region be isolated for the purposes of historical investigation ? As Sir Charles Oman so pertinently observed, the professional historian is unable to answer many questions in the simple affirmative or negative. Our answer is bound to be qualified by many 'ifs' and many 'buts'.

We believe in the unity of History ; it is one of our cardinal creeds. History may not be coterminous with time but it embraces the whole range of human experience, surveys the entire field of human activities and seeks to interpret and analyse the indefinite ideal which mankind in general, urged by an irrepressible impulse, has been for thousands of centuries striving unceasingly to achieve. History flows like a river from the forgotten past to the unknown future. It cannot, therefore, be divided into chronological compartments. The present is rooted in the past, the future is only a projection of the present ; as the past has left its indelible impress on the present, so the present is inevitably shaping the future. We are interested in the past because it helps us to understand the present and to forecast, however inadequately, the vital tendencies of the

future. We have, therefore, to carry on our explorations backwards ; but as we labour along the faint track, the recent past recedes to the remote past, well authenticated facts are replaced by logical inferences, until at last all landmarks disappear and history loses itself in the intricate mazes of mythology. But within that limit there is hardly any break or discontinuity. A link may be missing here and there but there is no doubt about the chain itself. It is our business to reconstruct the past, to supply the missing links if possible, but it is not for us to break the chain into pieces or to ignore any of the existing links.

If the unity of History is admitted, how do we explain the popularity of chronological treatment ? The answer is simple. The magnitude of the subject baffles our intellectual resources, and unable to grasp the whole we try to achieve the maximum results by devoting our limited time and intellect to the most elaborate examination of a part. The scientific method of historiography, for which we are indebted to the great German savants of the nineteenth century, at once demands a more intensive and extensive examination of the original sources and necessarily restricts the period to be reviewed. Paradoxical though it may seem, there is no inconsistency between the accepted theory and the actual practice. A Botanist may devote his researches to the fossil plants or to the flora of a particular region or even to a particular order or genus of plants without any disloyalty to his science. A Zoologist, unable to traverse the entire animal kingdom, may quite reasonably restrict his survey to the Batrachians or to the minute polyps that build up the coral islands. That does not imply that he is oblivious of the existence of other forms of life. Similarly, when a historian puts a chronological limit to the subject of his enquiry, he does not deny, even by implications, the wider scope of his science ; he simply confesses his own limitations. When we speak of 'modern,' 'mediaeval' or 'ancient' history, we do not ignore the intimate interrelations of the different periods and the organic connection between the preceding and the succeeding ages. Convenience alone dictates a practice which conviction may find far from the ideal.

Regional segmentation of History also is not without serious difficulties. A Chemist may very well isolate an element in his laboratory and examine its properties. A Bacteriologist may culture a particular microbe and segregate it to study its life history. Can

we in the same sense and to the same extent isolate a particular geographical unit for historical investigations? Can we, to be more concrete, isolate India for such a purpose? Was India at any time in her chequered past so cut off from the rest of the world as to pursue her course independent of her environments? Known facts hardly support such a hypothesis. We have not yet been able to read the script once in vogue at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. We do not know what language those ancient people spoke but we know that there was a great affinity between the civilisation that flourished in the lost cities of Sind and the Punjab millenniums before the birth of Christ and that of ancient Mesopotamia. Is it an accident that clay seals with animal figures and pictographs similar to those of Mohenjo Daro have been discovered in ancient Mesopotamian sites? Are we sure that the Dravidians had nothing to do with the people of Sumer and Akkad? Did the Aryans evolve their civilisation entirely in the congenial soil of the land of the five rivers or did they bring the rudiments of their culture from their original home now no longer remembered? Coming to historical times we find that the first important facts of which we are aware relate to other people and other lands. If the details of the Persian invasion have been lost, the Macedonian expedition forms the first landmark in ancient Indian history. Can we ignore the importance of the Hellenic sources, the Ceylonese sources, the Chinese and the Tibetan sources in reconstructing India's past? India's relations with the world outside grow wider and more intimate as we approach our own times. Civilisations and cultures have a tendency to migrate from land to land irrespective of racial movements. I need not apologise for repeating these truisms, for in recent times there has been such a craze for overspecialisation at an immature stage that a thorough revision of our syllabus and a complete reorientation of our studies are definitely called for.

Regional segmentation of History is based to a certain extent on logical and psychological grounds. Though we recognise the unity of History, we cannot deny the diversity of human impulses. Human mind reacts differently under different stimuli and responds differently to different environments. Geography, as is commonly acknowledged, shapes History but geographical influences may be modified or accentuated by human action as happened to the Mediterranean region and England respectively after the discovery of the new world. Though human civilisation is one in its essentials,

it has many phases and diverse aspects. Every man moreover feels a greater interest in his immediate neighbourhood. That is why we start with that branch of History which deals with our own country, our own people and our own times. That is the justification of the Indian History Congress and the Modern Indian History Section. That is why so many parallel and perpendicular lines have been drawn across the wide domain of History. That is why we are not content with political history alone but we feel the need of cultural and institutional history as well. After all, ideas are more important than deeds ; for deeds are at best the outward reflection of the ideas which supply the motive force in all human affairs. Ideas transcend time and space but the same ideas may not gain currency in all parts of the world, the same principle may not dominate human action in all countries during the same chronological period. Therefore, the same chronological division does not hold good for all regions.

To return from the abstract to the concrete, when did the Modern Age begin in this country? 'Modern,' 'medieval' and 'ancient' are relative terms and we cannot draw a line of demarcation which will hold good for all time. Chronological boundaries are liable to change like the shifting course of a river, but unlike geographical limits historical termini are never clear cut or distinct. We cannot say without being charged with undue dogmatism that a certain epoch came to an abrupt end on a particular day in a particular year when the succeeding age immediately came into being. We cannot ring out the obsolete period and ring in the new. They merge into one another and for a considerable time the line of demarcation is blurred and indistinct. Provision should, therefore, be made for an interregnum between two distinct historical periods and for periodical revision of their limits.

The duration of a historical period is determined by the efficiency of its dominant principles. A negative influence indicates decadence and intellectual anarchy usually marks the dissolution of the old order but does not denote the inauguration of the new. The period of decadence forms the interregnum. A new age is associated with harmony and order. When forms are devoid of reality, when theories cease to be based on facts, we find the surest evidence of approaching revolution which is to evolve order out of chaos. But the process is likely to cover many decades. It is easy to say when the decline of the Mughal empire began, but is it possible to assign a precise

date to its fall? The premonitions of the impending disaster were probably perceived as early as the first decade of the 18th century, but will it not be rash to assert that the Mughal empire ceased to exist with the passing away of the great Alamgir? When did the end come? With the invasion of Nadir Shah? With the murder of Alamgir II? With the British occupation of Delhi? The empire as a political entity ceased to function long before Nadir Shah exposed its hollowness to a horrified India, but the form survived the reality and a Padshah continued to reside in the red fort of Shahjahan till the anachronism was removed in the middle of the last century.

Does the passing away of the empire synchronise with the advent of the Modern Age in India? Was the so-called Mughal period essentially medieval in its political institutions, intellectual outlook and economic organisation?

In Europe the seventeenth century witnessed that intellectual revolution and religious upheaval which marked the end of medieval faith and established the modern supremacy of reason. Blind faith gradually yielded place to reasoned conviction. In the next century religion gradually ceased to enjoy any political importance as the Church had been subordinated to the State. Science occupied the predominant place that formerly belonged to Theology. By this test Modern Indian History does not begin before the middle of the nineteenth century. The new ideas had indeed been long in the air, the spirit of rebellion was already at work, but as a single swallow does not make the spring, so the bold pioneers do not make the new age, though they are certainly the harbingers of the future order. The Revolutionary period in Europe did not begin with Voltaire and Rousseau; it commenced when their teachings lost their novelty and their theories became the accepted political creed of the common people. Not until the new ideas become commonplace can the new age be said to have fairly commenced. The royal astronomer of Jaipur was in close intellectual contact with his fellow scientists in the West. Jai Singh took every care to have the standard Western works on Astronomy translated into Persian but he was far in advance of his times. He was not a typical representative of his age. Another pioneer was Ram Mohan of Bengal, but an age is to be judged not by its geniuses but by the common man. The common man in Ram Mohan's days still confused faith with reason. The Age of Reason in India, the Modern Age, the Scientific Age is hardly a

century old and for aught we know it is probably quickly nearing its close. The world war may usher new ideas and novel conceptions in the light of which the present state of things may appear obsolete and out of date and the future historian may have once again to revise his chronology and rearrange his charts.

What will be the central theme of Modern Indian History? Many headings may be, and have been, suggested. Pax Britannica, Evolution of Democratic Institutions, Growth of Capitalism, Decay of Rural India, Rise of Militant Nationalism, Passing of the Old Order, Diffusion of Western Learning, Growth of Vernacular Literature, will each make a catching title. As manifestations of the modern mind in India they deserve a careful examination and analysis, and some excellent monographs have already been written. Interesting as these movements are, they form nothing but a clue to the dominant force that gave our times their characteristic features. The central theme round which they will fit in a harmonious and consistent pattern is, however, different; it is the Fusion of Culture. Fusion of Culture is not a new thing in India and in the ancient Hindu colonies in the Far East. India has been from time immemorial the meeting place of many races; in this magic cauldron have been thrown diverse languages, cults and civilisations, to be brewed into a wonderful potion that still brings solace and peace to millions of human beings. But how the synthesis was effected, what proportion of alien elements was eliminated, how much of foreign civilisation was absorbed, we do not exactly know. What was the contribution of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa to the Vedic culture and Indo-Aryan civilisation? How many members of the Dravidian pantheon were transformed into Hindu deities and transported to the Hindu paradise? Did the noseless *Dasyu* absolutely fail to influence the culture of the fair conqueror? What is India's indebtedness to China and Tibet, to Greece and Rome, to the older civilisations of Babylon and Assyria? Our available data are so meagre that we must remain content with conjectures and surmises. We are on firmer ground when we come to the Muslim period, but here also our sources are not as wide and voluminous as we might wish. The intensity of our researches must depend on the extent of our sources, and when we come to modern times, our sources grow in variety as well as in volume. India is no longer the fabulous land of the pagoda tree; it is an integral part of the busy world within easy reach of every civilised country. If the balance of trade is

slightly upset in any corner of the world, the reaction is at once felt in India. If a literary genius makes his *début* in an obscure town of Latin America, his works find admiring readers in this country. If a momentous scientific discovery is made in Europe, it is immediately exploited here either for industrial purposes or for intellectual edification. Never before had the fusion of two cultures been more complete, the synthesis of two civilisations more harmonious, the intercourse between different races more fruitful. This fusion of cultures, this synthesis of civilisations, this union of peoples might form a fitting subject for the pen of a Mommsen, might inspire the imagination of a Gibbon and enlist the industry of a Ranke. But Mommsens, Gibbons and Rankes are not born every day. The task of a genius must, therefore, be undertaken by a corporation of scholars. There is ample scope of co-operation in the service of our muse. Ours is an industry where competition does not necessarily contribute to efficiency. Ours is a journey which must be shared by all without the least intention of stealing a march over a fellow wayfarer.

Before concluding I feel tempted to make one enquiry which I hope will not be deemed impertinent. The Modern West has relegated religion to the background. What is the position of Religion in Modern India? Has spiritualism completely yielded place to materialism under the impact of the West? The State in India does not derive its sanction from Theology today. But are the current political creeds totally unaffected by the teachings of the old scriptures? That they are free from priestly influences is apparent. Mr. Gandhi is not a Brahmin, Mr. Jinnah is not a *Mullah*. But we are too near the events to have a correct perspective. The 'unchanging' East is having a mad orgy of changes, but it is too early to assert that she has cast her mysticism aside. Science has worked wonders in every sphere of life but spiritualism may at the last resort seek refuge in the very science that shook its foundation so badly. Some day probably an Indian Tawney or an Indian Weber will take up this fascinating subject but neither the proper man nor the appropriate moment has arrived as yet.

I am not inclined to blame my countrymen because more work on Modern Indian history has been done in the British Isles than in India. Our British friends had an early start. They had ready access to the contemporary official records, private correspondence of prominent personages and family papers preserved in the public and

private archives of England, while access to archives in India was strictly limited. Only the fortunate few who could cross the sea and go to London and Paris in search of their sources could employ their time and industry to some useful purpose. Others had necessarily to confine their investigations to more convenient subjects for which ample materials were available in India. But things of late have luckily changed for the better. The Government of India have recently thrown the portals of their record rooms wide open to all seekers of knowledge. The Provincial Governments are sure to follow the example of the Centre sooner or later. Our scholars must now exploit this unique opportunity to the best of their abilities. Let them come to this vast storehouse of knowledge with a co-ordinated scheme so that a minute of their time, an ounce of their energy, a pie of their money may not be wasted through unnecessary reduplication of labour. Let me assure you that there is ample work for each and every one of us in these unexplored mines.

If our study is to be exhaustive and thorough, it will not do to confine our attention to the State archives alone. Equally voluminous records may be awaiting the scholar's scrutiny in private custody all over the country. The old records lying uncared for in the *Zemindar's katcheri*, in the ancient temples and monasteries, in the family mansions of the rich, the grocer's ledgers, the banker's accounts, the *dhobi's* bill, the farmer's wages roll, the housewife's bazar chits must all be laid under contribution and every place from the Prince's palace to the peasant's hut must be scoured for them. A concerted survey must be organised in every province, in every district to bring these valuable private records to light. We can do nothing better than emulate the example of a noble son of the Punjab. Born in the land of the five rivers Dr. Balakrishna transferred his sphere of activities to far-off Maharashtra. He started his work in the British archives but later turned his attention to the indigenous records in private custody. His was not a solitary quest, for in Maharashtra many sincere scholars have devoted their lives to this noble work. Our muse is an exacting mistress; she demands undivided devotion and the frail physique of Dr. Balakrishna could not bear the strain. He died in harness. Two years back he presided over this section at Allahabad and his voice must be still ringing in your ears. Last year he sent a resolution to the Indian Historical Records Commission calling upon Government of India to secure transcripts of all contemporary records relating to

this country now preserved in lands beyond the seas. He passed away before his mission was fulfilled. It is for us who survive to take up his unfinished work. May his tired soul find peace and consolation in the assurance that his colleagues will do what he left undone, his friends will complete what he left unfinished and his countrymen will achieve his cherished hopes and devout desires.

The history of Modern India has yet to be written. To outsiders India is a land of complexities and contradictions. Her culture has never been exclusive, her civilisation has never been aggressive, her conservatism has always been tempered with a toleration all her own. Reverence for the old has never degenerated here to aversion of the new. Assimilation and not annihilation has been her racial policy. It is for the future historian to say whether India has been true to herself in the commercial clashes and racial conflicts of the last two centuries. It will be our task to bring together and preserve for the future generations this rightful heritage, the raw materials of Modern Indian history. It will be our duty to rescue from decay and dissolution these indigenous records on which Modern Indian history must be based. It will be our care to rouse the public conscience and to persuade the custodians of the public purse to do their duty by the archives in India, public and private.

CRITICAL APPROACH AND AGNOSTICISM

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A rational being is said to execute three sorts of functions: he *thinks, feels, and wills* and as a sequel to an exercise of such functions, he has what we call his 'experience.' Thus whatever he thinks, whatever he feels and whatever he wills, he *experiences*, although somewhat differently in each case. Now, if it be asked: how is that difference in experience known?—The question turns difficult and confusing. So long as a man loses his consciousness in what he is conscious of, he grazes on the common pasture, he shares the general functional life of the world around him, he lives through the function and cannot be held to have an awareness of his independence. But if he could discover himself in that situation, he would find that though a part of his experience and an organ thereof, he is as experienter—**बिज्ञाता**, something over and above his experience. But ordinarily nothing of the kind happens, and this has encouraged the materialists to deny the reality of the self. The rationalist has presumed the existence of a self through a process of elimination and abstraction and afterwards has experienced great difficulty in linking it back to the world of experience. The objectivist, on the other hand, has started from an independent object and then introduced the self somehow in the constitution of experience. The present essay is an attempt to show the irrationality of both the procedures and to propose a third method of approach at the end.

Man, in so far as he only experiences but does not care to analyse the specific nature of such experience, is literally lost to it and has no recognition of his own independence. He is then a sharer in the common, natural and normal existence—a member of the thinking, feeling and willing world, but ignorant of the essence of the distinction between what can think, feel and will, and what cannot do so. Further, the specific nature of the different modes of experience remains unknown to him. He knows but does not know what constitutes his knowing and the distinctive aspects of that experience.

There is another movement. If he abstracts himself from what he does, contemplates what he really is in his independence, he passes beyond all objectivity and, consequently, beyond rationality and settles in the area of pure consciousness. This state is one of pure subjectivity when the seer abides in his own proper self—**द्रष्टुः स्वरूपेऽवस्थानम् ।** Now if we name these stages as empirical and suprarational respectively, we find that in none of them we get any answer to our question : how is the difference in experience cognised ? The former is unconscious of any such question, the latter has transcended it. A critical understanding must, therefore, try some other course and this was exactly the attempt of Kant. He pursued what he called the 'Transcendental method' and for a rational understanding of experience, such method is the only method.

To know the distinction in experiences, we are at the very outset to suppose them to be the different functions of one and the same agent. To be distinct, facts must be comparable and to be comparable they must agree in their attachment to some common basis. Unity is thus the background of all differentiations and contrasts. Hegel, more than any one else, seems to understand this. When he says that contradictions and syntheses form the basis for a construction of the world of thought and being, he means that contradictions of any description constitute the drive to a synthesis. But while Hegel is over-anxious about the fact of synthesis which is his absorbing interest, a critical philosopher will view the synthesis only as a means to understanding the difference. The synthetic unity is virtually a postulate of thought which he presupposes for interpreting the varied character of given experiences. Thus while an aspirant rationalist thinks of the unity of the self divested of all functions as factitious and adventitious, and a dialectician like Hegel contemplates a synthetic unity as the repository of the contradictories, a critical philosopher regards the unity as the synthetic unity of apperception, regards it as a postulate or presupposed notion and, without attempting an explanation of that unity, tackles the problem of the constitution of experience and the different modes of approaches that it manifests. He acknowledges that experience can be interpreted and understood only through a tacit reference to an agency unique and unchangeable all through its constructions, but he refrains from submitting an account of that unity in ego, which being a transcendental condition of experience, is in itself not conditioned by it.

The Tradition is to take a theory in terms of either idealism or realism. Those two "—isms" are view-points with which a student of philosophy is expected to be familiar and any suggestions, new or old, which he proposes to make (it is urged on him), should be defined in terms of either of them. Otherwise, it is feared, things remain unintelligible. The critical theorist will thus be asked to take sides. But a closer survey of the pages of a History of Philosophy will reveal that our ordinary characterisation of a theory as realistic or idealistic is wrong and misleading. The different systems of thought exhibit no strictly common and comparable features. When a philosopher plans a theory he does so not because his puzzle-loving mind directs him to speculate about new shocks, but because his enlightened self wants to communicate itself to the environment. He works under an inspiration and his motive thus is a real and impelling one. The material he works with may be ancient, but the construction which alone can tell the story of his genius, is readable only with reference to the specific direction of the thought of his own mind. And in this, individual specialities outweigh the social instinct. In view of this fact we shall refrain from defining the standpoint of the critical philosopher in terms of realism and idealism. Indeed, there is hardly any justification for any such characterisation. For, while idealism starts with the subject of cognition, and realism with the independent object, a critical philosopher pursuing the transcendental method, starts with experience or knowledge-relation itself. An autonomous subject and an externally existent object are to him unknowables. While the mystic speaks of a self-knowledge or transcendental consciousness and an objectivist, of the knowability of an existence independent of knowing, he can admit only its *thinkability*, but not its *knowability* also. In what follows, we shall attempt an explanation of his method and examine the consequences thereof.

Whenever we reflect, we find ourselves in a state of transitive awareness. Pure subjective consciousness, even if there be any such moment of our rational life, is not what can be thought back or reascertained. The presentation of an object is what constitutes the 'Transitive-ness' of consciousness. But this object is not necessarily a material thing outside, it may be a mental state within or even a cognition compresent with our state of awareness. The philosopher, pursuing the transcendental method has to think out the possibilities of such a transitive experience and thereupon to explain the specialities of

its different species. A phenomenon like the cognition of cognition has no direct bearing upon his enquiry although he resorts to it sometimes for an explanation of objective perception, of which it is a further construction. Thus, in his reflective analysis, he may start from a cognition of cognition and then retrospectively, arrive at the original perceptual moment, at the so-called primary perception, in order to determine its conditions and presuppositions. But, at this point, it is necessary that we should guard ourselves against possible misconceptions. When we maintain that the specific character of a cognition and the general conditions thereof, can be ascertained through reflective analysis or transcendental method, we do not mean that a cognition of cognition is itself that expedient. The method of reflection or the Kantian transcendental method is very different from a cognition of cognition. Although it is maintained by some that a cognition of cognition or secondary knowledge can illumine and explain the primary consciousness, we think that such is possible only through a reflective consciousness very different from a secondary cognition; and that even the so-called secondary cognition, being a transitive awareness, is itself dependent upon reflection. While a reflective consciousness points out and implies a subject other than an object and reveals the emergent character of the particular conscious state, a secondary cognition loses itself in a particular mode of objectivity, appearing in the form of a primary cognition. The former is consciousness that reveals knowing while the latter is a particular type of knowledge, unconscious of itself. The knowing of knowledge activity is not the same as the knowing of a knowledge product and a reflective consciousness should not be misunderstood for a tertiary cognition. The attitude is what matters here and in reflective consciousness, the attitude is speculative, subjective, and transcendental, but in the case of primary, secondary, tertiary and similar other forms of cognition, the attitude is empirical, contemplative, and objective. One may know an object, then know that one has known it and even go on knowing one's knowledge of the knowing of an object and so on *ad infinitum* without ever rising to the consciousness of what makes all those knowings and the specific aspects of such knowings. So long as the objective attitude is preserved, one will be knowing and knowing and knowing, but evidently without any conscious purpose of one's own, in sole response to the lure of an objectivity. A transcendental reflection consists

not in being aware of an awareness simply, but in being able to interpret an awareness in the light of its presuppositions and conditions. Thus when we know not the bare fact of knowing, but think out what constitutes our knowing, when we are conscious not of a past consciousness as a *fact*, but conscious of its conditions and implications, we have a transcendental attitude or interpretative consciousness. And this method is what Kant formulated in his criticism of experience.

Though it is widely held yet it is quite incorrect to maintain that Kant was a philosophical successor of René Descartes and that he started with a duality between *res cogitans* and *res extensa*. His knowledge of his predecessors—the empiricists and rationalists, the subjectivists and the objectivists lent him a motive to shun the view-points of the extremists and to revise his attitude towards facts. What he attempted in his critiques is not to effectuate a forced reconciliation of rationalism and empiricism or to bridge over the gulf between knower and object, but to formulate a principle characteristically his own and to show its adequacy as a method of true philosophy. He understood that an independent object or an absolute subject cannot form the starting-point of a philosophical enquiry, for they are not what matter most or what are primarily given to us. Even to enquire into the possibility and conditions of experience, it is experience itself that serves as the datum and warrants any enquiry for us. The task of a philosopher was, according to him, criticism or rationalisation of experience. That experience is and that it is possible were the postulates of experience itself—what constitutes and conditions that experience and the necessary limitations that our experience implies—were for him matters for investigation. It is an immanent criticism of experience that he recognised as being capable of answering his several questions. The problem was no doubt, partly anticipated by the Celebrated Locke. But his psychological method failed to lead him to right conclusions. Kant fully agreed with Hume about the latter's disastrous deductions from the principles of Locke, which 'roused him from his dogmatic slumber' and induced him to leave off the school of Baumgarten and Christian Wolfe. But the dogmatic slumber from which he was roused was not an uncritical acceptance of the principles of rationalism but the wrong direction of the mind in holding that a problem of philosophy may at all start with *res cogitans* or *res extensa*—in supposing that the so-called

empiricism and rationalism were genuinely philosophical methods. Kant was aware that Locke could not validate his promise but for his blindness to the fact that a psychological method like his own was inherently incompetent to the task of criticism. Such a method was objectivistic, while a critical method could be only transcendental. Locke's method, further, had based itself on two huge assumptions:—firstly, that what was not in the psyche in a particular moment of its life was necessarily non-existent and secondly, that the psyche could be framed out of the physique, which latter conception ended in the materialism of Condillac. The first assumption was tested by Leibniz and refuted in his theory of monads. The monads of Leibniz were capable of unfolding and manifesting what in one stage of their life was dormant and sub-conscious. This is however, psychological refutation but though a seemingly valid refutation it could not fully satisfy Kant. He never believed in Leibniz's theory of the 'windowless' monads and could not appreciate the view that finished facts of knowledge could ever lie dormant from the first and then thrust themselves on the conscious sphere through any mechanical exertion. The other assumption that the psyche received all its contents from the physical world and then through tendencies of association could construct the world of knowledge, when developed scientifically by Hume, showed that knowledge was practically impossible. This was a lesson for Kant and he came to understand that knowledge remains unaccounted for and unexplained, from the standpoints of both the rationalists and the empiricists. He awoke from his dogmatic slumbers and wanted to pursue a different mode of approach: by starting from knowledge or experience itself and following the transcendental method.

A reflective consciousness reveals that knowledge is not only transitive but also personal. The transitive character points to an object other than the act of cognition, and the personal character hints at a subject. But does it not then imply a duality? Kant would not hesitate to acknowledge it, but still he would hold that what we find or start with is not the duality but a synthetic consciousness that implies it. We are not to know nor are we to show how an independent subject comes in contact with an independent object. All that is required of us is to explain the constitution of knowledge and its implications. It is when examining the structure of knowledge that we, through reflection, arrive at a consciousness of a duality, but

we do not begin with it. Thus we come to know that what we call 'knowledge' is no unit, or in that sense, a fact, but a relation. But a relation implies relata and is an *emergence*. We, as it is apparent, do not subscribe to the view of internal relation or eternal relation. A relation is what happens or what is in time; a timeless relation, even if there were any such possibility, could not be apprehended by a finite mind. But how can the parties which are originally unrelated come to be related together? A Bradley would argue that unless you admit the internality of relation, the relata not in relation would require a go-between to come into relation, and then each of the relata to approach that arbiter would require another arbiter and so on indefinitely. Thus A to be related to B, will require a medium C and then each of them, A, B, to be related to the medium itself would require D and E which latter will stand in need of further media. Kant anticipated such objections and he put forth the solutions partly in his *Transcendental Aesthetic* and partly in his *Analytic*, in connection with his enunciation of the doctrine of the *Skematism* of the Pure Intellect. The knower to know an object needs be connected with it through the medium of a third thing, but this latter does not stand in need of any other medium but itself to bring forth the connection. If the medium itself were a fact or an entity similarly absolute, there would have been no escape from a *regress ad infinitum*. But happily such is not necessarily the nature of the medium which is a form of *intuiting*. The subject is related with the object in so far as the former intuites the latter and a mode of intuition stands for an immediate contact. This mode of contact or apprehension can, in no good sense, be supposed to require some other medium—the slapping on the face itself is not to be slapped so that there can be slapping at all. Kant explains this mode of intuition which itself does not require to be intuited, in his *Aesthetic*, and he holds that there are two forms by means of which an intuition can be symbolized—space and time. If the subject is to know and the object is to be known, it is necessary that the latter should communicate itself to the former,—the object should conform to the subject. Kant holds that such a communication is possible through the passivity of the subject and that space and time are the forms of such passivity. It may be questioned whether this view of space and time is sound—whether space and time can be modes of intuition at all. Kant in his *Metaphysical and Transcendental*

Expositions demonstrates the *a priori* character of space and time and their sensible character as distinct from 'rational' character. They are described as representing the receptive side of the subject as distinct from its constructive aspect. But some explanation is here necessary. It is a truism that the passivity of the subject means nothing but the 'given-ness' of the object. When is the subject passive and why? The subject is passive not of its own accord, but in its dependence on an objective presentation. So that there can be any presentation or perception at all, it is necessary that the subject should receive something against itself. The presentation, to proceed from the other side, to be what it is must be presented, or, intuited, or, simply, '*given*.' Thus what is 'givenness' from the side of the object is the passive reception from the side of the subject. Kant holds that space and time have two-fold character—they are the symbols of 'givenness' of the object and the forms of intuition of the subject. Mind, to an average thinker, stands for an independent substance, unextended and intensively determined. Accepting that conception, how can we justify such uses as 'This is in my mind' and 'This was not in my mind! Do they not really imply that mind is extensive and has a spatial character? Is this not contradicting the view maintained above. But we need not be discouraged by the above consequences. Mind is indescribable otherwise than as an apparatus of perception—an instrumentality through which things are given to us. Minding is passively noting something or receiving something and any such reception holds only in space and time. Therefore, it can be concluded that in so far as objects are minded, mind is the same as space and time.

From the foregoing analysis, Kant concluded: if things are known to us only as we have them in perception, only as they appear in space and time, is not our knowledge phenomenal so that we can speak nothing about things as independent existents or as 'ungiven'? This is consistent with the critical standpoint, but there are critics without critical insight, and so objections are raised: should we not hold in that case that there is no gulf between the things as they appear and as they really are? How can we say that the 'ungiven' is unknown without knowing the 'unknownness'? The point is difficult and the opponent is ambitious so much so that he wants to demolish the whole of the Kantian edifice at a single stroke. But the answer was anticipated by the old Kant. As the objects we

cognise are *given* to us and nor created by our mind, we must acknowledge their existence somewhere outside ourselves and outside space and time. It may be that what we know of them are what objects essentially are, still we cannot pretend that we know them in their independence, or know them as unknown to us. That the object is not in us will be admitted by everyone other than a Berkeleyan idealist. The simple presumption is this that when we know it, we take it as *with* us and not as *without* us. The 'without-ness' of the object is a belief, to a critical realist, of the modern era and to Kant, it is a postulate of empirical knowledge, ascertainable in thought only. The thing-in-itself is thus *thinkable* according to Kant but not *knowable*. But is not thinking a special sort of knowing? Kant does not look at them in the light of species-genus relation and he was correct. We know an objectivity but not the instrument of all objectification also. The thing in-itself is a necessary presupposition of all 'given-ness,' it is the instrumentality which makes articulate the notion of 'given-ness,' and as such, it is in itself not 'given.' It is a postulate of thought that moves with the thinking of all objectivity and as such it is only *in* thought and never *without* thought as a *fact*. By the reality of an object, Kant means its independence only and he holds that the reality of the object, or object as real, is not known, what is known is the appearance of the object., The reason is that an object is not given to us as *outside* us but as *in* us or *with* us. A naive realist will hardly accept the argument, for, in his opinion, outside-ness is as much a character of the object as its nearness and distance. But a closer scrutiny will show that such spatial measurements are not absolute and that a distant object may otherwise be near, for its position is relative to that of the percipient.

The above is one side of the alleged agnosticism of Kant and the other part is enunciated in his metaphysics of soul, God and other transcendental notions. Kant does not practically deny them. What he denies is a theoretical knowledge of them. In the range of theoretical reason or understanding, knower has to wait for the appearance of the 'given' through the intuitions of space and time. and its forms of construction or *categories* remain empty without it. Now that the metaphysical entities cannot be conditioned by sensuous intuitions, we cannot predicate any objectivity of them and as such we have to think of them without knowing. To know the metaphysical entities we should have an intuition of them, but as no

sensuous intuition applies in their case we cannot take them as real in the sense of being independent objects outside ourselves. We may have some other type of intuition, *viz.*, nonsensuous intuition, but what is non-sensuously attended to, cannot be categorised and known; it remains an idea of pure reason, 'inseparable from thought and, therefore, unattainable as an objectivity independent of thinking.

At this stage, we shall be asked to answer whether thinking is possible without knowing and we have scarcely any difficulty to get over the opposition. The mind may be a *tabula rasa* without a sense-representation, but the minder or the subject is not inert and inactive. Even when it has nothing to know, it is something and its essence lies in free-thinking. We admit the reality of the subject as we admit the independence of the object; the former *is* in so far as it thinks without knowing and the latter *is* in so far as it is unknowable. Kant had no difficulty to escape the criticism, for he uses the two words 'thinking' and 'knowing' in specific senses. 'Knowing' to him means theoretical or objective knowing, while 'thinking' is for him 'practical awareness' that can have no demonstration in objective knowledge. He holds that though it is the very same human reason that expresses itself in thinking, knowing and feeling, the expressions, because of the speciality of their respective conditions, have got to be treated as different and not identical. While thinking, we have no opposition of the objective world to face, so that thinking becomes free and identical with our activity or willing. But in knowing or feeling, this is not possible. What we know is not ourselves and hence, reason is here opposed to an 'other' and our knowing is a determinate and conditional awareness. Feeling or the power of aesthetic appreciation holds a position intermediate between thinking or willing on the one hand, and knowing, on the other. Here we have a consciousness which though dependent on some sort of presentation, is still independent of and uninvolved in that presentation itself. In the aesthetic appreciation of the beautiful, we must have an 'occasion' for our feeling of beauty, we cannot *will* beauty as we choose. But though thus dependent on the presentation of an object, the 'beauty' is an emotional concept and the feeling of beauty is not in the object, nor is there beauty in the so-called beautiful character of the object. The object has some shape and colour, some scent and some peculiar sensation of touch, but neither of these singly, nor, all of these conjointly can constitute 'beauty.'

Beauty is *through our appreciation* of the object and as such it is but a mode of appreciation, although the mode for its exercise requires an 'occasion' presented by an objectivity. But this appreciation, though possible only alongside the presentation is not involved in it, it is entirely subjective and characteristically unobjective.

Now, if it be asked, though thus different, whether these functions—knowing, feeling and willing, are essentially the same, Kant's answer will be in the negative. He has before him the task to explain, how it is possible for one and the same subject to express itself differently through knowing, feeling and willing and he endeavours to show what makes these functions distinct. Therefore, it is none of his undertakings to blot out the distinctions in experiences. He shows that the self as unconditioned and free is willing; it is pure activity, autonomous and categorical—it is thinking without knowing. The self as feeling is that *a priori* faculty which on the occasion of certain objective presentation, reads 'signs' which are not in the object, *viz.*, 'beauty' or 'ugliness' for enjoyment and recreation. Lastly, the self as knowing, is the unity of apperception which attains to its self-synthesis in and through the synthesis it achieves in the constitution of the object. While thus explaining the differences in experiences, he assumes on the one hand a free subject, not further describable and in itself unknown and unknowable, and, on the other hand, an equally unknowable objective back-ground, the thing-in-itself or the object in its independence.

The necessity for this assumption arises from the very nature of a critical method. A critical method or transcendental explanation as maintained at the very outset consists in studying the differences with reference to a unity. A soar to that unity, disregarding the differences in which the unity expresses itself, was not attempted by Kant, in order to remain consistent with his critical aim. The thing-in-itself had to be admitted without knowing to make knowledge of objects possible, and a free subject had to be presupposed, to explain human experience in all its modes. This is his agnosticism and it is unavoidable for one with critical instinct.

BOARD AND VOLANTARY SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1870-1926

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IV

POST-ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

THE report of the consultative committee of the board of education published in 1925-26 made the following recommendation as regards the organization of the post-primary education :

According to the recommendation of the consultative committee the primary education should end at the age of 11. Pupils at that age should either be transferred to a different school or to a different type of education from that given to the pupils under the age of 11. This post-primary education would end for the majority of the pupils at 14, though for many, it will continue up to the age of 16, and for some to 18 or 19. This post-primary education will include junior technical schools, and alternative types of schools or modern schools.

1. The modern schools will include selective central schools which will give a four-year course from the age of 11 with a realistic or practical trend for the last two years.

2. It will also include non-selective central schools, and may either be the only central school in the area, or may exist side by side with the selective central schools, and for the less intelligent pupils, who will not go to the selective central schools. These schools will offer courses for a period of three or four years, which will be narrower in scope than those given in the grammar schools. The handicraft and other subjects of practical character should be included in the curricula of these modern schools. The last two years of the modern school should not include vocational courses. Junior technical schools and art departments should be encouraged to meet local demands. Arrangements should be made for removing brilliant pupils from modern schools to grammar schools, and also for transferring retarded pupils from grammar schools to modern or junior technical schools. Written examinations should be given to all pupils who should enter

some type of post-primary schools at the age of 11 to determine their abilities and interests.

In 1926-27 the number of senior departments increased from 598 to 652, and the number of pupils attending them, from 155,469 to 168,536.

In 1926-27 the number of departments of all kinds affected by the reorganizations was 550, as against 250, in the previous years.¹

NURSERY SCHOOLS

There were 25 nursery schools in 1921-22, and 334 evening play centers were recognized as against 379 in the previous years. In 1922-23 there were 24 nursery schools with an accommodation for 1,132 children. The evening play centers declined in numbers in comparison with the year 1921-22. On March 31, 1923 there were 241 centers.²

During 1924-25 twenty-seven centers conducted nursery schools for the training and care of children between the ages of two and five. One thousand three hundred and seven children were accommodated in these nursery schools. On March 31, 1925, there were 256 evening play centers, with an enrolment of 52,000 children.

In 1926-27 there were 264 evening play centers, and in 1927, there were 26 nursery schools with 1,367 children.³

GROWTH OF THE COUNCIL AND THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS

After the Balfour Education Bill of 1902 became law, the board schools were transferred into the councils and they were known as council schools. The voluntary schools were made a charge on the local rates, and one-third of the managers were elected by the local body. The voluntary schools thus came under public control.

The purpose here is to trace growth of these two types of schools after the passage of the Balfour Act. We noted already in the first issue of this article that the board schools made much more rapid progress than the voluntary schools although the latter were leading in the competition. But in the twentieth century we will see the council

¹ Report of the Board of Education for the School, 1926-27, pp. 9-18.

² A *Ibid.*, for 1921-22, p. 77.

B *Ibid.*, for 1922-23, p. 149.

³ A *Ibid.*, 1924-25, p. 169.

B *Ibid.*, 1926-27, p. 66.

C *Ibid.*, p. 110.

schools far surpassing the voluntary schools. We shall also notice that the statistical compilations are not made distinct and separate on educational costs, number of teachers, their qualifications, salary, subject of instruction, etc., for the council schools and voluntary schools.

In this article besides the study of the comparative growth of the council and the voluntary schools attempt will be made also to show the gradual growth of school population, average attendance, educational costs, teachers' qualifications, salary, attendance, courses of study, etc.

In the year 1903 the number of council schools was 5,975 with an accommodation for 3,065,169 children. The voluntary schools numbered 14,238 with an accommodation for 3,722,317 children.⁴

Statistics for Wales, reveal that on July 31, 1906, the council schools numbered 1,030 with an accommodation for 52,412 children. The voluntary schools numbered 744 with an accommodation for 141,976 children.

On July 31, 1909, the council schools numbered 1,133 with an accommodation for 390,954 children and the voluntary schools numbered 690 with an accommodation for 131,140 children.⁵

In 1915 the number of council schools for England and Wales was 8,603 with an accommodation for 4,289,134 children; the voluntary schools numbered 12,439 with an accommodation for 2,750,472 children.⁶

In 1916 the number of council schools for England and Wales rose to 8,609 with an accommodation of 4,312,756; and the voluntary schools numbered 12,360 with an accommodation for 2,742,036 children.⁷

In 1918 the council schools for England and Wales numbered 8,621 with an accommodation of 4,329,252; and the voluntary schools numbered 12,302, with an accommodation for 2,736,913 pupils.⁸

In 1920 the council schools for England and Wales numbered 8,705 with an accommodation of 4,354,951; and the voluntary schools numbered 12,266 with an accommodation for 2,731,026 pupils.⁹

In 1922 the number of council schools for England and Wales was 8,880 with an accommodation for 4,400,612 pupils; and the voluntary schools numbered 12,059 with 2,696,921 accommodations.¹⁰

⁴ Report of the Board of Education, 1916-18, p. 82.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1914-18, p. 103.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1917-18, p. 82.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1921-22, p. 94.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1908-09, p. 803.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 82.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 99.

For the year 1923 the council schools numbered 8,925 with 4,417,014 accommodations ; and the voluntary schools numbered 11,906 with 2,679,106 accommodations.¹¹

In 1926 the council schools in England and Wales numbered 9,101 with 4,419,066 accommodations ; and the voluntary schools for England and Wales numbered 11,626 with 2,630,958 accommodations.¹²

ATTENDANCE IN ORDINARY PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

In 1910-11 the average number of scholars on the registers was 6,036,685 with an average attendance of 5,973,320. The percentage of average attendance to average number on registers was 89·01

In 1911-12 the average number of scholars on the registers was 5,033,982 with an average attendance of 5,357,507 pupils. The percentage of average attendance to average number on the registers was 88·79.

In 1912-13 the average number on registers was 6,047,217 with an average attendance of 5,365,873. The percentage of average attendance to average number on registers was 88·73.

The average attendance for 1914-15 was 5,354,640 ; for 1915-16 5,296,566, for 1916-17—5,220,177 ; and for 1917-18—5,184,220.¹³

The average number of scholars on registers for the year 1919-20 was 5,996,868 with an average attendance of 5,198,964. In 1920-21 the average number on registers was 5,933,468 with an average attendance 5,215,742.

In 1921-22 the average number of pupils on registers was 5,878,203 with an average attendance of 5,188,623.

The percentage of average attendance to average number on registers was 87·1 for 1919-20, 87·9 for 1920-21 ; and 83·3 for 1921-22.¹⁴

In 1922-23, the average attendance of scholars was 5,141,461.¹⁵

In 1921-22 the average number of scholars on the registers for England was 5,409,701, for Wales 469,091 with an average attendance of 4,783,783 for England and 405,326 for Wales. The percentage of average attendance on registers was 88·4 for England and 86·4 for Wales.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 173.

¹³ *Board of Education Report*, 1917-18, p. 82.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1925-26, p. 156.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1921-22, p. 95.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 174.

The average number of scholars on registers for the year 1922-23 was 5,296,373 in England and 462,850 in Wales with an average attendance of 4,738,134 for England and 405,530 for Wales. The percentage of average attendance to the number on the registers was 89·5 for England and 87·6 for Wales.

In 1923-24 the average number of scholars on registers was 5,209,637 for England and 460,418 for Wales with an average attendance of 4,623,878 in England and 402,802 in Wales. The percentage of average attendance to the number on the registers was 88·9 for England and 87·5 for Wales.

In 1924-25 the average number of scholars on the registers was 5,137,325 for England and 460,491 for Wales with an average attendance of 4,536,428 for England and 404,093 for Wales. The percentage of average attendance to the number on the registers was 88·3 for England and 87·7 for Wales.

In 1925-26 the average number of scholars on the registers was 5,168,702 for England and 462,858 for Wales with an average attendance of 4,551,276 for England and 405,309 for Wales. The percentage of average attendance to the number on the registers was 87·6.¹⁸

The number of scholars on the books on January 31 for each of the seven years refers to ordinary elementary schools, higher elementary schools, special schools, and certified efficient schools (England and Wales).

Year	Number of Scholars on the Books on January 31				Net increase or decrease
	Under Five	5 and under 12	12 and over	Total	
1912	320,869	4,636,926	1,088,770	6,046,485	...
1913	301,150	4,644,678	1,111,589	6,057,417	+10,832
1914	289,757	4,672,753	1,116,385	6,078,895	+21,478
1915	283,200	4,680,298	1,136,167	6,108,665	+29,770
1916	269,400	4,690,675	1,110,297	6,070,312	-38,353
1917	232,183	4,650,110	1,097,596	5,979,889	-90,423
1918	232,897	4,631,375	1,101,941	5,966,213	-13,676
1919	221,862	4,582,760	1,113,232	5,917,854	-48,359

From this Table¹⁷ we see the number of schools increased from 1913 to 1915 and the number declined from 1916-1919. This decline in numbers is due to the Great War.

NUMBER OF VARIOUS TYPES OF SCHOOLS FOR ENGLAND AND WALES

In 1914-15 the number of ordinary public elementary schools in England was 19,154, in Wales 1,835. In England the higher elementary schools numbered 35, and in Wales 11, special schools numbered 386 in England and 10 in Wales.¹⁸

In 1915-16 the number of ordinary public elementary schools in England was 19,081, in Wales 1,888. The number for higher elementary schools in England was 33, and in Wales 11. Special schools in England numbered 391, and in Wales 10.¹⁹

In 1916-17 England had 19,016 ordinary public elementary schools and Wales had 1,883 ordinary public elementary schools. Higher elementary schools numbered 31 in England and 14 in Wales. Special schools numbered 411 in England and 10 in Wales.²⁰

In 1917-18 ordinary public elementary schools numbered 19,043 in England and 1,880 in Wales.

The number of higher elementary schools in England was 30, and in Wales 14. The special schools in England numbered 435 and in Wales 10.

The number of public elementary schools for the year 1919-20 in England was 19,070 and in Wales 1,901.²¹

Special schools numbered 468 in England and 10 in Wales.²²

The number of public elementary schools for the year 1921-22 was 19,033 in England, and 1,906 in Wales. The number of special schools was 510 in England and 13 in Wales.²³

Public elementary schools for the year 1922-23 numbered 18,930 in England and 1,901 in Wales. The number of special schools was 516 in England and 14 in Wales.²⁴

In 1924-25 the number of elementary schools in England was 18,832, in Wales 1,902. Special schools numbered 533 in England and 14 in Wales.²⁵

¹⁷ Report of the Board of Education, 1917-18, p. 82.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 103.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1916-17, p. 90.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 98.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 173.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 82.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1917-18, p. 81.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1921-22, p. 94.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1924-25, p. 198.

TEACHERS

NUMBER OF TEACHERS FOR EVERY 1,000 PUPILS IN AVERAGE ATTENDANCE

For the years 1913-14, 1919-20, 1920-21 and 1921-22

In 1913-14 the number of certificated head teachers for every 1,000 pupils in average attendance was 5.9.

The number of assistant teachers was 14.3, the number of uncertificated teachers was 7.7, the number of supplementary teachers was 2.5. The total number for all types of teachers was 30.4.

The number for 1919-20, 6.0 for the certificated head teachers, 15.9 for certificated assistant teachers, the number for uncertificated teachers was 6.9; the number for supplementary teachers 2.6. The total number for all types of teachers was 31.4.

In 1920-21, the number for certificated head teachers was 6.0; the number for certificated assistant teachers was 16.2, the number for uncertificated teachers was 6.8, the number for supplementary teachers was 2.6. The total number for the whole types of teachers was 31.6.

In 1921-22, the number for certificated head teachers was 6.9, the number for certificated assistant teachers was 16.7; the number for uncertificated teachers was 6.7 and for supplementary teachers was 2.5. The total number for all types of schools was 32.8.

Thus we see the total number for all types of teachers per 1,000 pupils was increasing since 1913-14.

In 1913-14 the number of certificated teachers was 109,156 (66.6 %); in 1919-20 the number was 114,103 (69.9%); in 1920-21 the number rose to 116,073 (70.3%) and in 1921-22 the number was 118,026 (71.2%)

The number of uncertificated teachers for the year 1913-14 was 41,407 (2.53%); the number for 1919-20 was 35,772 (21.9%); in 1920-21 the number was 35,459 (21.5%) and in 1921-22 the number went down to 34,848 (21%). The number for supplementary teachers in 1913-14 was 13,367 (8.1%); in 1919-20 the number was 13,424 (8.2%); in 1920-21 the number was 13,541 (8.2%) and in 1921-22 the number was 12,898 (7.8%).

Thus we see the number of certificated teachers was gradually increasing during the period from 1913-22, and the number for uncertificated teachers gradually declining.

The number for supplementary teachers for the years 1919-21 increased and the number again decreased to 7.8% in the year 1921-22.²²

AVERAGE SALARY OF TEACHERS ON MARCH 31, FOR THE YEARS
1914, 1920, 1921, 1922 AND 1923.

The average salary for certificated men head teachers was £ 177 in 1914, £305 in 1920, £371 in 1921, £391 in 1922 and £410 in 1923.

The average salary for women head teachers was £126 in 1914, £238 in 1920, £300 in 1921, £314 in 1922 and £327 in 1923.

Average salary for certificated men assistant teachers was £129 in 1914, £249 in 1920, £304 in 1921, £305 in 1922 and £310 in 1923.

The average salary for certificated women teachers was £96 in 1914, £189 in 1920, £238 in 1921, £246 in 1922 and £254 in 1923.

The average salary for uncertificated men head teachers was £76 in 1914, £134 in 1918, £178 in 1922, and £206 in 1923. The average salary for uncertificated women head teachers was £69 in 1914, £127 in 1920, £149 in 1921, £156 in 1922 and £163 in 1923.

The average salary for uncertificated assistant men teachers was £68 in 1914, £137 in 1920, £173 in 1921, £174 in 1922 and £182 in 1923.

The average salary for uncertificated assistant women teachers was £57 in 1914, £122 in 1920, £140 in 1921, £144 in 1922 and £148 in 1923.

The average salary for supplementary women teachers was £40 in 1914, £84 in 1920, £93 in 1921, £96 in 1922 and £97 in 1923.

The average salary for practical instruction men teachers is £223 in 1920, £216 in 1921, £289 in 1922 and £312 in 1923. The Average salary for practical instruction women teachers was £179 in 1920, £228 in 1921, £239 in 1922, and £247 in 1923.

The average salary for total certificated teachers was £118 in 1914, £221 in 1920, £275 in 1921, £284 in 1922 and £294 in 1923; and for the total uncertificated teachers it was £58 in 1914, £123 in 1920, £142 in 1921, £146 in 1922 and £151 in 1923.

The average salary for men teachers was £139 in 1914, £260 in 1920, £312 in 1921, £326 in 1922 and £335 in 1923.

The average salary for women teachers was £82 in 1914, £168 in 1920, £207 in 1921, £215 in 1922 and £22s in 1923.

²² Report of the Board of Education for the year 1922-23, p. 175.

The average salary for men and women was £97 in 1914, £189 in 1920, £233 in 1921, £241 in 1922 and £250 in 1923.

Thus we notice that the average salary for men teachers was higher than the average salary for women teachers. The average salary for certificated teachers was far more than that of uncertificated teachers. The average salary for all grades of teachers was constantly on the increase.²⁷

EDUCATIONAL COSTS

The educational costs increased rapidly. The total costs for elementary schools in England and Wales from 1871 to 1895 was £219,045,134.²⁸

During 1904-5 the total expenditure was £18,777,192.²⁹

During the year 1913-14 the educational authorities spent £26½ millions on elementary education.

(1) "During the three financial years preceding the war, the total expenditure increased steadily by over £1,000,000 a year.

(2) In 1914-15, the increase was £900,000; for 1915-16 it is estimated at £350,000. The total expenditure is increasing but the rate of increase is diminishing."³⁰

During 1925-26 the elementary schools in England and Wales rose to £31,509,606. Thus we see the school costs are increasing rapidly.³¹

CHAPTER V

CURRICULUM

In the twentieth century the scope of curriculum expanded. The principle of individual differences was recognized in planning the courses of study. Cookery, laundry work, house wifery, combined domestic subjects, mixed courses in domestic subjects, dairy work, handicraft, lightwork, and gardening are now among the courses of elementary school curricula. Progress has also been made in the

²⁷ Report of the Board of Education, 1922-23, p. 70.

²⁸ Sadler, M.E. and Edwards, G.W., Public Elementary Education in England and Wales, p. 80.

²⁹ Report of the Department Mental Committee on Education rates, p. 15.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, 1914-16, p. 6.

³¹ Whitker, 1929, p. 812.

provisional practical advanced instruction. The number of children receiving instruction in handicraft and gardening in England, have risen from 433,533 and 110,711 respectively in 1922-23 to 441,589 and 111,182 in 1923-24.³²

In 1927 the number of schools making provision for practical instruction increased from 5,503 to 5,810.³³

The following is the list of courses given in the modern elementary schools in England for 1925 :—

Religious instruction, English, mathematics, geography, history, citizenship, physical exercises and games, music, drawing, physical science, nature study, needlework and handwork, domestic subjects, handicraft (woodwork, etc.) individual work (according to choice, and intervals and means).

MAINTENANCE ALLOWANCES

The board authorized the local educational authorities to grant maintenance allowances to needy children over 14 years age in order to keep these children in school for further education. During the years 1924-27, 30 authorities granted maintenance allowances not less than £100 a year.³⁴

The total expenditure for 1924-25 was £22,714, for 1925-26—£32,364 and for 1926-27—£36,355. On March 31, 1925, the number of awards was 2,000 on March 31, 1926—2,800. March 1927 not available.³⁵

SIZE OF CLASSES

In February, 1924, the board issued a circular demanding the abolition of classes with more than 50 pupils on the register and also to reduce to 40 classes for children over 11. On March 31, 1925, 24,972 classes with over 50 pupils were reduced to 21,345. On March 31 the number was reduced to 22,212.³⁵

³² Report of the Board of Education for 1924-25, p. 88.

³³ Kandel, I. K. *Educational Year-book for 1925*, p. 118.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, 1926-27, p. 15.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

CONCLUSION

Let us now pause and enquire: Is the Forster Act realized?

The answer is, Yes.

The Board or the council schools which were created under the provision of the Forster Act justified their creation by their noble work. We have noticed the keen competition between the voluntary and the board schools in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the board schools made far more rapid progress than the voluntary schools though the latter led the race. It is also interesting to note that the boards schools did not progress at the expense of the voluntary schools. The board schools increased rapidly through the activities of the board members and it is further noticeable from the statistical figures given in the last chapter of the report that the board schools or the council schools as they are called after Balfour's Act made progress at the expense of the Voluntary schools. In the twentieth century we see the voluntary schools population declining in members whereas that of the council schools increasing.

This decrease in the number of the voluntary schools accommodation might be due to rapid increasing costs of education, recent educational movements for improved school instruction, and reorganization of the schools. We have also noticed in the first stage of the elementary schools history the State only made endowments to the voluntary schools in the second stage the state assumed the supervision of the elementary schools instruction and in the third stage committed itself to the control of the voluntary schools. Education now has become the business of the State. We have also noticed all through the report that the Liberal party sponsored the cause of State schools, whereas the Conservative party supported the voluntary schools. The Conservative party whenever it came into power lost no opportunity in helping the voluntary schools, and the Liberal party likewise supported the board or council schools. The last quarter of the nineteenth century was also characterized by religious and political strife between these two rival parties over the voluntary and the board schools.

This strife continued in the first decade of the twentieth century when the Liberal party came into power in 1907 and tried to capture the voluntary schools through several bills but failed. Having failed to capture the voluntary schools through legislation they attempted

during the coalition government through other means. In 1921 Mr. Fisher, a Liberal member and President of the Board of Education, attempted to control the voluntary schools through a series of proposals but failed. Having failed in their attempt to capture the voluntary schools they gradually tried to extend the school system so as to make it difficult for the voluntary schools to expand their schools beyond the age of 11.

Whatever might be their attitude toward the voluntary schools the Liberal party did much to improve the elementary school system in England and Wales.

In England two types of elementary schools exist side by side ; the council schools and the voluntary schools. It is also to be noticed that the religious strife ceased to exist during the second decade of the twentieth century, though the germs of religious strife still exist and may burst out in the future.

(Concluded)

EDUCATION UNDER AUCKLAND: 1836-42*

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I.

POSTERITY has no soft corners for Lord Auckland for it was his misfortune to "drag the honour of England in the dirt and expose India to the most grievous military disaster and the most shameful humiliation she had ever suffered."¹ Yet it is a fact that Auckland has been more sinned against than sinning. It is generally ignored that Auckland as a loyal pro-consul allowed himself to be used as a cog in the Palmerstonian wheel of anti-Russian diplomacy.² But the legend of war-guilt dies hard and his achievements in the field of internal administration have been almost relegated to the dust. Even a contemporary and a colleague, Henry T. Prinsep opined that "he was the author of no great measure to improve the internal administration."³ Here in this paper a brief sketch of the educational measures of Auckland has been attempted and it will be evident that on the score of educational policy Auckland deserves to be ranked along with Bentinck, Dalhousie and Curzon.

Bentinck's resolution of 7th March, 1835, as is well-known declared that thenceforth the Government was to patronise Western education and that through the medium of English language.⁴ The Anglicist officials in their hour of victory lost all balance, interpreted the resolution in their own way and proceeded to apply ruthlessly their own interpretation. This caused a furore in the country and even some officials who were not avowed Orientalists refused to follow suit. In a minute, dated 24th November 1839, Auckland made a dispassionate consideration of the issues raised and tried to solve the problem to the satisfaction of all concerned. This minute has been discussed in the section following. We intend to explain next Auckland's attitude towards vernacular education, mass literacy, medical studies and other cognate problems. We shall also try to show that the interest be

* Read at the Lahore session of the Indian History Congress, 1940.

¹ Smith : Oxford History of India, p. 672.

² Colvin : John Russell Colvin, and Trotter : Auckland (Rulers of India Series).

³ Cited in Curzon's British Government in India, Vol. II.

⁴ Sharp : Selections from Educational Records, Part I (Cal. 1920), pp. 180-81.

evinced in educational matters was not merely conventional or a part of the routine of an administrator's life.

II.

AUCKLAND'S MINUTE OF 24TH NOVEMBER, 1839

Bentinck's resolution of 7th March 1835 categorically stated the Government's policy to be in favour of Western learning. The exact words deserve quotation: "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed in English education alone." The extreme Anglicists eager to have their 'pound of flesh' took their stand on the word 'alone' and devised measures to divert the funds hitherto enjoyed by the Oriental institutions. All stipends were stopped and special classes in vernacular were closed.⁵ Quite naturally the Government's educational policy was watched with misgivings by the people. Though involved in the maze of Russo-Afghan politics from almost the time of his arrival in India Auckland found leisure to consider "these questions with his usual calmness" (Kerr). While touring in Northern India in 1837-38, he formed his opinions about the problem and on 24th November 1839, he issued from Delhi a minute containing his reflections about educational questions and his directions about the future course of action.⁶ Though a century intervenes between the date of its issue and to-day the whole Minute is worth perusal. A spirit of compromise and expediency was writ large on the Minute and Auckland appeared more in the role of a statesman than a partisan. He avoided "unprofitable controversy" and "judged it best to allow time and experience to act, with their usual healing and enlightening influence, upon general opinion."⁷ As considerations of space forbid us to reproduce this Minute *in extenso* here in this article we shall only sketch Auckland's principal observations and suggestions.

Appropriation of Funds to Oriental Colleges. Auckland interpreted Bentinck's Resolution of 7th March 1835, not as a lawyer but as a mediator. Before taking up the issue of appropriation of funds he

⁵ Kerr: A Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency, 1835-51 (Cal. 1852), Part I, pp. 10-11.

⁶ The Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction for 1839-40 contains the Minute along with the enclosures.

⁷ Para. 1 of the Minute.

frankly stated " that the insufficiency of the Funds assigned by the State for the purposes of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of violent disputes which have taken place upon the education question, and that if the Funds previously appropriated to the cultivation of Oriental Literature had been spared, and other means placed at the disposal of the promoters of English Education, they might have pursued their object aided by the good wishes of all. Parties wishing to promote the diffusion of knowledge in different forms contended eagerly the one to retain, the other to gain, that sum for the schemes to which they were respectively favourable ; and had fresh sums been at once procurable, no one might have objected to their employment for a full and fair experiment on the new ideas which began to prevail. The inference to which I would point from these facts and observations is that a principle of wise liberality not stinting any object which can be reasonably recommended, but granting a measured and discriminating encouragement to all, is likely to command general acquiescence, and to obliterate, it may be hoped, the recollection of the acrimony which has been so prejudicial to the public weal in the course of past proceedings." ⁸ With these candid and liberal observations Auckland entered into the question of perpetuity or otherwise of state grants. In the absence of any positive or specific promise he could not uphold the Orientalists' plea of immutability of government grants and admitted the propriety and legality of the diversion of funds from Oriental Colleges to Western education. Nevertheless, he was prepared " to dispose of the question on the principle of a liberal consideration to all wants and claims. I see no advantage to be gained in this case by a close contest for strict constructions, and having taken a review of money estimates and of local wants, I am satisfied that it will be best to abstract nothing from other useful objects, while I see at the same time nothing but good to be derived from the employment of the funds which have been assigned to each Oriental Seminary, exclusively on instruction in, or in connexion with that Seminary." ⁹ So the grants enjoyed till 1835 by the Oriental Colleges were ordered to be restored. At the same time Auckland was not deaf to the claims of Western education and he made provisions for additional funds which might be required for that purpose. The additional expenditure thus incurred was about

⁸ Para. 4 of the Minute.

⁹ Para. 5 of the Minute.

Rs. 25,000 only and he was convinced that "the Honourable Court will approve of our having closed these controversies at this limited amount of increased expense."¹⁰

From the figures of 1836 it has been calculated that the funds at the disposal of the Government for educational purposes at this time amounted to nearly Rs. 4,00,000. In 1840 Auckland added a further grant of nearly Rs. 1,50,000.¹¹ (A large portion of this expenditure must have been necessitated by the improvements effected in the Medical College and the institution of scholarships.) So Auckland never permitted considerations of "economy" to deter him from his educational projects. Herein lay the secret of his success. He was right when he claimed to have terminated the controversies at an additional expense of Rs. 25,000 only per annum.

In fact it was a policy of *laissez faire* which Auckland inaugurated in educational affairs. Though he was convinced of the superiority of Western learning, as is evident from the pages of the Minute, he was prepared to give reasonable chances to rival methods of education. The measure did not adversely affect Western education "which was to be specially provided for by Government."¹² Yet a few extremists among Anglicists scented evil and Rev. Alexander Duff "took up his parable against any compromise with the absurd old systems of the East."¹³ Duff could not tolerate any patronage for a system which in his words taught: False chronology and history, False civil and criminal law, False science, False logic and metaphysics and even False morals and religion. He contributed to the pages of the *Calcutta Christian Observer* a series of open letters addressed to Lord Auckland. Shortly afterwards he published these letters along with a preface and notes.¹⁴ These letters abound with personal attacks on Auckland and uncharitable remarks on the Hindu and Muslim cultures. The gravamen of Duff's charge-sheet really referred to the question of religion and not to that of education, for a missionary as he was he could not divorce religion from education. The two great central points of the Minute were according to him :

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Richey : Selections from Educational Records, Part II (Cal. 1922), p. 64 f. n.; Stark : Vernacular Education in Bengal (Cal. 1916), p. 59.

¹² Thomas, F. W. : History and Prospects of British Education in India (Bell, 1891), p. 37.

¹³ Trotter : Auckland (Rulers of India Series), p. 24.

¹⁴ Rev. Dr. Duff's Letters to Lord Auckland on the subject of Native Education (Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1841).

"the endowment of Orientalism, including its false religion; and the total exclusion of true religion from the course of higher instruction in the Literature and Science of Europe."¹⁵ It is obvious that the standpoints of Auckland and Duff were poles asunder and hence no comments are called for here. We shall later on discuss Auckland's attitude towards different religions.

Institution of Scholarships.—Under Bentinck's Resolution stipends had been abolished in all the colleges with a view to discouraging artificial stimulus to education. Its effects were disastrous in a country 'where scholars were generally poor and where education has always been endowed.' (F.W. Thomas). The Muslim scholars in north India were particularly hurt.¹⁶ Auckland had given his thoughts to this grave situation while touring in Northern India in 1837-38 and in a Minute on Delhi, dated Karnul, the 7th March 1838¹⁷ he recorded his impressions about the Delhi Colleges. He threw hints that he was thinking of giving pecuniary aids "for a limited time after a fair and very strict competition in place of the former objectionable system of indiscriminate alimentary allowances."¹⁸ After a year and a half we find this idea had taken the shape of a concrete proposal in the Minute of 24th November 1839.¹⁹ In that he directed the Committee of Public Instruction "to consider and report with all possible expedition on the merits of a scheme for assigning a certain number of scholarships to all our higher Seminaries—those in the English and Oriental Colleges being in an equal ratio. In consequence of the very general poverty of the students I would fix the ratio on a high scale, say at $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the number of pupils, if that number should afford proof of peculiar capacity and industry." He also indicated that these scholarships should be tenable for four years and should be forfeited if the holders did not show satisfactory progress at each yearly examination. The Committee very quickly worked out a scheme on the lines indicated and put it into operation. Competitive tests formed the soul of this system.^{19a} The questions and some of

¹⁵ Duff's Letters, Preface, p. vi.

¹⁶ Kerr: Review, Part I, Chapter III, Sec. III.

¹⁷ This Minute has been recently edited by Dr. S. N. Sen, Keeper, Imperial Records.

See Calcutta Review, March 1940.

¹⁸ Para. 17 of the above Karnul Minute.

¹⁹ Paras. 33 and 34.

^{19a} This competitive examination system was later on utilised for recruitment into Government service. See my paper, "First Public Service Examinations" contributed to the Calcutta Session of the Indian History Congress.

the answer-papers were published in the yearly reports of the Committee. Unlike the old stipendiary system Auckland's scholarship system did not feed drones and yet met the peculiar needs of India. It entailed an yearly expenditure of Rs. 52,000 which the Governor-General sanctioned with pleasure as he considered it "absolutely essential to the whole scheme of improvement".²⁰ The system was extended to all the Presidencies.

It is to be noted that even Kaye who in his *History of the War in Afghanistan (1851)* put the blame for the Afghan War on the shoulders of Auckland elsewhere²¹ paid him high tributes for this scholarship system. The system, according to Kaye, gave a real fillip to the formation of intellect as distinct from mere cram which had been recognised to be a sure passport to the employment in foreign firms or Company's service.²²

Auckland discussed at great length the question of vernacular instruction. This is dealt with in the section following. Besides he touched upon various other topics and made interesting suggestions. He liked to have the Zilla schools as feeders for the colleges,²³ recommended the opening of normal training course in the colleges,²⁴ and pleaded for better inspection and supervision of Government institutions.²⁵ Duff however considered the Minute to be "the product of a superficial amateur educationist."²⁶

III

VERNACULAR INSTRUCTION AND MASS LITERACY

Ever since the termination of the Anglicist-Orientalist controversy in 1835 a new school of educationists had been in prominence. They championed the cause of vernacular and advocated the vernacular to be the medium of instruction. During Bentinck's governor-generalship an enquiry into the state of rural indigenous schools had been

²⁰ Kerr : Review, Part I, Ch. III, Sec. III.

²¹ Kaye : Administration of the East India Company. (London, 1858.)

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 600-2.

²³ Para. 32.

²⁴ Para. 35.

²⁵ Para. 37.

²⁶ Duff's Letters, Preface, p. iii.

set up and Adam, a European familiar with the native life and manners, had been entrusted with the work. Adam also urged the patronage of rural schools and vernacular instruction. This would have served the cause of mass education. Auckland however refused to accept Adam's plan.²⁷ The educational apparatus of the Government was not in Auckland's view suited for such a mass literacy drive. The lack of vernacular class-books also weighed heavily on his mind²⁸ and until a series of suitable text-books on different subjects had been published Auckland would not deviate from the prevailing system affording instruction both through English and Vernacular, so far as Bengal was concerned. He was however prepared to allow the experiments in Vernacular instruction as were being tried in Bombay.²⁹ His mind was in fact open to conviction and for the time being in Bengal he decided to carry on the work of "the formation and efficient direction of Upper Institutions."³⁰

Theory of Filtration. The real reason for Auckland's opposition to Vernacularists was however his belief in the theory of filtration, a doctrine held among others by Sir Charles Trevelyan. This school of thought believed that as funds at the disposal of the Committee of Public Instruction would not permit any nation-wide undertaking their duty consisted in giving a sound Western education to those who could afford to have it.³¹ It was thought that enlightenment would thus filter down from above dissolving in the process the ignorance and illiteracy of the masses. Little did they realise that without organised state efforts the theory was doomed to failure, specially when for most of those who ran to the English schools education was associated with employment and not with national service.

Auckland's attitude to Vernaculars. Though Auckland fell a prey to the doctrine of filtration in fairness to him we must say that he was not entirely opposed to the claims of Vernaculars. In the syllabus of the scholarship examinations Vernacular was included.³² In 1840 he offered to the students of Hindu and Hooghly Colleges two prizes, a gold and a silver watch, for the best translations into Bengali of

²⁷ Para. 6.

²⁸ Para. 28.

²⁹ Paras. 6 and 38.

³⁰ Para. 6.

³¹ Para. 9.

³² Stark : Vernacular Education, p. 58.

passages from English classics. Bacon's Essay on Truth was set for this purpose.³³ It was also during Auckland's administration that a Vernacular department was opened in the Medical College at Calcutta.³⁴

IV

AUCKLAND AND WESTERN EDUCATION

Auckland's restoration of funds to Oriental education raises the question of his attitude towards Western education. Duff accused him of divided loyalty and alleged that Auckland proposed "to unite the living with the dead—to divide the empire of education equally between the devotees of antiquated error and the propagators of acknowledged truth."³⁵ The tone of the Minute however does not support such an accusation. He was aware "of the radical errors and deficiencies of the Oriental system"³⁶ as also of "the practical value of superior English acquirements."³⁷ His opposition to Adam and Vernacularists also does not bear out the truth of Duff's remarks. His principal aim was "to communicate through the means of the English language a complete Education in European Literature, Philosophy and Science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it at our hands, and for whose instruction our funds will admit our providing."³⁸ Here was a true 19th century Whig who believed in utilitarianism and *laissez faire*. He would not allow his personal predilections to mould his public policy. It is to be noted that the restoration of funds to Oriental Colleges did not affect the disbursements for Western education. He was perhaps certain that in spite of the patronage provided* to Oriental education the Occidental learning was destined to win. In fact "he laid so much stress on English education that he kept an English school at Barrackpore at his own expense."³⁹

³³ Report of the General Committee for 1839-40, pp. 43-4; Kerr : Review, Part II, pp. 103-4.

³⁴ Kerr : Review, Part II, pp. 215-6.

³⁵ Duff's Letters, p. 7.

³⁶ Para. 10.

³⁷ Para. 16.

³⁸ Para. 18.

³⁹ Mitra, P. C. : Biographical Sketch of David Hare (Cal. 1877), p. 37.

The Barrackpore School. Auckland opened this school on March 6, 1837, for the education of boys of all castes. All the expenses were borne by him. The construction of the building cost him Rs. 3,500. Not only was the instruction given free, but even books and stationery were provided free of cost. He intended to attract boys of poorer classes and hence these facilities were given. He even offered remuneration to those boys of higher forms who would be able to coach the boys of lower forms. He also promised to send the best boys of the school to Hindu College or Medical College at Calcutta.⁴⁰ The best product of Auckland's school was Bholanath Bose who was later on educated at Medical College, Calcutta and at London where he took the M. D. degree. We shall speak of him again in connection with Medical College.

V.

THE MEDICAL COLLEGE

The years of Auckland's governor-generalship were momentous for the Medical College of Calcutta which had been opened by his predecessor, Bentinck, in March 1835. Its facilities for clinical teaching were not very satisfactory. The students had to visit the General Hospital, the Native Hospital, the Company's Dispensary and the Eye Infirmary for this purpose. It was soon apparent that the students did not evince much interest in attending these Hospitals, probably because they were situated at a distance from the College. Moreover the patients of the General Hospital were Europeans "whose maladies differed from those of the native constitution." It was to remedy these defects that a hospital was opened within the College compound in April 1838, the third year of Auckland's rule.⁴¹

From almost the start the Medical College provided a rather high standard of studies. In order to cater to the needs of the Army to which was attached a class of subordinate medical officers the

⁴⁰ Banerji, B. N. : "Sambad-Patre Sekaler Katha." (A collection of press cuttings from old Bengali papers), Vol. II, p. 55; Sanyal, R. G. : *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of some Great Men of India* (Cal. 1894), p. 63.

⁴¹ Kerr : *Review*, Part II, pp. 210-11.

necessity of opening a junior course had been felt. A voluminous correspondence passed on the subject between the College Council and the Committee of Public Instruction, with special reference to the proposal of imparting the lessons in the junior course in Vernacular (Hindusthani). In 1839 the Government sanctioned the scheme and in October of the same year the Vernacular Department was opened with 50 stipendiary students who were chiefly Muhammadans.⁴²

The system of stipends as distinguished from the scholarships persisted for a long time in Medical College. The reasons for this were, "the long period of study required, and the necessity for giving extraordinary encouragement to the cultivation of studies to which the prejudices of the Hindus are strongly opposed." Auckland in introducing his scheme of scholarships, referred to in a previous section, expressed the desire that the system should eventually be extended to Medical College in supersession of fixed stipends.⁴³ But for a long time to come the system of fixed stipends had to be continued as otherwise the Indian students could not be weaned from their superstitions.⁴⁴

Scheme of sending students to Britain. Talks of sending the most promising students of Medical College to England were in the air from the time of its inception. In 1838, the third year of Auckland's rule considerable correspondence took place between the Committee and the Government. The Government had to turn down the proposal on the ground of expense.⁴⁵ Auckland's personal interest in the scheme however never diminished. For when in 1845, three years after his departure from India, four promising students went to England⁴⁶ Auckland (then First Lord of the Admiralty) kept a keen watch on the progress of these students. Three of these including Bholanath Bose took the M. D. degree of London University. Auckland was particularly interested in Bholanath, an alumnus of his Barrackpore School. On the eve of his return Bholanath

⁴² Kerr : Review, Part II, pp. 213-6.

⁴³ Para. 34 of the Minute of 24th November, 1839.

⁴⁴ Kerr : Review, Part II, pp. 244-5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 231-2.

⁴⁶ Dwarkanath Tagore revived the scheme by offering to bear the expenses of two medical students in England. Professor Goodeve of Medical College offered to bear the expenses of a third student. Subsequently subscription was raised to defray the expenses of a fourth. Of this sum half was subscribed by Nawab Ferdun Jah of Murshidabad, then a lad of 15 only.

⁴⁷ Sanyal : Great Men of India, pp. 72-4.

received the following kind letter⁴⁸ from his distinguished patron and friend—

Admiralty,
January 13th 1848.

My dear Bholanath,

I will not allow you to leave England without writing a few lines to you to say that I wish you well. I would add too that you have given very great satisfaction to me and to your other friends, by the earnestness with which you have pursued your studies, and by the distinctions which have attended your success in them.

I should like you to take away with you some token of remembrance from me, and I will beg you to purchase one that may be agreeable to you with the enclosed draft.

Yours most truly, etc.,
Auckland.

Along with some influential persons like C. H. Cameron Auckland made strong efforts to get Bholanath admitted into the Covenanted Medical Service of India but failed due to the opposition of the Court of Directors.

VI.

The facts stated above speak for themselves and we do not like to add much by way of criticism. It is clear that Auckland's interest in Indian education was deep and personal. Yet the statesman in him never allowed his personal predilections to gain an upperhand. His educational policy was comprehensive in its range⁴⁹ and far-reaching in its effects. He was a believer in gradual change and not in revolution. His outlook was distinctly modern and much to the disgust of Duff he refused to include the Christian scriptures in the syllabus of studies for English Colleges. As the secular head of a country where numerous religions prevailed he would have nothing to do with any religion. In April 1840 he severed the old

⁴⁸ Even the question of education of the minor land-holders did not escape his notice, See B. N. Bauerji, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

connection between the Company's Government and the creeds of India. Thenceforth no employee of the Company was to attend the popular festivals in official capacity while the management of the temple-revenues was handed over to the priests.⁴⁹ Auckland's educational policy was in short a true example of Whig liberalism of mid-nineteenth century.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Trotter : Auckland, p. 26.

⁵⁰ The writer of this paper is indebted to Mr. Anathnath Basu, M.A. (Lond.), Head of the Teachers' Training Department, and Dr. Nilharranjan Ray, Librarian, University of Calcutta. The former helped him with a few valuable suggestions and the latter procured for him a few rare books.

MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA

AMALESH GHOSE, M.A., B.T.

I

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

TO start with the impression that there had never been a System of Education in India before the advent of Englishmen, will amount to ignoring the facts unearthed from the dark days of the distant past. A System of Education which was scientifically planned for the education of the children of India and which not only conformed to the Ideals of her people in the days of yore, but also greatly contributed to the furtherance of knowledge and learning of her people, really existed in India. Those who wanted to specialise in any branch of learning could go up to the respective Seats of knowledge whose fame spread beyond the territorial boundaries. Facilities were not wanting for the acquirement of any form of knowledge in any subject which were indigenous to India and the System worked perfectly well and the foundations of knowledge, it is said, used to be truly laid. The essentials of that system were Discipline of the mind and the body; a regard for authority and religious training:

“ At present it is wonderful to see how entirely they resign themselves to precedent ; Custom is the strongest Law to them. Following implicitly seems to be instinctive with them in small things, as well as great. The path which the first passenger has ever marked over the soft soil, is trodden so undeviatingly in all its curves, by every succeeding traveller, that when it is perfectly beaten, it is still only the width of a single track ”—*Charles Grant*.

This process of Education continued down to the time when we hear of the Hindus going to the ‘pathsala’ and the ‘tols’ for receiving their education and the Muhammedans attending the

'muktabs' to acquire a knowledge of the three R's. Religious education used to be the part and parcel of the training in these institutions. In this way, both the communities moved on in the particular spheres of their education. Such educational institutions existed in great numbers and Mr. W. Adam, after his survey of education in the middle of the 19th century (1835-38), estimated that there were at least one hundred thousand of them in the then province of Bengal and said that any system or Policy in regard to their organisation and expansion seemed to have been lacking and the instruction provided was necessarily of an inferior type, amounting perhaps to incompetency. When the administration of the country changed hands and passed on from the E.I.Co. to the British Crown, the state of affairs showed signs of improvement. Documentary evidence of the existence of the schools and attempts made at their organisation and expansion are available since that period.

The embryo of a system of Education may have been laid long before the time when the first signs of the attempts at placing it on a sound basis made its appearance before the Indian Mutiny with the momentous Despatch of Sir Charles Wood of 18th July, 1854. The earlier stages of the growth of the System of Education are characterised by conflicts, of opinion, of Policy and of the Medium of Instruction to be adopted. The treatise of Charles Grant of the year 1792 on the subject, made elaborate observations on the benefits of educating the Indians and advocated the introduction of English education as being the best suited for the purpose. At the same time he observed that he was opposed to its introduction on the ground that, in the long run, it may become a 'menace' to Government. He said—

"the people would rise in the scale of human beings; and as they found their character, their state and their comforts improved, they would prize more highly, the security and the happiness of a well-ordered society."

"If the English language, if English opinions and improvements are introduced in our Asiatic possessions, into Bengal, for instance; if together with these changes many Englishmen colonise there, will not the people learn to desire—English liberty and the English Form of Government, a share in the legislation of their own country and Commissions

in the Army maintained in that country ? Will not the Army thence, become in time, wholly provincial, officered by the Natives of India, without attachment to the sovereign state ? Will not the people at length come to think it a hardship to be a subject and pay tribute to a foreign country ? And finally, will they not cast off that subjugation and assert their independence ? "

Some portions of the prophesy or rather, the apprehensions may have come true. The others may follow. His proposal therefore, conflicting as it was in its exposition, remained shelved for the time-being.

The Minute of Lord Minto on Education, reviewed the existing state of things and it recommended that education was the only remedy for the prevailing Evils of Ignorance ; of Obstacle to good Government and of Proneness to Crime, which was so prevalent in the people of the country at that time. Then the Clause in an Act of the Parliament (53 Sec. 43 George III, 1813) made it obligatory for the provision of a lac of Rupees, a year, for the cause of Education :—

" A sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned Natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the Sciences among the inhabitants of British Indian territories."

This sum, which was thus made available, used to be spent on the study of Oriental Classics like Sanskrit and Arabic, and for the work of the translation into or from these languages. Mass education was not dealt with so far.

The period from 1765 to 1815 was characterised by " inaction," although sporadic attempts were made to improve the existing state of things. The Calcutta Madrasah was opened in the year 1781 by Warren Hastings as a result of a deputation of Muhammedans which waited on him to present their grievances. Jonathan Duncan, the Resident of Benares, who had the full sympathy of Lord Cornwallis opened the Benares Sanskrit College in 1792. In 1799, Marsden and Ward the two Missionaries came to India and joined Rev. Carey who

was engaged in educational work at Serampore and they continued to render material help in his work. Serampore gradually became the centre of educational activities of the Missionaries. One group of the Missionaries working in India favoured English Education and the other opposed it and took up the cause of the Vernaculars. They were instrumental in the production and the publication of a series of books in the Vernacular. They had a Printing Press to push through their scheme of work.

Lord Moira's Despatch on Education of October 2, 1815, expressed some concern of his Government over this subject. It said that the work of the "humble but valuable" school-master had not been duly recognised and advocated the recruitment of better type of persons with some education to fill these important positions in the villages. The result of this was that Parliament sanctioned the appropriation of an annual sum of £10,000 to carry out the scheme. Obstacles, however were placed in the way of the fruition of the scheme by those who wanted to keep up ignorance longer in the land. Besides, the sum granted was too little to enable it to be launched on a wider scale.

This was followed by two conflicting activities manifesting themselves side by side. The semi-rationalists headed by Raja Rammohan Roy and Mr. David Hare, led to the opening of the Vidyalaya or Anglo-Indian College at Calcutta in 1816. The institution was later developed into the Presidency College in 1855. This may really be looked upon as the father of English Schools in Bengal, at least. In 1818, Babu Joynarain Ghosal opened an English School at Benares, which was at that time, a centre of orthodoxy and the Seat of Oriental Learning. That institution still bears Joynarain's name and is managed by the Missionaries.

Those Missionaries who had taken up the cause of the Vernaculars for the purpose of spreading knowledge amongst the Masses but taught the other subjects through the Medium of English, started the translation of standard English authors into Bengali and printed those books from their Press at Serampore so as to effectively carrying out their plan of educating the Masses, in course of time. This is really the starting point of the present system of English Education. It underwent a gradual process of transformation in the course of its growth and it was later officially organised into a coherent group.

The aims and objects of the Calcutta School Book Society which was established in 1817 was "to promote the moral and intellectual knowledge" of the people. Raja Pearymohan Sircar was one of the prominent members of this society and they distributed more than a million pamphlets throughout the country for gaining their ends. This Society used to receive a Grant from the Government, and besides distributing the pamphlets, they maintained some schools and opened Classes for the training of teachers for those institutions. In them, we find the germ of the Normal Schools and the Guru Training schools.

The Hindu College at Poona was started in 1821, and the Bombay Educational Society which was formed there received grant from the Government. At a later date, this Society broke up into two sections—one for the education of the Indo-European children and the other taking the charge of the education of the Natives. A Committee of Public Instruction was formed in Calcutta in the year 1823, and about this time, Prof. H. H. Wilson suggested the opening of a Sanskrit College in Calcutta. It was established in the following year, 1824, although the Anglicists headed by Raja Rammohan Roy vehemently opposed the proposal on the plea that it would be a retrograde step. The struggle between the Anglicists and the Orientalists continued though they agreed on the vital point that the spreading of the Vernacular literature should be the ultimate object to which all their efforts should be directed because in that only the Masses could be educated.

The Despatch of the Court of Directors of 1824 observed that Oriental Learning was useless for the education of the Indians and asked for the suggestion of one which would be more useful. Thomas Munro from Madras in 1826, Mount Stuart Elphinstone from Bombay in 1825 and J. Thomason from the N.W. Frontier Provinces, had also adversely criticised Oriental Learning and had suggested that English education would be the best suited for the purpose. In the later Despatch of 1830, the Board of Directors favoured English Education and the Elphinstone College was started in the same year at Bombay. Government granted a sum of Rs. 2 lacs and the people subscribed a like amount towards the expenses of founding the college.

At the time of renewing the Charter of the East India Company in 1833, Parliament laid down a condition that the promotion of education in India should be one of the main duties of the Company.

The previous Despatch of the Board of Directors, emphasised on religious neutrality. Those members of the Board who dissented from the main Despatch had fore-shadowed the danger of printing as a means of propagating Ideas by the people of India.

The epoch-making Minute of (Lord) Macaulay, the then Law Member of the Governor-General's Council which followed this in February, 1835, strongly supported English Education. The Resolution, dated 3rd March, 1835 of Lord William Bentinck, endorsed the views "that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of English Literature and Science among the Natives of India," and directed that all the Funds appropriated for the purpose of education, would be best employed on English education alone. The Resolution of Lord Auckland of 1839 on the same subject accepted the principle underlying the scheme and the policy contained in Lord Macaulay's Minute. The "*filtration theory*" of educating the Masses by giving English education to the well-to-do and the higher classes in society, who would in their turn convey the essentials of the newly initiated policy, was thus accepted by the Government.

With this, the long-drawn controversy between the Orientalists and the Anglicists, was set at rest, in favour of the latter. The result was that English Schools began to multiply and continued to function side by side with the existing Vernacular Schools. Freedom of the Press and the substitution of the Vernacular for Persian as a Court Language in 1837 gave added stimulus to the movement of enriching the Vernacular.

Lord Macaulay's Minute and Lord William Bentinck's Resolution did not have a smooth sailing. In his Minute, dated the 20th May, 1835, Mr. H. T. Princep, one of the members remarked:

"I fear, I cannot expect that the question will now be reopened. I record this Minute therefore as a protest against the continuance of measures founded on the principle of the Resolution of 7th March and as a declaration of the extremely mischievous and injurious tendency which I believe, to be inherent in them. The true principle in my opinion is that of leaving the natives to choose their own courses of education and to encourage all equally on the part of Government, making it our business to give them direction to true science and good taste in literature, which the superior light of Europe ought to enable us to

bestow. Any deviation from this principle of free choice and equal encouragement, can only do mischief to the cause by exciting the feeling of distrust, and perhaps, irritation."

Mr. W. Adam made an enquiry into the state of Elementary Education, during the years 1835-38. He submitted a Report at the end of his Mission, the essence of which was that although there existed one hundred thousand Primary Schools in the province of Bengal, as it then was, hardly 7% of the children of school-going age, were receiving some sort of education and the rest were wholly uncared for. The condition of the indigenous schools in which they were being educated and their curriculum were far from satisfactory. In the Resolution of 1839, Lord Auckland ordered that Primary education should be carried on with the help of additional Grants and that Vernacular education in all the stages, should be met out of the normal appropriation, as he felt that it was gradually being neglected by the majority. Mr. Adam's proposal, however, for the expansion of Primary Education did not receive the support of the authorities concerned.

A general Committee of Public Instruction had been established in Calcutta in 1823; and another in Madras in 1826. They made proposals and put forward recommendations for the improvement and expansion of education in all the branches. A Board of Education was constituted in Bombay in 1840, soon after the Reports from the District Collectors were received to the effect that only 1,500 schools with an enrolment of 31,000 pupils existed in that presidency. The Board took over most of the activities of the Bombay Education Society, which only continued their function of the expansion of Primary education with the help of the Grant previously sanctioned by Elphinstone's Government.

The Missionaries who were working in the field and had started a number of Primary Schools in and around Calcutta, Chinsura, Khulna, Patna, Shamnagar, Serampore, Burdwan, Bombay, etc., during the early stages (1814-23) and had been almost relegated to an inferior position, due to the Resolutions of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland, again made their appearance in the field of education. They had explored a new avenue of employing their energies and their resources, by upholding the cause of *Female education*. In the Presidency Towns of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, they had started

their movement of educating the Females. As early as 1824, Lady Amherst agreed to become the Patroness of a Society formed in Calcutta for spreading Female education in that city. Thus they trudged along their—efforts, with not so very encouraging results in the beginning. Mr. J. E. Drinkwater Bethune established a girl's school in Calcutta in 1849, and this may be regarded as a land-mark in the history of Female education in India. In the following year, the Council of Education of Calcutta was entrusted with the work of the supervision and control of Female Education.

In 1845, Government took the initiative to start primary schools as an experimental measure. One hundred and one Primary Schools, which were known as the "*Hardinge Schools*" were started and were placed under the control of the Board of Revenue. These schools were located in the districts of Bengal, Bihar and Cuttack and provisions were made to give instructions in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Geography and in the history of India and Bengal. These schools, however, were doomed to failure and owing to the unfavourable report of the Council of Education, they were discontinued.

A Parliamentary enquiry was held into the condition of India by the year 1853 and the result of this enquiry formed the basis of that epoch-making Despatch of Sir Charles Wood, the then President of the Board of Control, dated 18th July, 1854. It is regarded as the "*Magna Charta*" of Indian Education. The progress of education in India had been up to this time haphazard due to a lack of systematic organisation for the expansion of Mass Education. For about 20 years, the E. I. Co., had followed the "filtration theory" of educating the Masses through the intelligentia. This Despatch imposed on the authorities the responsibility of evolving a properly articulated System of Education from the Primary up to the University stage. The transference of Government from the E. I. Co., to the British Crown in 1858, after the Mutiny, did not materially affect the subject-matter of the Despatch, so far as Education was concerned, as it was confirmed by the Secretary of State in 1859, observing that further steps should be taken for the furtherance of Primary Education. It authorised the Government of India to levy a land-tax if that was thought necessary for gaining that end. Thus it went further than the Despatch.

II

EVOLUTION OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION (II)

The year 1857 is remarkable in the history of Education of India. It was in this year that the three Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established. The provincial departments of Education were organised, and from this date onwards, there was a gradual growth of schools and colleges in the country. The Universities were affiliating and examining institutions and the successful candidates used to be absorbed in the services of the State. Owing to this necessity of supplying intelligent and educated youngmen required for the services, Secondary Education received more attention than the other branches.

The Despatch of 1854 surveyed the existing position of the entire system of education and the comprehensiveness of the details covered by it, reveal mastery over the whole problem. It laid emphasis on the need of Vernacular Education and advised the encouragement of the study of the Vernaculars as being the only means of educating the Masses. It recommended the introduction of a system of Grant-in-aid for the schools and the Colleges, besides the feasibility of the opening of some by the State to serve as Models. It encouraged the granting of scholarships; of subsidising the attempts for the promotion of Female education and it insisted on religious neutrality as a State Policy. It looked forward to the time when the schools and the colleges would be transferred from State-management to the charge of private and local bodies. It also suggested that Educational Rates may be levied, if necessary. Some provinces levied this tax but the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis, in Bengal, was not flexible enough for the purpose of getting it imposed in that province. Mr. James Wilson was deputed by the Government of India to make an enquiry into the question and his recommendations that such Rates may be levied in the Permanently Settled areas also, was not looked upon with much favour by the Government of Bengal. The Despatch of the Duke of Argyll, dated May 12, 1870 concurred with the Governor-General's view approving Mr. Wilson's recommendations in spite of the adverse opinion of the provincial Government. The Report of the Famine Commission was published in 1875, and the result was that the land-rate question of Bengal, for the furtherance of Education, which was far proceeded with in the meantime, was abandoned. In 1871, the

provincial Governments were permitted to administer their own departments of Education (Public Instruction) with fixed assignments from the Revenues of the Central Government. They, however, did not withhold their interest and did not refrain from giving further grants when necessary.

A commission presided over by Dr. W. W. Hunter was appointed in 1882 to enquire into the working of the programme of 1854 and to make general recommendations on the possible channels of improvement of Primary and Secondary Education. The Hunter Commission endorsed the Policy of 1854 and emphasised on intensive work. It recommended that Primary Education should be that part of the whole System of Education which would possess an exclusive claim on the local Funds and the Provincial Revenues, should be earmarked for the purpose. It recommended that Government must make provisions for the education of all with a view to liquidating illiteracy. In the sphere of Secondary and Higher education, it laid stress on the advisability of taking people into greater confidence in the matter of the maintenance of institutions and advocated the gradual transfer of control and management to private and local bodies. The Government Resolution of 1884 generally approved the findings and the recommendations of the Commission.

The Municipal and the Local Government Acts of 1883-85, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, brought into existence Local Bodies with powers to open, maintain and manage the Primary Schools with the help of Grant-in-aid from the Government. The salient feature of the provisions was the encouragement of private enterprise. The result of these efforts was that there was tremendous development in the higher branches of English education. The courses of Instruction of both the Lower and Upper Primary Schools were made more useful and were different in the different provinces. *Payment by results* introduced at the instance of the Government of Bengal during the seventies was the guiding principle in the expansion of Primary Education, till 1905, when it was discontinued as a State Policy. The Provincial Governments used to set apart funds, specially for the purpose of Primary Education. By this time all the provinces had Primary Schools maintained by the State (by 1892). These State Schools were usually started in the backward areas of the country.

The Government Resolution of March 11, 1904, following Mr. Cotton's Review of the Method of Organisation, Tendencies and the

Results of Examinations, and the Progress of Education in India; and a Conference of the Heads of the Provincial Departments of Public Instruction, presided over by Lord Curzon himself, laid down,—

“The government of India fully accept the proposition that the active extension of Primary Education, is one of the most important duties of the State on very substantial reasons, arising out of demands of modern society, absorption of the Ideas of the West and on the ground of good Government of the country. * * * * Primary Education was to have a predominant claim on the funds of district and local bodies (District and Local Boards).”

In the year 1900, the Secretary of State drew attention of the Government of India to the necessity of Government control, guidance and assistance in the field of higher education. Lord Curzon, the Governor-General, summoned an Educational Conference of the Heads of provincial departments of Education and appointed a Commission in 1902, which is known as the University Reforms Commission. The findings of this body are incorporated in the Indian Educational Policy—that part which refers to the field of Primary Education, has been embodied in the preceding paragraph—and in the Indian Universities Act of 1904. The Resolution acknowledged the previous policy and it insisted on the maintenance of schools and colleges by the Provincial Governments to serve as models, so as to uphold the tradition of a high standard of teaching and education. It pointed out the necessity of making provision for the training of the teachers of Secondary and Primary schools. It insisted on the regular inspection and general supervision of the Public educational institutions. It admitted that Primary Education had not received sufficient attention and recommended that Primary Education should have a leading claim on the funds of Local Bodies and it recommended that the Course of studies should be so changed as to have an “agricultural bias”.

As the result of the declaration of this policy, the Universities were re-modelled. The courses of studies were revised and the Inspectorate was strengthened. A new department was created and was attached to the Home Department of the Government of India which was subsequently transferred in 1910 and merged in the newly created Department of Education, Health and Lands. The Bureau of Education was subsequently developed.

The Government of India now tried to accelerate the progress of Primary Education. In 1904, the Imperial Grant amounted to Rs. 40 lacs. In 1905, this was increased by Rs. 35 lacs, as the result of a Resolution of 1904 but a greater part of this amount used to be spent for education other than the Primary.

On the 9th March, 1910, Mr. Gokhale moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council requesting the Government to make a beginning in the direction of making Primary Education free and compulsory, but withdrew it on being assured by the Government that the matter would be looked into by them.

As no definite proposals came out of his Resolution of 1910, Mr. Gokhale introduced a Bill on March 16, 1911, in the Imperial Legislature, on the lines of the Education Act of 1870 of England, to make Compulsory Primary Education permissive—the cost of which, the Local Bodies and the Provincial Governments were to share. It was officially opposed on the ground of the absence of popular desire, the reluctance of the Provincial Governments to share the burden and the hostility of non-Official opinion. But the Government at the same time suggested that the Provincial Councils would be the better fields for giving effect to the measures embodied in Mr. Gokhale's Bill which was defeated by a majority of votes.

At the Coronation Durbar of 1911, the Government of India, in accordance with the wishes of His Majesty the King-Emperor, announced a grant of Rs. 50 lacs annually for the expansion of Primary Education. In January, 1912, in reply to the Address presented by the University of Calcutta, His Majesty declared that he wanted "to see a net-work of schools and colleges from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in Industries, Agriculture and in all the other vocations of life."

In the Resolution of February 12, 1913, on education, the Government of India, offered financial help to the Provincial Governments when their funds permitted. This Resolution dwelt on the whole field of education and indicated the weak points where improvements could be effected. The outcome of the Resolution was that, by the year 1917, all private Primary schools in most of the provinces, became Board schools, or Union schools and by that time, a little less than one-third of the boys of school-going age was receiving instruction in these Primary schools.

This period synchronised with the set-back of the Great War which necessitated the holding up of the proposals of 1913. But the Government of India expressed their willingness to devolve a greater amount of responsibility to the Indians, and pointed out whenever they got an opportunity to do so that the existing system of Secondary Education was not conducive to the requirements of the people of the present age.

Up to this time and generally before the inauguration of the Reforms, the Government of India, considered themselves responsible for the problems affecting the question of the education of the intelligentia and the Masses of India. The periodical appointment of Commissions to review the progress of education made, since the preceding one, used generally to be followed by a statement of Policy issued through the Circulars. Between 1904 and 1920, in their Circulars, the Government of India dwelt on subjects as varied as the improvement of the Primary & Vernacular Education; the abolition of Fees in the Primary schools; the training of the teachers of the Secondary and the Primary schools; the improvement of Secondary Education, the education of the Muhammadans; the education of the girls and women; the education of Factory labour; text-book Committees; educational literature; the Boy Scout movement, etc. In all these Circulars, they laid particular stress on the necessity of a definite Policy for the development of Vernacular Education.

With a view to bringing about a wholesome change by improving the present system, specially in the higher stages, the Calcutta University Commission which was presided over by Sir Michael Sadler was appointed in 1917 to enquire into the prevailing System and to make recommendations.

In their Report, the Sadler Commission deplored the appalling state of instruction which was ascribed mainly to the foreign Medium of Instruction. It recommended that there should be a Directing and Advisory staff in every province for the co-ordination of the different branches and for improvement. It advised on the opening of the Post-Graduate Courses for Research on subjects bearing upon Indian Culture, History, Economics, Languages and on the practical Sciences. It recommended the formation of Unitary teaching Universities and Committees to look after the finance and the progress of the different branches of University Education.

The Government of India accepted the recommendations of the Sadler Commission in a Resolution of 1920. The findings of the Commission greatly contributed to the development of Secondary and University Education all over India. Some unitary teaching and affiliating Universities were created at Benares, Lucknow, Aligarh, Nagpur, etc. In Bengal, the University of Dacca was founded as a teaching and residential University. Allahabad University was temporarily divided into the internal and external sections till the Agra University was founded.

The Reforms proposals were taking shape in the meantime and the provincial Governments realised that unless a very rapid progress was made in overcoming the evils of illiteracy in the Masses of India, they could not be expected to exercise the rights of citizenship to their best advantage. The urgency of Universal Primary Education was keenly felt by the provincial Governments and they almost hurried to enact measures which will empower the Local Bodies to introduce (Compulsory) Primary Education in their areas. The Acts are not uniform in their provisions in all the provinces and were meant for meeting the varied demands of special areas and of their peculiar circumstances.

With the introduction of the Reforms constitution, Education became a transferred nation-building subject and was passed on to the control of the Ministers, responsible to the Legislature. Government of India's Department of Education had now very limited functions and the Office of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India was considered superfluous. The functions of the department dwindled in importance with the progress of the working of the Reforms constitution and only the task of the compilation of the Annual Abstract of the Progress of Education in India and the Quinquennial Report was left for the Bureau of Education and the Office to perform. "A Review of Education in India in 1886" was the first General Report compiled by Sir Alfred Croft, the D.P.I. of Bengal, at the request of the Government of India and this developed into the Quinquennial Report. The Central Advisory Board of Education was abolished in 1923 as a measure of economy and the Bureau of Education was abolished earlier.

During this period, therefore, Central control did not exist. Besides the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras these Universities were at work during this period. Benares Hindu University was founded in 1915. The University of the Punjab

was established in 1862 ; the Allahabad University was founded in 1887 ; the University at Patna was established in 1917 ; the Dacca University was founded in 1920 ; of Lucknow in 1920 ; of Rangoon in 1920 ; the Muslim University at Aligarh in 1920 before the Reforms were inaugurated in the country. The University of Delhi was created in 1922 ; of Nagpur in 1923 ; of Agra in 1927 ; the Andhra in 1927 and the Annamalai in 1927 followed in quick succession after the Reforms. Besides, the Governments of Mysore and of Hyderabad had established their own Universities and the Government of Travancore have recently got a University established in that State. The Women's University at Poona founded by Prof. Karve was also carrying on the work. During the non-co-operation days, a number of rational Universities came into existence in the different provincial towns of which the Gujrat Vidyapith still retained its identity for a long time. The Gurukul University of Hardwar & Brindaban and the Vishwabharati of Santiniketan founded by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore are carrying on their respective spheres of education.

The Hartog Committee on the Growth of education in India, which was a subsidiary to the Simon Commission, presented a Report in 1929 on the state of things in the different branches of Education. It is a valuable document, worth the perusal of all interested in the Progress of Education in India.

The Abbott-Wood Report of 1937, on Vocational Education recommended that a survey should be made of the educational needs of the Industries and of Commerce preliminary to the determination of the Type of Vocational Education to be provided for the people. For gaining that end, it recommended that co-operation with the Industries, Commerce and educational organisations should be secured so that the provisions to be made may be appropriate and adequate. It recommended that English should be discarded as a Medium of Instruction and the Vernaculars should be adopted in its place relegating English to its more important place as a compulsory first language. It contemplated a novel change in the System of examination also. Holding a Public Examination at about the 16th year of boys for the purpose of sorting them out for the different Courses of Instruction, different Vocations and for Public Service, for whichever they might be found suitable, will greatly assist, they thought, in the solution of the Unemployment problem of the educated middle classes and help them in choosing their Career.

On this particular question the provincial departments of Education and the Universities made unfavourable observations and the proposal did not seem to have been received with their approval and by May, 1940 the proposal was given up by the Government of India.

About this time the Zakir Hussain Committee, better known by the Scheme they evolved, as the Wardha Scheme of Education, was holding their deliberations. They recommended the withdrawal of state support from Higher Education, including Technical and Vocational studies in the University. They pleaded that Primary Education should be based on the Basic Crafts and it should be made Compulsory up to the age of 14 for boys; the Curriculum should have Vocational basis so as to make the scholars self-supporting, giving them the skill of the hand and the discipline of the mind at the same time. They drew up a Model Course of Studies as well. The Basic College at Wardha for the training of teachers for these schools is reported to have been closed by the Government of the Central Provinces from May 1, 1940. The basic Training College at Allahabad still continues to function.

There has been a welcome change in the sphere of Secondary Education also by the introduction of new Curriculum and the introduction of the Vernacular as the Medium of Instruction in most of the Provinces.

NEW LIGHT ON KASHIRAM DAS

PROF. ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

THE twin epics of mediaeval Bengali literature—the Ramayana of Krittibash and the Mahabharata of Kashiram Das—are objects of perennial interest to those who investigate the literature of Bengal. Occupying an unassailable position in the hearts of the mass of the Hindus of Bengal, these two classics with their authors have kept up a living interest in the minds of scholars and research workers of to-day, and will deservedly continue to do so for a long time to come.

It is a pity that the full life-story of neither of these poets is available as yet. Great indeed is the honour that is awaiting the man who will bring out satisfactory biographies of these two great pioneers of Bengali literature.

With regard to their works, however, Krittibash is more fortunate than Kashiram in this respect that the latter has been the subject of controversies the like of which has not touched the former.

The question whether Kashiram Das was actually the author of the whole of the work that passes under his name is an old one. Pundit Ramgati Nyayaratna was of the opinion that the whole work (18 parvas) was the pen-product of Kashiram. The other school holds that only the first three cantos and a part of the fourth were the writing of Kashiram Das, the rest of the Mahabharata being the work of one or more writers other than Kashiram. The late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen in his preface to the Mahabharata of Kashiram Das supported the view that Kashiram actually wrote only the first three cantos and a part of the fourth. But a recent discovery makes one inclined to believe that the sphere of Kashiram's actual composition in the Bengali Mahabharata named after him is still smaller.

In the month of January, 1940, at Narail, I came across a manuscript copy of Kashiram's Bengali Mahabharata. On opening the bundle, I found that it contained only three cantos. These were the Sabha, the Vana, and the Stree Parva. Curiously, each of the three cantos was in a different handwriting and, it seems, the copies were made out at different times. The most important, however,

of the three is the Vana Parva. The concluding portion of this canto is a brief account of how Kashiram died leaving his work unfinished, and how it was taken up by our new author. Briefly put, an English translation of the account is as follows:—

“Among Kayasthas, Kashiram was worthy of high respect, for he has made known the story of the Mahabharata. He narrated in verse the Adi, the Sabha, the Vana and the Virata Parva, hearing which all people have praised him. In days before, he had commenced writing this work. But he met with his death, following the ways of the gods. After having completed the story of Agastya he died; and the chapter of the Forest was not completed. Reading this incomplete chapter from its beginning, I felt aggrieved and anxious thoughts were in my mind for this matter. For this reason, I composed in verse the remaining portions of the Vana Parva, as I wanted to. Kashiram was a great sage and full of virtue; I am devoid of all good qualities” etc. etc.

In the last but four lines of the canto, the date of composition is given, which is either 1568 or 1598 (according to the alternative meaning of a word in the line concerned) Saka era; that is, 1646 or 1676 A.D. If we take the last date, the MS. is 264 years old. The name of the complementary author is given as “Sutajit, son of Shikhara.” The name of the copyist is “Babu Ramdas Ghose, inhabitant of Durgapur.” As there are more than one Durgapur near Narail, and other villages of the same name in different places, it is impossible at this distance of time either to locate the village or to trace the geneology of the copyist. As to the author Sutajit himself, no details are available besides what meagre information is given by him in the brief account given above.

But the important revelation made by this MS. is worthy of consideration. If the account given above be genuine, which no doubt it is, then Kashiram's actual authorship of the Bengali Mahabharata that is named after him is restricted to only the first two Parvas (Adi and Sabha) and nearly half of the third (Vana Parva). In the MS. under notice, the Vana Parva runs up to 102 leaves. The story of Agastya which is said to be the last limit of Kashiram's penmanship in the Mahabharata occurs on folio 42, which is less than half of the total number of folios for the canto.

It is a fact that in the current editions of “Kashiram's Mahabharata” the account of Sutajit's complementary authorship of the

work is not to be found; nor do we know if Sutajit continued his writing to complete the whole of the Mahabharata, the MS. that is in my possession being incomplete.

As to the first point, the current version of the printed Mahabharata named after Kashiram being the outcome of prunings and graftings of many manuscripts and their parts, we should not be astonished if the account given by Sutajit of himself had been left out in the process by the several amateur and not too scrupulous editors and compilers who, by united or successive efforts, brought out the first printed book whose progeny we now find in the market. Since the work of these pioneers, with all its faults, has been the basis of recent respectable recensions of the work, it can reasonably be surmised that the original omission has, somehow, been kept up.

As to the second point, viz., whether Sutajit, our new poet, continued his writing beyond the Vana Parva, we cannot form a definite opinion, evidence, both internal and external, being entirely absent. We can only guess that the man with such ambition did try to continue his laudable work.

Now, with regard to the first point, Sutajit's account of himself has to be compared with the theory that Kashiram's nephew Nandaram was the man who mainly completed the unfinished portion of his uncle's work. But the brief account found in the old manuscript of the Viswakosha office (quoted in the preface to the Mahabharata edited by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen) does not mention exactly at what point Kashiram left his work incomplete. Nandaram, therefore, (in the absence of any clear statement to the contrary) does not stand in the way of our assuming that Kashiram actually left off at the point expressly stated by Sutajit.

By the way, Nandaram's account of himself too is missing from the current printed copies of the Mahabharata.

Next, we have to consider the rival claims of Nandaram (Nandaram & Co. ?) and Sutajit to the complementary authorship of the "Mahabharata of Kashiram." Since the Viswakosha MS. mentions Nandaram (according to Dr. Sen) and the present MS. mentions Sutajit with equal clearness, the only possible conclusion is that both of them started work independently.

There is one more point in the Narail MS. which needs elucidation. Sutajit mentions two things in the quotation I have given above, viz., (i) that Kashiram versified ("composed panchali" is

the expression used) the *Adi*, the *Sabha*, the *Vana* and the *Virata Parva*; and (ii) that he died before he completed the writing of the *Vana Parva*. The only reasonable way in which these two statements can be reconciled is to take the first to mean that Kashiram used to make *extempore* verses on the four parvas and subsequently took to the work of writing them down, which work he left unfinished. It is a well-known fact that in the past there were in Bengal (some are to be found even to-day) bands of *extempore* verse-makers (singers of *panchali*) who followed the profession of singing long stories of gods and goddesses (of the size of entire books) in verse composed on the spot. Kashiram might have been one of these bands of minstrels of mediaeval Bengal, a fact which does not necessarily detract from the high poetical faculties of the man. His career apparently was cut short before he could carry into effect his intention to put in writing the whole of his story of the *Mahabharata* in Bengal i verse.

TWO MODERN NATURE POETS—EDWARD THOMAS AND EDMUND BLUNDEN

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EDWARD THOMAS

IN the revival of poetry which followed the the jaded and artificial products of the nineties, there appear to have been two main movements almost diametrically opposite. One was a tendency to realistic impressionism based on the facts of modern civilization, and generally found in conjunction with quasi-prosaic imagery and irregular rhythms. The other was a naturalistic reversion to the simple life of the countryside allied to bold regular rhythms and romantic imagery. The vogue of precise natural description became the fashion at a time when country scenes and occupations were passing swiftly away. Rural England is a dwindling area and rural poetry must needs decline with its subject matter. Hence English Nature poetry of the twentieth century is bound to be a trifle artificial, but there have been a few poets who have tried, not entirely in vain, to recapture the glories of the age of Wordsworth.

The Nature poets of this century often remind us of Peacock's criticism of the Lake poets: "passing the whole day in the innocent and amiable occupation of going up and down hill receiving poetical impressions." Nothing is less poetical in Peacock's sense of the words than the poetry of Edward Thomas. He does not seek to express in vague but stirring phrases the faint nostalgia which so often comes from the contemplation of natural beauty. I use the word 'nostalgia' after the fashion of modern critics who give it the sense of a hankering after something indefinite. Everything that Edward Thomas sees is precisely noted and carefully assimilated in his mind. It is probably this saturation in his mind of everything that he saw which makes his impressions come out again, as it were, tinged with his individuality. It is this saturation, as if every impression had been turned over and over again in his mind, that makes Thomas so different from the Nature poets who do not properly assimilate, and hence cannot express, what they had received from the contemplation of Nature.

Edward Thomas started as a prose writer. His studies of Keats, Swinburne, Pater and Maeterlinck, though full of penetrating criticisms, found very few readers; his books describing the beauties of Nature in different parts of England had a fair sale. Nature, as Matthew Arnold said of Wordsworth, "seemed to take the pen out of his hand and write" with her own charm and vigour. It appears that at a certain point what Thomas assimilated from Nature transcended what could be expressed in prose and that at this point, towards the end of his life, he began to write poetry, continuing to express more precisely and completely what he had previously stated in prose. Thomas could express an impassioned, almost "trance-like delight" in depicting Nature, and the things which delighted him were the commonest in life and unusual in literature: sign-posts, foot-paths, nettles, owls, even an ordinary railway station, *Adlestrop*, nestling in the summer sunshine against a background of

Willows, willow-herb and grass,
And meadows sweet, and haycocks dry.

With a particularity of detail, which is at once charming and true, he describes the natural scenes as they pass before his eyes: *Sedge-Warblers*, one of his loveliest poems, has these magnificent lines of description:

And sedge-warblers, clinging so light
To willow-twigs, sang longer than the lark.
Quick shrill or grating, a song to match the heat
Of the strong sun, nor less the water's cool,
Gushing through narrows, swirling in the pool.

As Mr. Walter de la Mare says, music and natural magic are the very essence of such poems as *Out in the Dark*—

And I and star and wind and deer
Are in the dark together,—near,

and *The Owl*, in which he describes the effect on his mind of an owl's cry:

Shaken out long and clear upon the hill,
No merry note, nor cause of merriment,
But one telling me what I escaped.

Edward Thomas, like W. H. Davies and Edmund Blunden, caught the magic of the English countryside in its "unpoetized solitude." England's hills and dales, its lanes and glens, its men and animals, even its dust and rain seemed to have had a fascination for Thomas. He never sought for the spectacular; any English landscape under any spring or autumn sky was good enough for him. He knew all England's trees, flowers and birds: less the sedge-warbler, the owl, the thrush, Old Man, the celandine, cherry trees, aspens and the like. And all awoke emotion in him, with the result that even the slightest and most limping of his poems have a peculiar truth about them which never fails to interest. His verse is neat and often expressed with many a pretty turn of fancy. He frequently paints a picture with extraordinary brightness and precision:

They were changing guard,
Soldiers in line, young English countrymen,
Fair-headed and ruddy, in white tunics. Drums
And fifes were playing "The British Grenadiers."

—*Tears.*

The dim sea glints chill. The white sun is shy,
And the skeleton weeds and the never-dry,
Rough, long grasses kept white with frost
At the hilltop by the finger-post.

—*The Sign-Post.*

The church and yew
And farmhouse slept in a Sunday silentness.
The air raised not a straw. The steep farm roof,
With tiles duskily glowing, entertained
The mid-day sun;

—*The Manor Farm.*

It is not Thomas's way to describe objects of Nature through dreams or speculations, but as a cool though passionate lover of Nature. He seldom philosophizes the emotions which he feels in the presence of natural beauty; rather does he present them as they stand, transmitting them to his readers without the interposition of any obscuring medium. Hence there is little that is esoteric or obscure in his Nature poetry; that poetry is strengthening and consoling because it falls with a touch of rejuvenation on minds exhausted with the struggle of daily existence. Thomas's Nature poetry brings to people that

consolation and support which the countryside and solitude and leisure bring to the spirits of "those long in city pent."

Many of Thomas's poems are full of a slow, sad contemplation of life and a reflection of its brave futility. They tell, not of exalted moments or fleeting intuitions, but of commonplace experiences, such as the effect of an owl's cry on a winter's night. He does not attempt to analyse the emotion he feels, but he presents it as it is—a problem of which he does not know the solution. Such a candid confession of ignorance is met with in the poem *Tears*; the poet has been witnessing the changing of the guard at the Tower of London:

The men, the music piercing the solitude
And silence, told me truths I had not dreamed,
And have forgotten since their beauty passed.

The emotion cannot be defined or described, but the poet has felt it and passed it on intact to his readers. Various examples of these nameless emotions are met with in other poems of Thomas's. In *Melancholy* he tries to describe what he feels to be the prevailing temper of his mind—a kind of exultant melancholy which is the nearest approach to quiet unpassionate happiness that the soul can know. His was a spirit sad but not morbid, conscious of the impermanence of life but keenly enjoying every transient beauty of Nature. Passionate joy is easily analysed; but a sweet happiness which is at the same a kind of Melancholy—

What I desired I knew not, but whate'er my choice,
Vain it must be, I knew. Yet naught did my despair
But sweeten the strange sweetness.

—there we have an emotion that is well-nigh indescribable. It is not exactly disillusion; rather it is an absence of illusion.

To a casual reader accustomed to classically regular poetry, Thomas's verse may appear loose-woven, monotonous and unrelieved by metrical variations. As Mr. de la Mare says, "it must be read slowly, as naturally, as if it were prose, without emphasis," and then its beauty will be revealed to the reader. His lines, often somewhat irregular and best when they are brief, follow the natural undulations of his thought. His diction, like that of Hardy and W. H. Davies, is simple and catching, and there is often a subtlety of music in the words. Thomas's poetry may not soar to great

heights, but it is exact in expression and true and sweet in feeling. It is as English as anything that exists, and there are preserved in it a thousand English sights and sounds which have thrilled the souls of men, but which have seldom entered literature before.

EDMUND BLUNDEN, THE POET OF KENT.

Edmund Blunden is generally regarded as a rural, a pastoral poet, though he himself is dissatisfied with the designation. He has written a large number of rural poems, and his prevailing theme is the English countryside, which has seldom been studied by a mind possessed so fully as is his of the power to see and express a pervading atmosphere in terms of characteristic detail. He was born and brought up in a remote corner of Kent, and at the heart of his poetry is enshrined the life of that quiet and beautiful county; as he says in the *Preamble* to the first volume of his poems:

I sing of the rivers and hamlets and woodlands of Kent,
Such as I know them: I found a delight wherever I went.

In his earlier poems Mr. Blunden has been greatly influenced by John Clare, the peasant poet of Northamptonshire. Just as Clare had an exquisite gift for rendering in small pictures the impressions of what he saw in his native shire, Mr. Blunden, too, writes of the thousand sights and sounds and smells that he has experienced in Kent and Sussex. It is a real countryside that he has known and walked through and explored, not an idealized one that he has imagined or read about: lonely Kinton Greer, Stane Street leading from Pulborough town to the stately towers of Arundel Castle, Quincey's moat, the favourite haunt of almshouses, Hendyke Mill with its fabulous silver bird—all these are described with a freshness and sharpness and directness of vision that are admirable. Mr. Blunden is a thorough realist and keeps his eye on the object, which is placed in its surroundings with a happy gift of vivid and concise description. He has learnt to observe Nature, not indeed as a naturalist, but lovingly and with eyes open. Like Clare he endows the countryside with a distinct personality of his own and seems more anxious to express it than to enlarge on his own individual reactions. In *The March Bee* he writes:

And warmed like me the merry humble-bee
Puts fear aside, runs forth to catch the sun.

And by the ploughland's shoulder comes to see
The flowers that like him best.

Very similar in feeling are Clare's reactions to the same buzzing insect:

Me much delighting as I stroll along
.
.
.
The black and yellow bumble first on wings
To buzz among the fallow's early flowers.

—*Wild Bees.*

Mr. Blunden, like Thomas, has a love of the commonplace exemplified in *The Barn*, with its "rain-sunken roof, grown green and thin." Grandeur impressed him less than his customary walks over rolling pastures and hopfields. His landscapes are low and rural rather than mountainous or oceanic. Colour comes naturally to him—"gold and red and green and russet-brown" (*The Veteran*). He has brought a wealth of colour to the poetry of rural landscape.

Mr. Blunden's studies of rustic life entitle him to the rank of a pastoral poet of no mean order. His interest in people engaged in humble rural pursuits is of a piece with his love of the commonplace in Nature. For him the peace of Nature is correspondent to, and symbolic of, a peace of human nature. In happy intimacy with village life and field life he can equal most English Nature poets. His rustic characters invite comparison with Wordsworth's village folk. We have the veteran bee-gatherer who plods

Taking his honey under the pippin trees
.
.
.
Reckoning ripeness, shoring the lolling sprays.

—and the Waggoner

leading the gray to stall
As centuries past itself would do.

Last but not least, the sympathetic portrait of the octogenarian shepherd "a country god to every childish eye,"

Whose heart leaps up at every steeple vane
And barn and kiln and windmill on the wolds

recalls the familiar figure of Wordsworth's Michael, as do the italicised words the first line of *The Rainbow*. Throughout these poems of rustic life we seem to hear the note of piercing-sweet romantic simplicity which is so often heard in the *Lyrical Ballads*.

Mr. Blunden is interested in human nature, but rarely by itself; almost always, as in *The Veteran*, *The Shepherd* and *Forefathers*, he couples human with physical nature. The figure of the veteran bee-gatherer is striking because he "steeps himself in Nature's opulence"

Of gold and red and green and russet-brown,
Lavished in plenty's lusty-handed mood

The village *Forefathers* appear in his imagination intermingled with various objects of rustic scenery:

Here they went with smock and crook,
Toiled in the sun, lolled in the shade,
Here they muddled out the brook
And here their hatchet cleared the glade.

There is in these poems little discrimination between the elements of pictorial and of human interest; the source of the poet's inspiration, his impulsion to poetry has been the countryside in an undifferentiated unity. Mr. Blunden's rusticity is that of one who watches rather than shares in rural activities; and yet there is no suspicion of superficiality or heartlessness in this detached contemplation of human nature. He has a tendency, in common with Thomas and W. H. Davies, to dwell on aspects and phases of life and Nature which, though having their own peculiar beauty, are suggestive of sorrow. This tendency appears early in *The Waggoner* volume and has continued, so that he has been called "the melancholy naturalist of rurality."

Mr. Blunden is not merely "a useful rustic," a picturesque interpreter of the English countryside; he is a poet with more than one string to his lyre. He has written a certain number of war poems; in fact, as he himself admits, war became part of his experience so early in his life as "to mould and colour his poetry almost throughout." He went through all the horrors of war, and he finds means to tell us how these things go with the beauty of fields and flowers and the singing of birds. The iron had been driven into his soul, yet it had not crushed or seared him. In his condemnation of war, he is urged more by aesthetic considerations than on moral or ethical grounds. The present movement of Mr. Blunden's poetry is away from the rendering of country life and towards "the wider rendering of sensibilities, appreciations and the inward music of existence." His poetry is becoming more general and more subjective. His work has ever been noted for its distinct avowal of personal experience as the core of living poetry. As he touches the deeper veins of his experience,

his poetry develops a more musical, if a trifle vaguer tone. There is now and then in his verses a lack of directness and clarity. He has not forgotten Nature, however, and it is in companionship and in communion with her that he approaches nearest God. In *Report on Experience*, his experience crosses the bourne between *perhaps* and *is*. Experience certainly points against the goodness of God ; yes, but it is no matter, says the poet :

Say what you will, our God sees how they run.
 These disillusionings are His curious proving
 That He loves humanity, and will go on loving ;
 Over there are faith, life, virtue in the sun.

Mr Blunden has been deeply occupied with the technique of his verse, and his craftsmanship has a distinct quality. A leading feature of his style is a closeness of texture ; every line is full, and every word an observation :

The sun flings off the shadows, warm light fills
 The valley and the clearings on the hills.
 Bleak crow the moorcocks on the fen's blue splashes,
 But here I warm myself with these bright looks and flashes.

—*The March Bee.*

His lines are of a certain length, and he has a power of manipulating and varying the metre as the sense dictates. His rhyme schemes are as various as they are quaint. There is often an adroitness with which he applies his acutely personal phrases to disparate ends. His diction is mainly Teutonic, and far removed from urban influences. In his earlier pieces he often used dialect words like ' drouthy,' ' delft ' (*The Veteran*), ' oast,' ' tang,' ' shaw,' etc. But he later mitigated this predilection, at the same time continuing to give romance and character to his descriptions by an occasional localism of which we guess the meaning easily.

Mr. Blunden has been a Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford, since 1931. Before that he was Professor of English Literature in Tokyo University. He has written sheaves of literary criticism, and has made special studies of Vaughan, Clare, Keats, Lamb and Leigh Hunt. He continues to produce, on an average, one volume of verses a year. His elegy on King George V was much appreciated : "An honest king is the noblest work of God " was an apt summing up of the late monarch. He has quite a reputation as a literary critic, and we shall certainly not be surprised to see the Oxford Chair of Poetry coming his way one of these days.

THE POETRY OF WALTER DE LA MARE

MANOJ KUMAR CHATTOPADHYAY

“I HAVE dreamed in my life,” says Cathie in ‘Wuthering Heights,’ “dreams that have stayed with me ever after, and changed my ideas; they have gone through and through me like wine through water and altered the colour of my mind.” That, surely, comments Mr. De la Mare “is the very voice of Emily Brontë herself.” And he adds, with due qualification, “this has been my experience also.” (‘Behold This Dreamer’: Introduction by Walter de la Mare.) No further comment is necessary, for his poetry itself will bear sufficient testimony to this.

No modern poet, with the solitary exception of W. B. Yeats perhaps, has hovered so hauntingly between the worlds of dream and fact or tried to reconcile them (though not always successfully) so magically. And the regret that has so often blended with the magic is itself proof of the region where his imagination is most at home. No one, indeed, could be better qualified than he to introduce us to the realm of dreams and familiarize us with its atmosphere.

To De la Mare, as to Keats, poetry is a world of imagination, a sealed and sworded paradise, a realm of enchantment, where only those might dwell who saw visions and dreamed dreams. Disgusted with this strange disease of human life, with ‘its sick hurry,’ ‘its divided aims,’ he wishes to retire and fashion in the chamber of his heart a world which is free from the monstrous inequalities of God’s creation. The world he creates is the very same world which W. B. Yeats creates in his ‘dramatic poem’ (in Yeats’s own words), ‘The Shadowy Waters,’ through Forgael, the sailor to whom ‘all is mystery’ and ‘nothing plain.’ The world is the world of intangibility. Like his own Nod, the shepherd, his are ‘the quiet steps of dreamland, the waters of no more pain.’ It has been the proud privilege of De la Mare to justify the position of a dreaming and an escapist mind in the modern world, whose fall

he laments in his introduction to his anthology—"Behold This Dreamer"—and creates his poetry out of the tapestries of heaven.

No appreciation of the poetry of De la Mare is complete if it loses sight of the great movement that was raging at the early period of his poetic career all over Europe, *viz.*, the Symbolist Movement. The Movement, be it noted in passing, was, in the words of Edmund Wilson ('Axel's Castle'), "an antidote to the 19th century Naturalism, as the earlier had been an antidote to the neo-classicism of the 17th and 18th centuries." It corresponds to Romanticism and is in fact an outgrowth from it—a second reaction at the end of the century. Literature in the hands of the Symbolists rebounded again from the scientific classical pole to the poetic romantic one. It is rather unfortunate that this movement is made synonymous with mysticism in literature by critics like Arthur Symons, for example. Symons, in his famous book 'Symbolist Movement in Literature,' confuses symbolism with mysticism and goes to the length of calling a purely romantic and an escapist poet like Villiers de l'Isle Adam a mystic. He is however nearer the truth, when he means by symbolist Literature a literature in which the "visible world is no longer a reality and the unseen world no longer a dream." This unseen world may not necessarily be a mystic world, it may be purely a personal world of the poet where he may find rest and succour from the babel of human toil. W. B. Yeats, in his 'Lake Isle of Innisfree' and 'Land of Heart's Desire' creates such a world. Villiers de l'Isle Adam has in his mind this world when he remarks, "As for living, our servants will do the rest . . . I lived out of politeness." Mallarmé expresses this attitude best in his poem 'Sea Wind' (translated by Arthur Symons):

"The flesh is sad, alas! and all the books are read.
Flight, only flight! I feel the birds are wild to tread
The floor of unknown foam . . .
I will depart. O steamer, swaying rope and spar
Lift anchor for exotic lands that lie afar!"

"Words alone are certain good," said Yeats in the first poem of his collected edition—"The Song of the Happy Shepherd." This is true of the poem here and this further is true of every symbolist poem. Symbols have the power of evocation and suggestion and symbolist poetry is always suggestive.

Wagner's ideal that "the most complete work of the poet should be that which in its final achievement, becomes perfect music" is thus true of every poem which De la Mare wrote in the earlier part of his poetic career; and here it is obvious he fell a victim to the charms of the symbolists. This is more particularly true of some of his poems—'The Liseners,' 'Nod,' 'The Song of Shadows,' 'Arabia,' and 'All That's Past.' The last, again, is by far the most representative poem in this direction. Its melody is ever-haunting:

"Very old are the woods
 And the buds that break
 Out of the brier's boughs
 When March winds wake
 So old with their beauty are
 Oh, no man knows,
 Through what wild centuries
 Roves back the rose.

* * * * *

Very old are we men
 Our dreams are tales
 Told in dim garden
 By eve's nightingales."

Every word is a jewel, scattering and recapturing sudden fire, every image is a symbol and the whole poem is visible music.

Some more examples from his poems will make the dreaming and escapist aspect of the symbolist movement in his poetry, sufficiently clear. In his poem entitled 'Myself' in his 'Memories of Childhood' he tells us that he likes to be alone "forlornly and silently" and to "play in the evening garden myself with me." In his 'Reverie' he warns us not to disturb him in his dream and wake him up from his trance-like state:

"Bring not bright candles, for his eyes
 In twilight have sweet company;
 Bring not bright candles, else they fly
 His phantoms fly
 Gazing aggrieved on thee."

(Poems, 1906)

In his 'Sorcery' he is seen shunning the sordid realities, the sorrows and afflictions of human life, and he makes Pan their

symbol. His woodman tells him to fly away from the feverish contact of Pan :

"Seek not the face of Pan to see
 Flee from his clear note summoning thee
 To darkness deep and black
 He dwells in thickest shade
 Piping his notes forlorn
 Of sorrow never to be allayed
 Turn from his coverts sad
 Of twilight unto morn."

'The Dark Chateau' places him with Keats. The theme, even the imagery, is Keatsian, closely resembling the 'Ode to the Nightingale.' Like Keats, he is carried on the 'viewless wings of Fancy' far from the whips and scorns of Time, to a region of dreams where—

"In dreams a dark Chateau
 Stands ever open to me
 In far ravines dream-waters flow
 Descending silently;
 Above its peaks the eagle floats
 Lone in a sunless sky
 Mute are the golden wood-land throat
 Of the birds fleeing by."

The dream of the dreamer, as in the case of Keats also, is soon shattered to pieces and he awakes at last to follow the daily routine of his jejune and work-a-day life :

"But ever as I gaze
 From slumber soft doth come
 Some touch my stagnant sense to raise
 To its old earthly home;
 Fades then that sky serene
 And peak of ageless snow
 Fades to a paling dawn-lit green
 My dark Chateau."

In poems like these, we catch glimpses of Poe's peculiar landscape. Only whereas in Poe such a background or atmosphere forms part of the sole world in which his lyrical genius can live or breathe, in De la Mare it is but the expression of one mood among many. The final effect of these poems is somewhat uncanny and bizarre; they

are mostly dew-laden and seem to sigh like birds from an unknown country telling us legends in an unknown tongue.

The imagery, the words, the phrases he chooses are quite in keeping with his peculiar mental climate. In this he presents a strong resemblance to Yeats, who, like him, is endowed with the supreme gift of creating an atmosphere. That the dreamy imagery corresponds to his dreamy thoughts can be seen from the following sentences:

- (i) " But even where the primrose sets
The seal of her pale loveliness."
(They told me)

- (ii) " When to green banks the glow-worms bring
Pale lamps to brighten evening
Then stirs in his thick sleep the owl
Through the dewy air to prowl."
(Evening)

- (iii) " Softly along the road of evening
In a twilight dim with rose
Wrinkled with age, and drenched with dew
Old Nod, the shepherd, goes."
(Nod)

- (iv) " The thin moonlight with trickling ray
Thridding the boughs of silver May
Trembles in beauty, pale and cool,
On folded flower, and mantled pool."
(The Tired Cupid)

There is a distinctive pictorial quality in his poetry which should engage our serious attention. His power of description is unique and he has the wonderful knack of evoking pictures coupled with the rare power of making the sound echo the sense.

- (i) " The sky was like a waterdrop
In shadow of a thorn
Clear, tranquil, beautiful,
Forlorn ;
Lightning along its margin ran ;
A rumour of the sea
Rose in profundity and sank
Into infinity."
(Remembrance)

The weirdness of evening is described with magic incantation in the following words:

“ Now all is still ; the fieldman is
 Lapped deep in slumbering silentness ;
 Not a leaf stirs, but clouds on high
 Pass in dim flocks across the sky
 Puffed by a breeze too light to move
 Augured but these wakeful sleep above.”
 (Evening)

Prof. Raleigh, while lecturing at Princeton University asserted that “ real high poetry cannot be made out of dreams.” The learned Professor misjudged the true nature of dream-poetry, the poetic output of De la Mare will give the lie to his theory. The true poetry of dream, we are assured by R. L. Megroz, does not lack discipline either of technique or of spirit. Further, imaginative escape from the limitations of actual life is the prime motive of all the creative achievements of mankind and not a sort of paltry cowardice. Those who fit perfectly into the world as it is and never experience the loneliness of longing for an exciled beauty, are not the most courageous and intelligent but those “ who have sold their spiritual birthright for a ‘ mess of pottage’.”

Another quality that gives its distinguishing mark and runs like a thread of gold throughout his poetry is his mysticism. It is the desire, generally speaking, to be literally at one with the highest reality of which the soul is aware. In its highest consummation it is the supreme adventure of the soul, or as Plotinus puts it, it is the flight of the Alone to the Alone. The presence of religious elements alone in the writng of a poet or an author does not make him a mystic. Hence, in this sense Donne, Herbert, Hooker, Tennyson, Rosseti are not mystics, but Crashaw, Vaughan, Blake, Wordsworth, Emily Brontë, George Russell, W. B. Yeats are better entitled to that noble appellation. The nof of vision, ecstasy, rapture and yearning must be present in order that a poet or an author may be called a mystic.

Mystic poetry is therefore a special kind of poetry. It is religious poetry no doubt, but it is the expression of a special religious experience, or, to be more precise, it is the expression of a special spiritual awareness. This awareness cannot be reached by scientific

consciousness, because the mystic realities are far more subtle than the subtlest object that science can contemplate.

In this note of ecstasy and vision are soaked and saturated the writings of De la Mare. Standing on earth he can obtain a glimpse of the oversoul and be engaged in deep meditation :

“ Yet through this vapid surface, I
Seem to see old-time deeps : I see
Past the dark painting of the hour
Life's ecstasy.

Pale, changeless, everlasting Dian
Gleams on the prone Endymion
Troubles the dullness of his dreams
And then is gone.” (The Glimpse)

His desires are never whetted ; appetite never satisfied ; like fire fed by sacrificial offerings, it goes on unchecked, he tries once more in his eager yearning to have the invisible being in his complete control :

“ Wilt thou never come again
Beauteous one ?
* * * * *
Only thou immortally hauntest on
This poor earth in time's flux caught
Hauntest on, pursued, and unwon
Phantom child of memory
Beauteous one ? ” (The Phantom)

Sometimes even he is a guest, an aimless traveller knocking upon the door of his beloved at the break of day, but finding no response of hospitality from his host :

“ The frail convolvulus had wreathed
Its cup, but the faint flush of eve
Lingered upon thy western wall ;
Thou hadst no word to give
Once yet I came ; the winter stars
Above thy house wheeled wildly bright ;
Foot sore, I stood before thy door
Wide open into night.”

(In Vain)

By the darkened river where the moss lies smooth and deep and the dark trees lean unmoving arms "silent and vague in sleep," and the "bright-heeled" constellation pass in splendour through the gloom, he hears the call of some one he fails to understand :

"Who is it calling o'er the darkened river
In music, 'Come '?"

Sometimes indeed this mood of uncertainty and indefiniteness is over, and he attains the mood of serene peace and calm tranquillity. He then feels that some one is by his side, checking and guiding him throughout his life :

"He touches me
Says quietly,
Stir not, nor whisper,
I am nigh ;
Walk noiselessly on,
I am by."

(Fear)

In his reverie and mood of exaltation, he can hear eternal music wafted on the breeze from a nameless shore. He tries to feel it, gropes for it, but fails to give this airy nothing a local habitation and a name. The earth only seems to recede farther and farther into the background till it melts into thin chilly air and he plunges in the deep abyss :

"When music sounds, gone is the earth I know
And all her lovely things, even lovelier grow,
Her flowers in visions flame, her forest trees
Lift burdened branches still with ecstasies.
When music sounds, all that I was I am
Ere to this haunt of brooding dust I came
While from Times woods break into distant song
The swift-winged hours, as I hasten along."

Intense, then, becomes his agony ; the check that he has to exercise proves dreadful ; the pulse begins to throb ; the brain begins to think ; the soul feels itself tied down, like bird in a cage, to the laws of the flesh pulling him in a different direction and no escape is visible through the fetters. This attitude which is very much characteristic of Emily Brontë in her 'Prisoner' becomes manifest in his poem

'The Cage.' The bird in the cage symbolizes the poet's soul *enmeshed* in the body : says he.

" Why did you flutter in vain, poor bird,
Hard pressed in your small cage of clay ?
'Twas but a sweet false echo that you heard
Caught only a feint of day,
Fret now no more, be still, those steadfast eyes,
Those folded hands, they cannot set you free ;
Only with beauty wake wild memories,
Sorrow for where you are, for where you would be."

Allied to this mysticism of De la Mare is his poetry of childhood. Vaughan and Trahearne in the 17th century tried their utmost and became successful to reach the heaven of childhood—the land of perpetual bliss and felicity. Vaughan regrets in his 'Retreat' his "happy early days" when he shined in his "angel infancy" and is mortified to find the "white celestial thought of childhood" passing away. Wordsworth in his mature years feels very keenly the absence of that dream-like splendour which he found investing the world in his childhood. Prior to its coming to the world, he is of opinion with Plato that the soul enjoyed a glorious career in heaven in the hallowed presence of God and was bathed in celestial glory and splendour :

" Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting,
The soul that rises with us our life's star
Hath had elsewhere its sitting
And cometh from afar "

Like Wordsworth and Vaughan, De la Mare also found an access into that paradise of constant joy. Children, he thinks, are informed with the breath of Divinity and nothing on earth is powerful enough to damp their spontaneous joy and vigour :

" Thick mystery, wild peril
Law like an iron rod :—
Yet sport they on in spring's attire
Each with his tiny fire
Blown to a core of ardour
By the awful breath of God."

— (The Children of Stare)

Death has no terror for simple and innocent children, and life is a mockery if "death have the least power men say it hath":

"Innocent children out of naught
Build up a universe of thought
And out of silence fashion Heaven."

(Where is thy Victory?)

Like Wordsworth also he admits the continuity of the human soul, and like Wordsworth also regrets for the oblivion that seizes him in his mature years:

"Very old are we men
Our dreams are tales
Told in dim Eden
By Eve's nightingale.

We wake and whisper awhile
But the day gone by
Silence and sleep like fields
Of amaranth lie."

(All That's Past)

In his later poems, 'The Motley' and 'The Veil,' the creative spirit is working in a wholly different way and on a wholly different material, contemplation and interpretation having largely taken the place of picture and story. But the rhythmic creation of beauty becomes even more marvellous, the fusion of form and substance complete, and the poet, working in an altered mood and to a different end, is still the poet of dream and vision, of secret glades and beloved ghosts. But the predominant mood here is the mood of disillusion, frustration and farewell and not the robust optimistic mood of Browning's "God's in the Heaven,—All's right with the world." Veil has been completely withdrawn—all is uncertainty. Everywhere from the hills and the streams and the woods voices call, but they are the mocking voices and never the clear, assuring voices Wordsworth heard in Nature in solitude. So it might have been with some unrecorded child of Adam wandering near the impenetrable hedges of Eden alone, hoping always to find an entrance to that place where once he was happy, but from which—he knows not why—he is now banished.

The mood that now seizes him is characteristic also of the moods of his other contemporary poets—T. S. Eliot, A. E. Housman, Stephen

Spender and C. Day Lewis. To these poets life has lost all its romantic glory and splendour and is nothing but a twice-told tale—a long headache in a wearisome journey. T. S. Eliot can write that “we are the hollow men, we are the stuffed men, headpiece filled with straw” and that this world of ours is nothing but the “dead land, the cactus bind” where we go round the prickly pear

“ Prickly pear, prickly pear,
At five o'clock in the morning.”

A. E. Housman is out in the battlefield unlike Hardy and thinks that “dust is only the wages of the sons of sorrow and men may come to worse than dust.” Cecil Day Lewis is conscious too of the huge barren waste before him:

“ For where we used to love and build
Is no man's land.”

Even such a romantic poet as Yeats experienced disillusion and wished that he “may wither into the truths.” The progress of his poetry is from escapism and mysticism to stern realism. Yeats had at last to snatch himself from the dream-world of his own making and had to come to the brass tacks to take an active part in the current affairs of his country. In one of his later fragments he says that he is “worn out with dreams” and this, I think, sums up the characteristic tendency of Yeats's later verse. He is here seen bidding farewell to the heart that lives “housed in dream at a distance from the kind,” for such heart, he felt with Wordsworth, is sure to be pitied for it is surely blind. Henceforth he repressed all his tendency to create a fairy world as “perfect and useless and beautiful as a soap bubble, a world in which defiance is bidden to all the Zoologists and Geographers, and became a devoted follower of Crabbe whose motto was to “paint as Truth will paint and Bards will not.” No longer was he an Arthur O'Shaughnessy “wandering by lone sea-breakers and sitting by desolate streams.”

So De la Mare, like Yeats, is no longer a dreamer of dreams. No longer is he now the victim of optimistic delusions. He has now come to approach life from its proper perspective. Human life, in all its hideousness and nakedness, stands before him. The eternal note of sadness which Sophocles long ago had heard on the Aegean

and which brought to his mind the turbid ebb and flow of human misery now reaches his ears and makes him say in 'The Riddlers'—

“Nay, some are happy whose delight
Is hid even from themselves from sight
And some win peace who spend
The skill of words to sweeten despair
Of finding consolation where
Life has but one dark end.”

Several vain and obstinate questionings then trouble his heart ; some 'truths that wake to perish never' then dawn upon his self and he gives vent to his feelings about human life in the following paragraph :

“What needest thou?—a few brief hours of rest
Wherein to seek thyself in thine own breast ;
A transient silence wherein truth could say
Such was thy constant hope and this thy way?
O burden of life that is
A livelong tangle of perplexities.”

He makes several frantic and desperate attempts to solve the knotty problems of the drama of human existence, but he confesses his failure :

“Hours, days, years
Into grey ashes go ;
I strive to read
But sombre is the glow.

O ghost, draw nearer ;
Let thy shadowy hair
Blot out the pages
That we cannot share.”

(Vigil)

He perceives now, with Maurice Maeterlinck, that “there is a tragic element in the life of every day that is far more real, far more penetrating, far more akin to the true self that is in us than the tragedy which lies in great adventure.” Henceforth, all illusions gone, he turns to be an out and out epicurean like Omar, who, failing to establish the real relation between the Potter and the Pot and to cancel half a line of what is writ by the moving fingers of Destiny, set about making the best use of his present time under some secluded

trees with a "flask of wine and a book of verse." De la Mare now can write—

"Leave this vain questioning. Is not sweet the rose?
Sings not the wild bird ere to nest he goes?
Hath not in miracle brave June returned?
Burns not her beauty as of old it burned?
O foolish one to roam
So far in thine own mind away from home!"

Sense of havoc created by time and space, the two circles wherein we are circumscribed, becomes now his recurring theme. The passing away of Beauty stirs him to his depths. "The loveliest thing earth hath, a shadow hath a dark and livelong hint of death"—he wrote in 'Shadow.' In 'Alone' he can write—

"But age apace
Comes at last to all;
And a lone house filled
With the cricket's call,
And the scampering mouse,
In the hollow wall."

In 'An Epitaph' he mourns the death of a most beautiful lady and this finally takes the form of a homily on the passing of Ideal Beauty:

"But beauty vanishes; beauty passes
However rare—rare it be."

But the climax reaches in 'Foreboding':

"Thou canst not see him standing by
Time—with a poppied hand
Stealing thy youth's simplicity,
Even as falls unceasingly
His waning sand.
He will pluck thy childish roses as
Summer from her bush
Strips all the loveliness that was,
Even to the silence evening has
Thy laughter hush,
Thou canst not see; I see dearest
O, then, yet patient be.".....

De la Mare can, of course, claim no novelty and originality because he has seen this Ideal Beauty pas. The theme is as old as Omar who, in his 'Rubaiyat,' lamented the vanishing of the spring with the rose and made desperate attempts to "grasp the sorry scheme of things entire" even by entering, if need be, into a pact with Destiny. Much of the melancholia of Shelley and Keats springs also from the same fact. W. B. Yeats too, like all other votaries of beauty, had to face the unpleasant fact that "all that is beautiful drifts away like waters." "The innocent and the beautiful" he is pained to admit, "have no enemy but Time."

Keats, in his 'Hyperion,' had the boldness to declare before the world the immortality of Beauty over Death and Time—a theme repeated also in his famous 'Ode to the Nightingale':

"Thou wast not born for death, immortal bird,
No hungry generation trod thee down."

Form may die, but the spirit is unchangeable and unassailable. So, let us brush aside everything that has been said about De la Mare just above and remember that the final message of the poet is the message of triumph and exaltation rather than of depression and defeat. His message, if there is any, rings clear in the following words:

"Look thy last on all things lovely
Every hour. Let no night
Seal thy sense in deathly slumber
Till to delight
Thou have paid thy utmost blessing;
Since that all things thou wouldst praise
Beauty took from those who loved them
In other days."(Farewell)

The appeal of Beauty, in other words, is the appeal of eternity.

SOME WELL-KNOWN MORALISTS ON VERACITY

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IN a previous article we have considered veracity or truthfulness as a moral duty from the commonsense standpoint. In the present paper we shall discuss the views of some well-known philosophers regarding veracity or truth in its moral aspect.

The appreciation of veracity has varied much in ancient and modern ethics. We do not find the rigorism of the modern moralist among the Greek moral philosophers. Intentional deception is not only permitted by them under certain circumstances, but even demanded. The authorities of the state must employ deception as a means to the welfare of the governed. With regard to this Socrates, Plato and the Stoics are all of the same opinion. Thus the Greeks do not regard veracity as absolutely and invariably obligatory. Plato gives expression to his estimate of it in the Republic, where he distinguishes between the 'true lie' or the 'lie in the soul,' which is hated by both gods and men, and the 'lie in words,' which is, in certain cases, useful and not hurtful, as in dealing with enemies or with friends in a fit of madness or illusion, and in mythology, where we do not know the truth. He also justifies the 'noble' or 'royal lie'; the rulers are privileged to lie for the public good. Now, against Plato's theory of "royal lie" we must say that it is marred by an undue bias towards the rulers which no impartial theory of morality can justify. If an occasional lie can be justified in a ruler on grounds of public or general well-being, we do not see why an occasional lie in a private individual should not be similarly justified, especially when it is necessary for the defence of legitimate private interests or rights.

Kant maintains the absolute obligatoriness of veracity. "To be truthful in all declarations is a sacred unconditional command of reason, and not to be limited by any expediency." A single exception would destroy that universality which is essential to a moral principle. Indeed, according to Kant, "a lie is an abandonment or,

as it were, annihilation of the dignity of man." He reckons veracity among the duties to self. He regards falsehood (under all circumstances) as a crime of man against his own person, and places it (falsehood) on a level with suicide ; as the latter destroys the physical life, so the former destroys moral life by undoing man's dignity. Thus when a man misdirects a murderer in search of his victim, and dexterously turns him into the hands of the police, we cannot excuse him ; he has told a lie, and has therefore forfeited his dignity as a man. Hence truth should always be spoken without regard to consequences, since the dignity of man is impaired by any lying. Now, it may be remarked that the Kantian doctrine appears to be very rigorous, as it permits of no exceptions to the principle of veracity. According to it one should always speak truth whatever may happen—"even if the world be destroyed." But the moral sense of mankind seems to justify falsehood under certain circumstances when lying is the only means of defending our own legitimate rights and the rights of others in respect of life and property. Suppose that a physician, in order to keep up courage and hope in his patient, gives a deceptive answer to a question of his patient who is dangerously ill, and thus tells a lie, would we say that the physician forfeits his dignity as a man in this way ?

J. S. Mill holds that the maxim of veracity, though sacred, admits of possible exceptions. Thus, according to him, we are justified in speaking falsehood to assassins and robbers when our true assertions aid them in pursuing criminal ends. Hence there seem to be circumstances under which lying is justified, while truth-speaking going against the welfare of society appears to be morally wrong. Indeed, according to Mill, the principle of veracity has a utilitarian basis, since it is explicable only as means to social happiness, and its possible exceptions can be justified only by reference to the social welfare.

We have seen that Mill justifies falsehood by consideration of expediency, *i.e.*, by weighing the social gain of any particular falsehood against the disadvantage or loss arising from speaking the truth. Thus in some exceptional cases unverity is justified, since it promotes a greater amount of general happiness. Hence the violation of the maxim of veracity is based on utilitarian grounds. But it is doubtful whether utility, broadly interpreted, supports unverity in any case. If utility be taken as the test, we cannot

be sure that the injurious effect of falsehood does not outweigh its possible good result. Even a single act of unverity in a special case is likely to produce a general disposition to mendacity and so end in a balance of evil over good on the whole. Further, the adoption of unverity in a special case will set a bad example, which is likely to be imitated by ordinary men in whose hands it may lead to very bad results in so far as they are likely to speak falsehood not only in special circumstances but even under circumstances where there is no sufficient justification for falsehood. Thus unverity in a special case will ultimately disturb social peace and happiness, though it may appear to promote social interest for the time being. Hence in the long run utility derived from unverity will be smaller than that derived from veracity. Sidgwick admits the force of this contention when he says "the utilitarian may doubt whether the violation of the maxim of veracity is not likely to do more harm than good to the society in which he is actually living."

Leslie Stephen holds that on certain occasions our duty lies in speaking falsehood instead of truth. He explains the exceptions to the rule of truth-speaking thus. According to him in respect of veracity there are two rules, external and internal. The rule, 'Lie not,' is the external rule, and corresponds approximately to the internal rule, 'Be trustworthy.' The external rule requires that we should speak the truth, while the internal rule demands that we should try to be deserving of the confidence of others. In some exceptional cases, however, the two rules may diverge, and in such cases it is the internal rule which is morally approved. Thus suppose a man has the confidence that I shall defend his life and honour. Now, if a robber seeks from me information about him and I give the true information, the robber will be able to do him injury. So his confidence will be violated if I speak the truth. Hence in this case I am justified in violating the external rule by telling a lie in order to justify his confidence in me, thereby observing the internal rule. It may be pointed out, however, that this explanation of Stephen seems to be inadequate for two reasons. (1) In the above case though I observe the internal law, *i.e.*, stick to the rule of trustworthiness, I do so with qualification. For the deceived robber also trusts my veracity. Hence his confidence that I shall speak the truth will be violated though the confidence of the innocent man that I shall defend his life and honour will remain unshaken. (2) Stephen's theory justifies falsehood in defending only

the rights of others but not our own, since a falsehood in self-defence obviously cannot be justified as an application of the internal law 'Be trustworthy.' But if we are sometimes justified to tell a lie in order to defend the rights of others, it is paradoxical to say that we are not so justified to defend our own.

Martineau holds that reverence for morality justifies unverity in some exceptional cases. According to him veracity or truth-speaking rests on reverence for the moral order of the universe. Hence we are justified in speaking falsehood to those who, by making a wrong use of a true information, will try to introduce confusion into the moral common wealth. Thus take the case of assassins, robbers, enemies and mad men. In most cases they seek access to the truth in order to make a wrong use of it. The more we give them true information, the more disorder they introduce into the moral common-wealth. Hence in order that we may not be disloyal to the moral order of the universe, we should conceal true facts from them or even speak falsehood to them, if necessary. Indeed, such men want true information, not for the welfare of the society but only for the overthrow of the moral order of the society they belong to. Their aim is not to serve society, but only themselves at the expense of the society in which they live. Though in society, they are thus not of society. They may therefore be discounted as members of the society. Thus such men, by reason of their moral transgression, are properly outside the moral common-wealth, and therefore forfeit the moral right to know the truth. Hence reverence for the moral order of the world justifies falsehood in such cases. Now, with due respect to Martineau we may say that his argument rests on the assumption that an individual, who violates the moral law, should not be regarded as a member of the moral common-wealth; and hence its privileges cannot be extended to him. Thus, a man who wants to make a wrong use of a true information cannot claim it on moral grounds. But it may be said that if an individual be excluded from the moral common-wealth on the ground of some moral transgression, then very few men will ultimately be left to constitute it; and, indeed, there will be no moral common-wealth of human beings at all, since no man is completely perfect or altogether free from moral transgression of some kind or other.

It is really very difficult to ascertain the precise view of Sidgwick on the rightness of unverity in special circumstances. He at first

examines the method of exhibiting *a priori* the absolute duty of truth. It is generally said that if it were once generally understood that lies were justifiable under certain circumstances, it would immediately become quite useless to tell the lies, because no one would believe them. Hence the general allowance of unverity would be suicidal, as no one would believe the falsehood. Sidgwick, however, points out that this argument, though forcible, is not decisive; for there may be cases where the agent is sincerely convinced that unverity practised by him will not be universally adopted, *e.g.*, when a man tells a lie in order to save the life of his bitterest enemy. It is not likely that such a falsehood should be imitated by others, for people are hardly expected to speak falsehood to save the lives of their bitterest enemies. Thus Sidgwick shows that the absolute duty of truth cannot be established in the *a priori* way.

Sidgwick also examines Common Sense Intuitionism according to which the principle of veracity is binding absolutely or unconditionally, so that truth should always be spoken without reference to consequences. Sidgwick points out that common sense does not really regard the maxim of veracity as absolute, since it praises the maxim in so far as it promotes individual or general welfare. Thus it really explains the maxim only as means to utility or happiness, though the agent is not always conscious of this end, and hence common sense morality is regarded by Sidgwick as unconsciously utilitarian. Sidgwick further shows that though common sense holds that the maxim of veracity should be unconditionally followed always under all circumstances, yet in some cases it seems to justify falsehood to criminals, invalids, etc., (as already indicated in connection with the common sense theory); and falsehood in such cases can be justified only by reference to expediency or utility (as already illustrated in connection with Mill's theory). We should however remember that although Sidgwick thus points out the utilitarian reason by conscious or unconscious reference to which common sense justifies falsehood in some exceptional cases, it will be wrong to suppose that Sidgwick himself justifies unverity in such cases by reference to utility. He rather questions the legitimacy of unverity from the standpoint of utilitarianism and remarks that in no exceptional cases utilitarianism can pronounce quite decidedly in favour of unverity, "as the utility of maintaining a general habit of truth-speaking is so great, that it is not easy to prove it to be clearly outweighed by even strong special

reasons for violating the rule." Thus he doubts whether even from the standpoint of utilitarianism exceptions should be permitted to the maxim of veracity, but does not say anything definitely on the subject. He simply points out that if in some exceptional cases men speak falsehood, they do so simply on utilitarian grounds. But he does not give any decided opinion on the rightness of untruthfulness in any case. He, however, seems to be more inclined to the view that falsehood cannot be justified even in special circumstances, since in commenting on the right of concealing truth in matters of religion (*vide* the International Journal of Ethics, January 1897) he condemns it as immoral and unjustifiable even from the utilitarian standpoint.

Paulsen holds that the maxim 'Speak the Truth' does not hold unconditionally. We follow the maxim of veracity because on it depends the social life which is the foundation of human existence. Falsehood, says Paulsen, is reprehensible because it destroys faith and confidence among men, and consequently undermines human social life and so attacks the very fibres of human existence. Though falsehood is thus reprehensible, it is not morally wrong under all circumstances. Conditions may arise under which a lie is permissible or even morally necessary; such a lie is called the "necessary lie" or the "lie of necessity." Thus a soldier is justified in telling a lie in order to deceive his enemy as to his plans, tactics, or numbers; again, we do not blame but praise a physician who tells a lie in order to keep up courage and hope in his patient. Thus lies of necessity or necessary lies are possible. Indeed, says Paulsen, the violation of a moral principle is under all circumstances an evil, but it may become permissible or necessary in order to ward off a greater evil from oneself or others. The same is true here. The lie of necessity, like the law of necessity, may become a moral duty, a duty which even the most truthful man cannot always evade, however, willing he may be to forego his right to deceive.

Now, with regard to the lie of necessity which is advocated by Paulsen we may first point out that this doctrine is not without its danger. For a person who is influenced by it may contract a habit of lying and may always find an excuse for not speaking the truth, and thus it may ultimately lead to self-sophistication. Moreover, it may be asked, if the 'lie of necessity' be allowed, which form of lie is to be condemned? Further, where is the boundary between 'necessary lies' and other forms of lies? Where may one begin to deceive?

And where must one stop at last ? And how to classify individuals in relation to whom deception is permissible or necessary ? Paulsen himself is conscious of these difficulties and says that no system of morals can solve them, as morality cannot draw such fixed boundaries or hard and fast lines. The particular cases, says he, must necessarily be decided by an individual's own insight and conscience, and with a view to the concrete conditions. No moral theory can give him a cut-and-dried scheme which shall enable him to settle the matter with mechanical certainty. It can merely indicate the general points of view by reference to which any decision is to be made.

Green holds that it is not possible to decide theoretically whether falsehood is justified when veracity conflicts with another noble duty. Is a man justified in speaking falsehood to save the life of an innocent person ? This question, says Green, does not admit of being answered with a simple ' Yes ' or ' No.' In this case there are two noble desires conflicting with each other ; on the one hand, there is the desire to adhere to the rule of veracity ; on the other, there is the desire to save the innocent person from a punishment which is known to be undeserved. But it is not possible for the moral philosopher to ascertain by mere speculation which of the two desires is the better, because he cannot know in regard to either that spiritual history upon which its moral value depends ; and hence he cannot give any direction to the perplexed person. The moral philosopher can give help in such a case, if the case is stated not in the abstract, but with all its concrete details. Green illustrates his point by reference to the case of Jeannie Deans who has the temptation to give false evidence on a single point for the sake of saving her sister, of whose substantial innocence she is assured.

Bradley, like Green, holds that it is not possible to determine theoretically whether it is right to speak falsely with intent to deceive a man under certain circumstances. When veracity conflicts with another duty in a particular case, what should be done by the perplexed man ? According to Bradley it is impossible for mere theory to offer a solution here, for which of the two conflicting duties is superior in a particular case can be determined only by reference to the concrete circumstances under which the individual is placed in the station of his life. The difficulties of collisions of duties arise from the complexity of particular cases, and they can be solved solely by practical insight, not by reasoning. Thus, according to Bradley, it is the

perception of actual circumstances, and not the abstract reasoning, that alone can determine whether falsehood is justified in any case. At the same time, however, he holds that the violation of the rule of veracity is justified in the abstract. For, the duty, which conflicts with veracity, may be in the abstract higher than veracity, so that veracity may be violated in the name of the higher duty. Hence, says Bradley, when Kant maintains that it must always be wrong to lie, he forgets that there may be (in the abstract) duties above truth-speaking. Indeed, since the lower duty has to give way to the higher, neglect and positive breaches of ordinary moral laws in the name of higher morality are justifiable in the abstract. Thus, argues Bradley, "there are few laws a breach of which (in obedience to a higher law) morality does not allow, and I believe there are none which are not to be broken in conceivable (imaginable) circumstances, though the necessity of deciding the question does not practically occur." At the same time, however, we must never break a law of duty to please ourselves, but only for the sake of a superior and overruling duty. Any breach of duty, as duty, and not as lower duty, is always and absolutely wrong; but it would be rash to say that any one act must be in all cases absolutely and unconditionally wrong. Circumstances, however, can decide which of the two duties is higher or lower in a particular case.

Hartmann holds a theory which does not appear to be quite consistent. According to him truthfulness admits of no exceptions at all; and no end can justify deliberate deception as a means. At the same time, however, he agrees with Green and Bradley in holding that it is not possible to decide theoretically whether a man is not justified in speaking falsehood when truthfulness conflicts with other moral duties. Thus take the case of a physician. He violates his professional duty, if he tells a patient, who is dangerously ill, the critical state of his health. In this case silence is not adequate, since mere silence may be extremely eloquent, where suspicions are aroused. If the physician will do his duty of warding off a calamity that threatens his patients, he must resort to a lie. But if he does so, he makes himself guilty on the side of truthfulness. What, then, should he do in such a case? Hartmann holds that such questions, relating to conflicts between truthfulness and other moral duties, cannot be solved theoretically. It is the morally mature and seriously minded person who is inclined to decide in favour of the duty which

conflicts with truthfulness, and to take upon himself the responsibility for the lie. But this solution does not permit of being universalized. What a man ought to do, when he is confronted with a conflict, is this ; he should decide according to his best conscience, and take upon himself the guilt involved in the violation of one duty. This guilt is unavoidable in real life ; it necessarily arises when each person has to solve conflicts which are theoretically insoluble ; it preserves a man from moral decay and makes him stronger, so that he can carry it with pride.

We may note here in passing that Hindu speculation is marked by a profound love of truth—veracity being for the Aryan the cornerstone and the very foundation of the moral life. Thus, according to the Aryan, truth is reality and reality is truth. "Truth," says Bhisma, "is the Eternal Brahman and everything rests on truth." As a matter of fact, the Lord Himself (Isvara) is the incarnation of truth so that the laws of nature are nothing but expressions of truth. Hence every truth uttered is an expression of the desire for the one common unitive life of the Self or Reality whence everything proceeds, while every untruth uttered is deviation therefrom and arises from the desire for a separate, exclusive life.

Again, according to the Aryan, truth is the dominant and essential constituent of all virtues, and not a separate virtue to be taken by itself. In fact, all virtues are forms of truth, as all vices are forms of untruth. Bhisma describes the virtues as follows: "Truthfulness, equability, self-control, absence of self-display, forgiveness, modesty, endurance, absence of envy, charity, noble well-wishing towards others, self-possession, compassion, and harmlessness—surely these are the thirteen forms of truth."

Hence, says the Hindu moralist, truth is the only sure foundation for the building up of character. No character can be virtuous which has not truth for its basis, and no character can be base when truth is preserved unsullied. Indeed, truth is the root of all true manliness, the crown of the virtuous, the glory of the hero, the preserver of the family and the state. Falsehood degrades and pollutes the character, poisons the springs of virtue, undermines alike the home and the nation.

Truthfulness is considered by the Aryan to be inseparable from the heroic character. Thus Srikrishna revives the dead child of Abhimanyu by virtue of the fact that he has never uttered an untruth,

even in play. Sri Rama goes into exile for fourteen years in order that his father's promise may remain unbroken. Yudhisthira refuses to struggle for his kingdom before due time, because he has promised to remain in exile. Thus truthfulness is the leading trait of Hindu character.

It is to be noted here that though so much importance is generally given to veracity by the Hindu ethical writers, yet some of them recognise that there are special circumstances where falsehood is preferable to truth for the good of mankind ; indeed, in such circumstances truth is falsehood and falsehood is truth. Thus in the Mahabharata (*vide* Karna Parva, Chapter 69, slokas 32-34) as well as in the Manusamhita (*vide* Chapter 8, slokas 104-112) falsehood is not condemned when spoken

1. in harmless jest ;
2. to save the life of a man (not guilty of any heinous crime).
3. for the welfare of cows and true Brahmanas ;
4. to procure sacred fuel (for the performance of a homa) ;
5. to improve sexual relationship (in lawful cases) ;
6. to secure a lawful marriage ;
7. to save one's property when one's all is going to be lost.

Having thus considered the views of different moralists on the rightness or otherwise of unverity in special circumstances, we may now state our own position. To solve the difficulties in connection with the problem of veracity or truth in its moral aspect, it is, however, necessary to remember the nature of man as a moral being. Human beings do not live in the sky, nor do they drop from the clouds. They are born with particular aptitudes and in a particular environment—physical and social. Thus they find themselves fixed in a particular station. Now, in order that in this station a man may attain his highest moral end, which may be called self-perfection or self-realisation, he should be allowed certain moral rights the most important of which are the rights of life, of freedom, of property, and the right to education and knowledge of truth. But if a man has these rights, he is also under an obligation to have respect for those rights in others and to exercise his own rights in such a way as to promote the general good. And he, who violates this obligation, forfeits these rights and should rightly be deprived of them. Hence we may lay down the general principle that a man has a right to

those things which are necessary for his own realisation or perfection as well as the perfection of others, and he is bound to use them for the sake of that end. Applying this principle to the maxim of truth, we find that this maxim is not absolute or unconditional; on the contrary, it has relevance only as means to an end, *viz.* the general good. Hence when in a particular case we are honestly convinced that truth-speaking is detrimental to the general good, falsehood seems to be justified. This may be illustrated by reference to the following example. Suppose a robber seeks information from me about an innocent rich man who, being pursued by him, stealthily takes shelter in my house. Now, the robber has no doubt the general right to have truth spoken to him by me. But he is also under an obligation to use the true information in such a way as not to interfere with the legitimate rights of others. I am, however, sincerely convinced that if I give him the true information, he will wrongly injure the innocent man as well as myself in respect of life and property, and thereby he will also morally injure himself. Hence in this particular case he forfeits his right to know the truth from me, and I am, therefore, justified in speaking falsehood to him, although generally it is my duty not to tell a lie. Indeed, we seem to be justified even in killing a man in defence of our legitimate rights. Now, if we are so justified in killing a man, it seems strange that we are not justified in telling a lie, if lying will defend us better against wrong invasion of our legitimate rights. Thus we are justified in speaking falsehood to a man only in special cases under special circumstances, *e.g.*, only when we are honestly convinced that our truth-speaking will enable him to wrongly injure himself as well as others in respect of legitimate rights. In this connection two things should be borne in mind. First, lying is permissible only in exceptional cases. As a rule, the law of veracity should be observed as a necessary condition of self-realisation. Hence it is important that the sacredness of veracity should be recognised. Secondly, in special cases where lying appears justifiable we must be honest to ourselves and should see that by the lie that may be spoken as a necessary duty we really intend to promote only the general good and not our own exclusive private interest. A person who forgets these two things is likely to contract a habit of lying, and may always find an excuse for not speaking the truth.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Indian Paintings

An exhibition of Indian and Ceylonese mural paintings by Mr. Sarkis Katchadourian, a well-known Iranian artist, was recently opened by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee at the Darbhanga Hall of Calcutta University.

In opening the exhibition which has been organized by the Indian Society of Oriental Art. Dr. Mookerjee recalled his recent visit to South India and said that historic cities in that part of the country yet bore testimony to the height of glory attained by Indian art and architecture in ancient days. To-day in their midst they found in the person of Mr. Sarkis Katchadourian a talented artist who had not only reproduced some of the mural paintings from the South but had practically reconstructed them. Many of these beautiful things of art had been practically lost to them. These efforts on the part of the artist would no doubt rouse in the minds of lovers of art a good deal of interest in things which they, in this country, were proud of possessing in ages past. He hoped this exhibition would give a fillip to the study of Indian art and architecture in the University and outside.

Unemployment and its Remedy

Dr. Meghnad Saha addressed a public meeting in the Hooghly Mohsin College Hall in connexion with the Education Week. The subject of his lecture was "Education and Unemployment."

Dr. Saha said: "The cause of unemployment among the educated classes is not due to the bad system of education. The problem is not only Indian, it is world-wide. Society has either no need for educated persons, or we are producing undesirable material. The second thing asked is that we are not giving them the education which would render them fit for society. The second proposition cannot be correct. The system of education is not bad in this country after all, as I see from my personal experience in America, England and other countries. The teachers in the secondary schools in foreign countries are not better paid than our teachers. Better pay is only a relative term."

"The Government." Dr. Saha continued, "suggested that every weak school was a weak child, and that the former be killed and a more healthy one should be brought forth into the world. This seems to be the attitude of the Government of Bengal. This much I can tell you, as a man coming from a Bengal village, that our village school teachers, though so poorly paid, took in us a personal interest which is lacking in the schools, colleges and the universities in the cities. These village schools, which have turned out men, outstanding in various walks of life, the Government of Bengal want to kill. These schools ought to be given more money. Bengal's case lies in that. But this is the thing we miss in the Bengal Secondary Education Bill."

The remedy for the unemployment problem, Dr. Saha continued, "cannot be had through magic. It can only be done by a long-term programme and policy of industrialization. The going back to the villages will be worse, the cult of *khaddar* is still worse. The unemployment problem cannot be solved unless we tackle it radically. We cannot tackle it properly unless the Government take up the subject?"

"The cause of education in this country cannot flourish by any method of control. Our leaders, Hindus and Moslems, look to the past, taking pride in our civilization. It is pride in our superstition rather than in our achievement. We must utilize the laws of nature. We must exploit nature. This is the gospel of nature and this is the gospel of science. This requires an unemotional approach to the problem."

Humayun and his Times

An address on "Some Ordinances and Regulations of the Emperor Humayun" was given by Dr. Bains Prashad, Director, Zoological Survey of India, at the fifth luncheon meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society at Spence's Hotel.

Dr. Bains Prashad said that one of the innovations introduced by Humayun was to divide the affairs of the State into four departments corresponding to the four elements: the *Atashi* (fire), *Hawai* (air), *Abi* (water) and *Khaki* (earth). Each department was under the charge of a Minister and the four departments dealt respectively with (1) armour and arms, etc., (2) transport, kitchens and stables, (3) syrup and wine manufacture and irrigation, and (4) agriculture, building and the administration of the exchequer, lands, etc.

The opening of the sessions of the Royal Court was announced by beat of drums, guns being fired at their termination. Rewards in the form of robes of honour and cash were doled out and punishments were carried out by a special staff on orders being issued. Drums were beaten in the morning for prayers, later when the sun rose for people to attend to the affairs of government, and finally, in the evening for leisure and enjoyment.

Art Exhibition in Calcutta

The second annual Art Exhibition of the Calcutta School of Crafts was opened by Mr. O. C. Gangoly at 47, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta. Mr. Gangoly commended the various exhibits on display and wished the school every success.

The exhibition included a number of photographs and water-colours. There was also a display of brass and wood crafts.

Bombay University

An allegation that the governing bodies of some of the private colleges were taking undue advantage of the educated unemployed and employing professors on a very bare pittance, was made at the Bombay University Senate meeting when a resolution on the subject was discussed.

It was resolved to appoint a committee to investigate the question and find out the conditions of service of professors employed by private colleges.

Miscellany

THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE ILLITERATE

In modern times the illiterate has hardly anywhere in East or West been treated by the cultured classes as of any worth whether as an intellectual person or as a moral agent. The present world-situation which is compelling the hypercivilized peoples to march "back to the caves" in which the palaeolithic races flourished furnishes us with an occasion for re-examining the foundations of this traditional view of science and philosophy regarding the illiterates.

The psychological and ethical values of the human personality deserve to be transvalued in the light of objective realities about men and women based on statistical and comparative investigations. The students of science are called upon to realize that both in East and West,—even in those regions which are used to universal, compulsory and free school systems,—the railway coolies, plantation labourers, mine-workers, factory labourers, peasants, in other words, those occupational classes which constitute the majority of the "gainfully employed" do not necessarily possess an intelligence and moral character inferior to those of the persons who academically, professionally and economically belong to the upper ten thousands.

We are speaking here of those men and women who happen to be "unlettered". It is to be noted that we are not using the word "uneducated". By the word "unlettered" is to be understood a person who cannot read and write. The distinction that we make here is of profound significance in regard to the appraisal of human "values". A man who is unable to read and write is not necessarily uneducated or uncultured. Literacy is an essentially modern phenomenon, but culture and education have been going on in the human race for thousands of years. There were millions of cultured and educated men and women during the primitive, ancient and mediaeval epochs of history even in those regions and among those races where reading and writing were unknown. In other words, human intelligence is not as a rule dependent very much on book-learning and school-going. The natural intelligence as well as practical experience of the teeming millions among the illiterates are, therefore, very valuable intellectual assets.

We may now institute a comparison of these illiterates with those who have acquired "education" in schools and colleges. In other words, let us compare the peasants and mechanics with schoolmasters, lawyers, magistrates, doctors, journalists and political leaders. There is hardly any body among the so-called educated classes who would venture to assert that as intelligent persons, that is, as men and women of common sense, the cultivators and *mistris* do not understand the problems of their daily life, their family requirements, their village surroundings in the same way as do the schoolmasters, lawyers, religious preachers and so on. Those who know the illiterates intimately admit, as a rule, that the fact of being ignorant in regard to reading and writing does not render them incapable of comprehending the interests of themselves, their families as well as

their neighbours. On the other hand it is also necessary to observe that a schoolmaster, a lawyer or a doctor is after all an expert in one, two or three things of life. These alleged "educated" persons can claim proficiency only in a very limited sphere of interests. The doctor is not an authority in problems connected with engineering, the engineer in questions involving a knowledge of botany, the chemist in questions of astronomy, and so on. The highest that one can possibly claim for these intellectual classes is that some one is a specialist in a particular line and a certain person in another.

Now, agriculture is also a profession of very great importance. The men and women therefore who are experts in agriculture,—that is the illiterate cultivators,—therefore, deserve the same consideration from the other members of the community as a lawyer does from the engineer and an astronomer from the chemist. Professions are to be respected as professions. The agricultural profession does not demand less intelligence, less dexterity, less shrewdness, less commonsense, less organizing ability than do the so-called learned professions. The same remarks hold good in regard to the profession of the blacksmith, weaver, potter and so on. The *mistri*, the cultivator and others in the so-called manual professions are as educated and cultured, although unable to read and write, as are the lawyers, doctors and the professors.

We are prepared to go a step beyond and assert that as a "moral person," that is, as one who as a free agent discharges the duty of his life in regard to himself, his family and his neighbours, the lawyer, doctor or the professor is not necessarily superior to the *chashi*, coolie, *majur*, *mistri* and all other manual workers. Let the members of the so-called "educated class" place their hands on their breasts and compare their character as sons and daughters, as parents, as uncles or aunts, as guardians, as nephews and nieces with those of the cultivators, factory workers, independent handicraftsmen. It is impossible to assert that the peasant as a class in his moral obligations and sense of duty towards relatives and kinsfolk as well as to the neighbours, lives on a lower plane than members of the so-called educated class. In regard to other functions of moral life also we can institute a comparison and we shall come to the conclusion that in regard to the activities involving money matters, the engineer, the contractor, the schoolmaster, the land-owner, the factory director and others do not as a rule enjoy an enviable position such as might give points to the members of the unlettered classes. We can take other items of private and public morality and we shall find that in criminal statistics, the cultivator, the artisan and the industrial worker do not figure oftener and in larger numbers, proportionally speaking, than do men and women of the so-called superior classes.

These discoveries, based on the experience of a very large number of public workers and scholars, lead us inevitably to the proposition that the illiterate is not a person who deserves to be differentiated from the so-called educated as an intellectual and moral being. And on the strength of this discovery we are prepared to formulate a doctrine which should counteract the superstition that has been propagated in Eur-America and later in Asia as well as of course in India to the effect that literacy should be the basis of political suffrage. Our observations entitle us to the creed that political suffrage should have nothing to do with literacy. The illiterate has a right to political life and privilege simply because of the sheer fact that as a normal human being he has factually demonstrated his intellectual strength and moral or civic sense. The rights of the illiterate ought to constitute

in social psychology the foundation of a new democracy. A universal suffrage independent of all considerations as to school-going, ability to read and write or other tests should be the very first postulate of social economics.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

During the period under review the area of the military conflict in the Far East has widened, and human suffering has intensified. Japan's hostilities in China still rank first in the vastness of its devastation. All the damage to life and property in Ethiopia, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Finland represents only a fraction of the loss of human life that two years and a half of the Far Eastern war have entailed. There is greater need than ever for realization of the conditions which now prevail in China and for a sane understanding of the causes that have brought about such conditions. It should be clear to all by now that the issues between China and Japan cannot be isolated from the wider issues in which many of the nations of Europe and the people of the United States are playing their varying and frequently antithetical rôles. An objective study of the problems of the East is, therefore, essential before an attempt can be made to lay the foundations for a durable peace in the Pacific.

It is to the carrying forward of such objective study that the work of the Institute of Pacific Relations is dedicated. Its research into the long-term problems of politics and economics of the Pacific area grows in importance and volume with each year. The number of its members slowly but steadily increases. Attention to contemporary problems parallel to its long-range studies has been greatly accentuated this year through what is known as "The International Secretariat Inquiry" of the Institute of Pacific Relations, namely, the serious international study which is correlating scholarship to the problems arising from the war in the Far East. Seven of more than forty monographs in this series are already in print, under the following titles:

Japanese Industry: Its Recent Development and Present Condition,
by G. C. Allen.

American Policy in the Far East: 1931-1940, by T. A. Bisson.

German Interests and Policies in the Far East, by Kurt Bloch.

The Problem of Japanese Trade Expansion in the Post-War Situation,
by Miriam S. Farley.

New Zealand's Interests and Policies in the Far East, by Ian F. G.
Milner.

Australia's Interests and Policies in the Far East, by Jeck Shepherd.

The Existing Legal Situation as It Relates to the Conflict in the Far
East, by Quincy Wright.

Stimulated by the International Inquiry of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Japanese Council of the Institute has undertaken, entirely under its own auspices, what will probably prove to be the most substantial adventure in scholarship that has ever been launched by them. It aims to be an objective examination of such subjects as the economic, political and social development of Japan during the present period, recent developments in Manchukuo, the problems in the occupied areas of China and Japan's

foreign relations with the Western powers and with China herself. A distinguished company of Japanese scholars have banded themselves together to undertake this major research.

With its members scattered, with its central library making a long zigzag journey of hundreds of miles to its new location, with many of its most active members drafted into war service and two of its principal officers' war casualties, the Chinese Institute of Pacific Relations has grown in prestige, as the war has developed, as the leading society in China for the scientific study of international affairs. Its prospects were never brighter.

The Institute is of the conviction that if scholars of many nations regarded not each other but unsolved problems as their real enemy, the scholars of the world could join in the common task of reconstructing human society. In this belief, the Institute sponsored an international study meeting, held at Virginia Beach, Virginia, November 22-December 2, 1939. This meeting brought together members from a larger number of countries than at any former such gathering, and the members made a comprehensive and fundamental analysis of the world situation. Scholars from India, Italy and Germany united with those from other countries in the examination of the problems on the agenda. The Chinese joined with scholars from all countries represented, including Japan, in the dispassionate examination of the causes of economic and political disorder in the Far East in particular and in the world as a whole. The National Council delegates to this gathering, while representing the Institutes in their respective countries, did not in any sense represent their governments. They spoke as private individuals, not as official spokesmen. The members from twelve different countries who attended this conference must by now have returned to the most distant capitals and universities of the world. They cannot fail to be living witnesses to the widening area of scholarly collaboration.

The demand for *Pacific Affairs*, official organ of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has steadily increased. It provides a unique service to the leaders of public opinion in many countries. Its circulation extends to all the Pacific area countries as well as to many others.

As noted above, the International Research Series has continued its long-term studies of basic conditions in the Pacific area. Work has inevitably been seriously affected by developments both in the Far East and in Europe. Individuals who would have been well qualified and willing to undertake specific projects are now unable to do so because of war-time duties or of the difficulties of travel. It has been possible, however, to follow the main lines of study.

This brief commentary gives only the outline of the work of the Institute. More details may be secured from its International Secretariat which now occupies offices in New York. During 1939, either as temporary or permanent members of the Secretariat, the Institute has drawn into its service scholars from Japan, China, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Great Britain, France, the United States, Germany, Italy and Austria. The Secretariat endeavours as far as funds permit to have the continuous service of a Chinese and Japanese scholar at its principal headquarters.

Adjacent to the offices of the International Secretariat are to be found those of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The Council in continuing its work through 1939 has adhered strictly to its

announced policy of "complete freedom of scientific inquiry, broad hospitality to all points of view, whether national or international, but subservience to none and democratic procedure in the conduct of its internal affairs." An increasing effort has been made to co-operate with other non-political organizations working in the field of international relations and to avoid duplication of activities of such organizations so that one may supplement the other.

In accordance with its avowed aims, the Council has encouraged the teaching of Far Eastern questions in American secondary schools—through surveys, reviews of text-books and experimental text and study outlines. It has in co-operation with the Foreign Policy Association convened frequent conferences and discussion groups among the teachers.

In the summer of 1939 the American Council published *Films of the Pacific Area*, a special edition of which was also issued for the Golden Gate International Exposition at San Francisco. This Exposition had as its sub-title, *Pageant of the Pacific*, and the American Council found within it much to which it could contribute effectively. In co-operation with all the major publishing houses in this country, as well as of a number abroad, a book exhibit of approximately six thousand volumes and fifty periodicals was assembled and displayed. Thirty meetings for round-table discussions of "Current Events of the Pacific" were carried on under the direct auspices of the American Council, and through its representatives on the staff of the Exposition's House the Council took part in more formal educational activities.

To stimulate interest among the American public in American Far Eastern policy, week-end discussion conferences were held in 1939 in as widely scattered communities as Denver, Minneapolis, Harrison Hot Spring, B. C. (in co-operation with the Canadian Institute of International Affairs), San Francisco, Los Angeles, Charlottesville, Boston, Syracuse, Honolulu and New York City.

The American Council publishes the *Far Eastern Survey*, a fortnightly survey of current economic developments in the Far East, and is also conducting serious research on Far Eastern questions. A dozen or more reports resulting from this research have been published in 1939.

The Carnegie Endowment expended \$5,000 to meet the cost of the work done by the American Council for the Division.—*Annual Report for 1939* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Sri Sri Chandi—By Swami Jagadiswarananda. Published from the Udbodhana Office, Calcutta. Pp. 62 + 328. 1347 B.S. Price As. 14.

From time immemorial Bengal has been the home of the cult of Sakti. This cult centres round the conception of God as the almighty mother who manifests herself as the Universe of things and beings, maintains the world-order according to the universal moral law of Karma and destroys it at the end of one Kalpa. Creation, maintenance and destruction of the world-order constitute the threefold nature of the divine mother who is primarily regarded as a spiritual power or dynamic spiritual life. Some of the oft-repeated charges against Hindu religion and Indian philosophy are that they are pessimistic and pacifistic, that they encourage lethargy and inactivity, and that they are for world negation and not world affirmation. The cult of Sakti which had once its stronghold in this country is a standing repudiation of these frivolous charges. But it must be confessed at the same time that the Sakti cult in India has, for many years past, degenerated into an empty formalism and ceased to influence and invigorate the life of its people. What is now necessary is a renaissance of this cult, a revival of its fundamental principles of the motherhood of God and the divine heritage of man, of an unshakable faith in the moral order of the world and an indomitable will in man to realise it.

The present edition of *Sri Sri Chandi* by the learned Swami may be confidently expected to make a valuable contribution to modern studies in the cult of Sakti. It contains the original Sanskrit text and clearly explains every word of it and gives a lucid Bengali translation of all the verses. The short footnotes added to the translation are very helpful in bringing out the hidden meaning of many difficult words and abstruse concepts contained in the original text. The value of the book has been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of certain preliminary and subsidiary hymns and verses, and their full explanation and translation in Bengali. All these features will make this edition of *Chandi* easy-reading and intelligible even to those who are not well-versed in Sanskrit or do not understand it at all.

S. C. CHATTERJEE.

A Primer of Malayalam Literature.—By T. K. Krishna Menon, B.A., Sahitya-kusalan. Published by B. G. Paul & Co., 12 Francis Joseph Street, Madras. Second Edition, pp. iii + 89 + viii (Index). 1939. Price 12 as.

This unpretentious little book is very welcome as a convenient though brief account of the literature in one of the major languages of India spoken by over nine millions of people. The author is well known in the Kerala country and also in other parts of India for his manifold services to the literature and culture of his province, and with his talented wife Srimati Kalyani Menon he has taken a share in building up the present-day literature of Malayalam. The book was originally written long ago at the instance of the late Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, I. C. S., who himself wrote one of the first histories of the literature of his own language Bengali. Mr. Menon

has given a short account of the Malayalam country, and has discussed the various views which have been expressed about the different epochs of the Malayalam language. I only wish he had eschewed some palpably unscientific opinions. In his own work the chronology he has followed is on the whole sound. Old Malayalam and Old Tamil formed one language up to the 14th century when Tunjattu Ramanujan Ezhuttachechan flourished, although naturally enough Malayalam characteristics were manifesting themselves before that period. Specimens of genuine Malayalam of the earlier periods are naturally rather rare. One great thing noticeable about Malayalam literature is its close connexion with Sanskrit. A great many Malayali poets were equally at home in both the languages, and in their hands a peculiar literary style of mixed Malayalam and Sanskrit (called *Maṇi-pravālam*) grew up, which is not to be ignored as mere pedantry. Mr. Menon has done well in including a short sketch of Kerala's contribution to Sanskrit literature, which, as the whole of India knows, has been second to that of no other province in medieval India—the great Sankaracharya himself having been of Kerala. The story of Malayalam literature is brought down to our times, most of the important authors being noticed, right from Ezhuttachechan to Valattol and his contemporaries who are still in the field. Kerala has her distinctive form of the culture of India, and, among the most beautiful things of ancient Indian culture which Kerala has conserved and developed, one must mention the *Kathākālī*, which fortunately has undergone a remarkable revival in the hands of Valattol and others. Altogether, Mr. Menon's little book is a very useful little sketch of a literature which has traditions going back to the hoary antiquity, and which is taking its stand worthily beside the other great literatures of Modern India. As it appears to be the only book of its kind for Malayalam, it fills a long-felt want.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Itihas-Prawesh (Introduction to History): A Survey of Indian History, in Hindi.—By Jayachandra Vidyalankar, M.A. In two volumes—Vol. I, up to the 18th century, pp. 1–496 + ii; Vol. II, from the end of the 18th century to the present day, pp. 497–758: with numerous Illustrations, Maps and Plates, and Complete Index. Published by the Saraswati Prakashan Mandir, Allahabad. 1938-1939. Price Rs. 2-8 for Vol. I, and Re. 1-8 for Vol. II.

This is a remarkably well-planned and well-written book on Indian history, and from almost all points I consider it to be the most up-to-date, most comprehensive and most satisfactory work of its type on the subject I have ever read. Conceived in a thoroughly scientific spirit and executed with a thoroughness and conscientiousness that would do honour to the erudition and industry of any scholar anywhere in the world, this book gives an admirable survey within its 750 pages of the history and culture of the Indian people which will be read with profit and pleasure by both the specialist and the general reader. Mr. Jayachandra Vidyalankar, apart from his own papers and books on various aspects of Indian history and culture, in which he has established his place in the front rank of investigators in Indology, is well-known as the energetic Secretary (in fact, the very life and soul) of the *Bhāratiya Itihāsa Parishad* or 'Institute of Indian History' of Benares, which, with the collaboration of a group of the most prominent historians and other scholars of present-day India and the support of some of our accredited nationalistic leaders

and of the general Indian public, has taken in hand the preparation of a comprehensive history of our country. In the present work, Mr. Vidyalankar has fully indicated his competence to co-ordinate, working in unison with the President of the Editorial Board Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the labours of the numerous scholars who will contribute each in his own field the results of his own specialised studies. For Mr. Vidyalankar has shown in the present work that he has control of minutiae of detail with a vastness of outlook: he possesses a wide vision as well as a keen insight which does not lose the forest in the trees and does not neglect the apparently trivial and unimportant things. Like a true scientist, he both analyses and forms a synthesis—he knows how to break as well as to build.

The author is not, however, a dry-as-dust analyst or reviewer, with his scientific attitude as his only redeeming feature: he has infused in his creation the warmth of his personal sympathy as an Indian who loves his land and his people with both their greatness and weakness. He is not of that ilk who cannot start the work of analysis and investigation unless it is on a corpse—unless they have the lifeless specimen pinned on the dissection table. Under his clear-viewed analysis or his masterly diagnosis or dissection, the subject continues to be living and does not forego its place in the scheme of things that exist; and feeling himself to be within the subject of analysis, in spite of his scientific detachment, he is emphatically free from that imperialistic bias and pose which unfortunately have blurred the vision of not a few British historians of India who have always put an undue emphasis on certain aspects of Indian history or the Indian situation which have no vital connexion with India, an emphasis on things that are accidental rather than organic. It is, in fact, a scientific history of India written from the point of view of India and Indians only (and, it may be added, from the point of view of its connexions with or bearings on humanity as a whole), and not for the glorification of this or that group or party, of the "Aryan" or the "Moslem," or of the white man with his self-imposed "burden" which makes him feel very important and very virtuous in spite of those for whom he professes to bear this burden not feeling inclined to agree with him that it is in any way to their advantage that he should take up this burden. And it is a history not for Indians only but for the whole world to read. Professedly, it is a history written from the "Indian point of view:" Mr. Vidyalankar and other Indian workers in the field, as well as the Indian lay public, are fed up with the imperialistic standpoint. What this "Indian point of view" really is, has been discussed by scholars like Rao Bahadur Hiralal and Sir Jadunath Sarkar: and no one in any other country with the purest scientific biaslessness can take exception to it. Mr. Vidyalankar's book is also conceived and executed in that Indian point of view: science and truth first and last, and subservience to ideas of group-superiority or of exaltation of groups nowhere: in fact, a statement and an appraisal of all the good and the bad that go to make up Indian history and Indian culture.

Mr. Vidyalankar rightly takes the history of India as an uninterrupted process from pre-historic times to our days, and he does not divide the history of India into three water-tight compartments labelled "Hindu," "Mohammedan" and "British" (why not "Christian"—as Major B.D. Basu has implied, in his *Rise of the Christian Power in India*?). He has discussed the geographical background, and the racial contributions brought in by the original component elements in the Indian people, as well as the bases and methods of historical enquiry. For the Austrie peoples and

languages, he has used the term *Agneya*, i.e., belonging to the *Agni-kona* or south-east of Asia. This admirably expresses the geographical connexions of the *Austrie* peoples, but at first it may be a bit difficult to follow, as all new terms are, until they gain wide currency and become established in their connotations; but I have nothing better to suggest. In Section I, Chapter 4, Mr. Vidyalankar has suggested 2250 B.C. as a likely date for Bharata, the founder of the 'Lunar' dynasty, and 1900 B.C. for Rāma (of the *Rāmāyana*); and he thinks the 14th century B.C. as the probable date for the historical kernel of the *Mahābhārata* and for the Kurukshetra battle. In the same chapter, which precedes that on Vedic life and culture, he has given the stories of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* and some Purāṇa legends. I do not feel very happy over this chapter—this is the only one in the whole book to which from point of view of sober history I can take exception to. We are not yet in a position to deduce history out of epic and Puranic myth and legend. There is scope for specialised studies of the subject, but speculations hardly have a place in a general history of India of this type. It seems (though it is only here) that Mr. Vidyalankar has made a concession to popular semi-scientific notions about the historical value of the epics and the Purāṇas. There may be an element of true history behind these (though no serious historian takes the Rāma story to be anything but myth): and it is quite likely that a good deal of Purāṇa and epic stories of kings, heroes and *rishis* belong to pre-Aryan times, inextricably combined with later Aryan history and legend; and it will be long before we can extract sober history from it—if we ever at all succeed in doing so; but this appears to be extremely doubtful.

The rest of the book is in splendid form, and while reading it, one feels a rare pleasure at the author's wide range of information, his skill in marshalling facts and his all-embracing catholicity, with its undercurrent of a great and a deep *human* sympathy (and not a superficial nationalistic bias) for the people the story of whose deeds and achievements he unfolds. Time and often one feels inclined to thank him for presenting many a fact which is but little known to the student and the average reader. Thus, it is good for both Hindus and Mohammadans in India, for students and others, to know that Mahmūd of Ghazna was not merely a *but-shikan* or iconoclast who invaded India a number of times and destroyed Hindu temples and images, but he was also a wise administrator and a patron of learning under whom the Sanskritist Al-Biruni flourished and who had on his silver coins for his Indian subjects the Moslem creed (the *Kalima*) translated into Sanskrit, with his own name in Indian characters; that Muhammad Ghorī continued the image of the Hindu Goddess Lakshmi on his coins, with his name in Indian letters (*Srimad Mira Mahamada Sāma*): that two Maratha administrators, named Hari Damodar (died 1765 as *Subhedār* of Jhansi) and his son Raghunath Hari, who took a leading part in reorganising Maratha (Hindu) rule in North India, were impressed by the science and learning of the English and other Europeans, and Raghunath Hari who was governor of Jhansi from 1765 to 1794, anticipated Rammohan Ray and the early 19th century thought-leaders of Bengal by recognising the necessity of Western science and learning for India, and he himself learned English and started a scientific laboratory at Jhansi, which he was inspired to do by studying Physics, Chemistry and other sciences from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* which was then out. Raghunath Hari was a truly great son of India whose name we did not know; if the same spirit had actuated a few

more men in 18th century India who had the power to shape her policy, the story of India in the nineteenth century and now would have been quite different.

Ample justice has been done to the cultural history of India in chapters giving a survey of the cultural forces at work in each period. And it is gratifying to note that the question of Greater India—India's cultural and colonial expansion—has not been neglected either, as it is an integral part of India's history.

The story is brought down to the year of its publication, and in recent events when political, racial and communal strifes, wrangles and complications are bringing about the greatest amount of confusion among a population covering a fifth of the human race, Mr. Vidyalkar has succeeded in giving a detailed and dispassionate survey.

A word of special praise is due to the careful selection of the illustrations, which embrace racial types, views of architectural remains, portraits, coins and inscriptions, and maps and plans. They give an illustrated commentary on the whole story, unfolding in pictures the history of a great country and its great civilisation. I only wish that this illustrations were better reproduced.

I think scholars will have to admit that Mr. Vidyalkar has remarkably well acquitted himself. He has written his book in Hindi, the true national language of India, her representative modern speech. Hindi is the *de facto* *Umgangssprache* and *Verkehrssprache*, or *Lingua Franca*, for the whole of Aryan-speaking India, and for a considerable part of South India as well, though it is not yet a *Kultursprache* or a *Wissenschaftliche Sprache*—a cultural language or a language of science. Its scientific vocabulary is still in the making, and Mr. Vidyalkar himself had to find out or coin many a necessary word. Works like the present one are really helping to establish Hindi as a speech of science and culture. His Hindi is one of the best I have read in a modern writer—he writes beautiful Hindi prose, terse, vigorous, to the point, and without pictorial hue. A book like this should have wide publicity and popularity, not only in the whole of India but also in the world at large. We are glad to learn that English, Marathi and Gujarati translations have been taken in hand; and for my own province, I would like to see a Bengali translation. We wish more power to Mr. Vidyalkar's elbow—and we hope he will continue to give us every now and then at least chips from his workshop where he will be occupied for some years to come in constructing along with other scholars a great and authoritative History of India, of which the present one is a welcome foretaste.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Ourselves

[I. *The Late Dr. Susilkumar Mukherjee.*—II. *The Annual Convocation of the University.*—III. *Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.*—IV. *Election of Ordinary Fellows.*—V. *Nomination of Ordinary Fellows of the University.*—VI. *Geographical Exhibition at the University.*—VII. *A New Ph.D.*—VIII. *A New Endowment.*—IX. *Sarojini Basu Medal for 1940*—X. *Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Arts for 1940.*]

I. THE LATE DR. SUSILKUMAR MUKHERJEE

By the death of Dr. Susilkumar Mukherjee, L.M.S., D.O. (Oxon.), D.O.M.S. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Edin.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal), Bengal, has lost a renowned physician and eye specialist. Dr. Mukherjee was a member of the Syndicate of this University and Professor of Ophthalmic Surgery at the Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta.

As a student he had a brilliant career at the Calcutta Medical College from where he took his L.M.S. degree in 1910 and was for some time a House Surgeon there. In 1919 he went to England where he distinguished himself in several examinations and stood first in the D.O. (Oxon.) Examination. Dr. Mukherjee achieved a unique honour by being the first Bengali to hold the degree of D.O.M.S. (Lond.). He was the first Indian to hold the office of the First Ophthalmic Surgeon at the Medical College, Calcutta.

We offer our heartfelt sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.

* * *

II. THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal will preside at the Annual Convocation of the University, which will be held in the University College of Science, Circular Road, on the 8th March, 1941, at 9-30 A.M., for conferring the Degree of Doctor of Science, *Honoris Causa*, on Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.M.F. (Bengal), and the ordinary Degrees of the year.

The Convocation Address will be delivered by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Babadur Sapru, P.C., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D.

III. DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister at Law, M.L.A., has been elected by the North-Eastern Group of Universities comprising the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca, and Patna as its representative on the Council of the Institute of Science, Bangalore, for the triennium 1941-43.

* * *

IV. ELECTION OF ORDINARY FELLOWS

The undermentioned gentlemen have been declared duly elected Ordinary Fellows of the University subject to the approval of His Excellency the Chancellor :—

Bidhanchandra Roy, Esq., B.A., M.D., F.R.C.S. (Eng.),
M.R.C.P. (Lond), F.S.M.F. (Bengal).

Ramaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M A , B.L.

Satyendranath Ray, Esq., M.B., F.R.C.S. (Edin.), D.T.M & H.
(Eng.)

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V. NOMINATION OF ORDINARY FELLOWS OF THE UNIVERSITY

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Rev. G. H. C. Angus, M.A , B.D., Principal, Serampur College, to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University.

Rev. Angus has been attached to the Faculty of Arts.

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VI. GEOGRAPHICAL EXHIBITION AT THE UNIVERSITY

A Geographical Exhibition, the first of its kind in Calcutta, was opened on the 18th February, 1941, at 4 P.M., in the Darbhanga Hall of this University by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.

The Geographical Department of Calcutta University, the Geological Department of the Presidency College, the Geological Survey of India, the Trigonometrical Survey of India, the Meteorological Department to the Government of India, the Imperial Library, the Asutosh Museum, the Corporation Commercial Museum, the Consul

General of Belgium, the Publicity Department of State Railways and the B. N. Ry. have expressed their willingness to co-operate and make the exhibition a success.

A model of the Manasarovar Lake showing the sources of the Indus and the Brahmaputra, paintings depicting the Tibetan views, manners and customs, pictures of the Himalayas and other land-forms of India, old maps of India and Egypt, district maps of Bengal showing the flooded area and population density will form some of the exhibits.

Personal collections of many members of the Society, including many curious and interesting exhibits, *e.g.*, fish from Manasarovar Lake, complete sets of travel literatures, etc., will be exhibited.

The exhibition will remain open from the 19th to the 24th February between 12 NOON and 6 P.M.

* * *

VII. A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Sasibhushan Dasgupta, M.A., whose thesis for the Doctorate Degree entitled "Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature," has been approved by his Examiners Mr. Hirendranath Dutt, M.A., B.L., Vedantaratra, MM. Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj, M.A., and Mr. Kshitimohan Sen, Sastri, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Dasgupta, who is also a Premchand Roychand Scholar, is an Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Modern Indian Languages and is one of the youngest members of the University Teaching Staff to receive this distinction. We congratulate Dr. Dasgupta on his success.

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VIII. A NEW ENDOWMENT

The Presidency College Dr. P. K. Ray Memorial Committee has obtained a sum of Rs. 1,600 in 3½ per cent. G. P. Notes for creating an endowment for the annual award of a gold medal to be called the "Prasanna Kumar Ray Memorial Medal." The sum has been offered to the University, with the request that the medal should be awarded annually at the Convocation of the University to the student who,

after graduating from the Presidency College, Calcutta (of which Dr. Ray was the first Indian Principal), comes out highest in First Class Honours in the M.A. Examination of that University in Mental and Moral Philosophy. Failing this, the medal should be awarded to the student, similarly of the Presidency College, who comes out highest in First Class Honours in the M.Sc. Examination of the University in Physics (Dr. Ray was a D.Sc. of the London and the Edinburgh University). In the event of there being no such student in any year, the medal should be awarded, according to the discretion of the Syndicate, either to a Presidency College student who comes out best in the M.A. or the M.Sc. Examination of the University in the subjects mentioned, or to any other student who comes out highest in the First Class in one of the two subjects.

The offer has been accepted with thanks and it has been decided that the Medal would be awarded for the first time at the forthcoming Convocation of the University.

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IX. SAROJINI BASU MEDAL FOR 1940

The Sarojini Basu Gold Medal for the year 1940, which is to be bestowed on the best research scholar in Bengali language and literature, will be awarded at the next Convocation to Mr. Jogeschandra Ray, M.A., Vidyanidhi, author of "Amader Jyotish-o-Jyotishi" and several other learned works in Bengali.

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X. ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURER IN ARTS FOR 1940

Dr. Prafullachandra Basu, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Vice-Chancellor, Agra University, has been appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer (in Arts) for the year 1940, the subject of his lectures being "Some Modern Trends in the Evolution of Human Institutions."

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Gleanings from my Researches Vol. I, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal). D/Crown 8vo pp. 461 + xx.

University Question Papers, 1935. D/Demy 16mo pp. 1160.

Federal System of the United States of America, by Dr. Naresh Chandra Roy, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 308 + vi. Rs. 3.

Buddhi-o-Bedhi, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 78.

Gitar Bani, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray. Demy 8vo pp. 198.

Bangla Sahityer Katha (2nd Edition), by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 219 + 18. Rs. 1-8

Asoka (with illustrations), by Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 84. Re. 1.

Europor Silpakatha (with illustrations), by Mr. Asitkumar Halder. Demy 8vo pp. 146 + 10. Re. 1.

Industrial Finance in India, by Dr. Sarojkumar Basu, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 436 + xvii. Rs. 6.

Nyayamanjari, Part I, by Pandit Panchanan Tarkavagis. Royal 8vo pp. 490. Rs. 5.

General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, Vol. I, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A. Demy 4to pp. 180 + vii.

Books in the Press

FEBRUARY, 1941

1. Gleanings from my Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. History of Indian Labour Legislation, by Dr. Rajanikanta Das, M.A., Ph.D.
4. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. III, edited by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
5. Adam's Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, edited by Mr. A. N. Basu, M.A., T.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, by Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Studies in the History of British in India, by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
9. Post-Graduate Volume (Arts and Science), 1939.
10. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
11. University Question Papers, 1936.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
14. Early Career of Kanhoji Angria, by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., (Oxon.).
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharatiya Banaushadhi Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc., and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Nyayamanjari, Part II, Edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkavagis.
19. Ramdas and Sivaji (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecture*, 1939-40), by Mr. C. C. Dutt, I.C.S. (Retd.).
20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.
21. Rivers of the Bengal Delta (*Readership Lectures*), by Mr. S. C. Majumdar, M.A.
22. Khandakhadyaka, Sanskrit Text, edited by Mr. Prabodh-chandra Sengupta, M.A.
23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr. Phil., D.Litt.
24. Siddhantasekhara, Vol. II, by Pandit Babua Misra.
25. Kabita Sangraha, III, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. K. N. Mitra, M.A.

26. **Old Persian Inscriptions**, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
27. **Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal**, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. **History of Bengali Language and Literature**, by Late Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
29. **Calculus of Finite Differences**, by Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A.
30. **Industry in India**, by Dr. P. N. Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.
31. **Din-i-Ilahi**, by Prof. Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A., B.L.
32. **Lectures on Art**, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E.
33. **Manobijnan**, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A.
34. **Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement 1937.**
35. **University Question Papers for the year 1933.**
36. **Bharater Deb Deul**, by Mr. Jyotishchandra Ghosh.
37. **Manasamangal**, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A.
38. **History of Indian Literature, Vol. III**, by the late Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D.
39. **Buddhist Historical Traditions**, by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.
40. **Orthographical Dictionary**, edited by Mr. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya.
41. **Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.**, edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
42. **Journal of the Department of Science, Vol. I, No. 8.**
43. **Vedantadarsan-Advaitabad**, by Dr. Asutosh Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.
44. **Asutosh Sanskrit Series**, edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
45. **Raisekharer Padavali**, edited by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., and Dwareschandra Sarmacharyya.
46. **Bkah Babs Bolun**, by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
47. **Narayana Pariprecha**, by Mr. Anukulchandra Banerjee, M.A.
48. **Manjusrinama Sangiti**, by Mr. Durgadas Mukerjee, M.A.
49. **Padma Puran**, by Kabi Narayan Deb, edited by Dr. Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
50. **Haramani**, by Mr. M. Mansuruddin, M.A.
51. **Dharma Sadhana** by Mrs. P. R. Sen, M.A.
52. **The Development of Hindu Iconography**, by Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, M.A.
53. **University Regulations.**
54. **Rabindra Sahityer Bhumika**, by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.Litt.Phil., Dip.Lib., F.L.A.
55. **Selected Inscriptions of Different Periods**, by Dr. Dineshchandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
56. **Jiban Maitrer Padma Puran**, edited by Mr. Sambhucharan Chaudhuri.
57. **Upanisader Alo (Revised Edition)**, by Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
58. **University Calendar for the year 1941.**

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

I. INDIAN CULTURE

A History of Indian Literature, by M. Winternitz, Ph.D.,
Professor of Indology and Ethnology at the German
University of Prague, translated into English from the
original German by Mrs. S. Ketkar and revised by the
Author. *The only Authorised Translation into English.*

This monumental work of Prof. Winternitz is too well-known to need any introduction to the public. In order to make it accessible to those interested in Indian Literature but not well-versed in German, the Calcutta University has undertaken the publication of an English version. In order to bring the work up to date the author revised the whole work for the English translation. Many chapters have been re-written entirely, smaller changes, corrections and additions have been made almost on every page and the more important publications of the last twenty years have been added to the references in the Notes. Thus the English translation is at the same time a second, revised and improved edition of the original work.

Vols. I and II are the translations of the original German works with notes revised by the author and published during his lifetime. The preparation of Vol. III has been undertaken by an Editorial Board of experts on the subject. This volume is intended to complete the work left unfinished by the death of Prof. M. Winternitz. The whole work will occupy several volumes.

Vol. I. Introduction, the Veda, the National Epics, the Puranas and the Tantras. Demy 8vo pp. 653. 1927. Rs. 10-8.

Vol. II. Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature. Demy 8vo pp. 673. 1934. Rs. 12-0.

Vol. III. *In the Press.*

Some Problems of Indian Literature (*Readership Lectures delivered at the University*), by the same author. Royal 8vo pp. 130. 1925. Rs. 2-8.

Contents:—The Age of the Veda—Ascetic Literature in Ancient India—Ancient Indian Ballad Poetry—Indian Literature and World-Literature—Kautiliya Arthasastra—Bhasa.

Sino-Indica, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit.

Dr. Bagchi has undertaken a series of publications called *Sino-Indica*. The work is a study of Chinese documents relating to India. As the researches were begun in France, the volumes had to be written in French.

Vol. I. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I (In French)*. Royal 8vo pp. lii + 436. 1927. Rs. 15-0.

It is the first systematic work which deals with the history or translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese and their translators. The work contains the biographies of all Indian, Iranian, Sogdian and other monks who went to China in the early centuries of the Christian era. A history of their activities, as preserved in the Chinese documents, is given. The first part covers a period of six hundred years, first century A.D. to sixth century (589) A.D.

Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I.—"The author has brought together everything he could on the biographical notices of the translators and gives a register of their works. The large number of references to the literature that might come in question is to be specially congratulated. . . . This assiduous work will have the recognition everywhere which it deserves." (Translated from German—*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1929, 2.)

"His important work does honour to him and his teachers . . . a fresh proof of the eminent talents of the Bengali race." (From French—*Revue Bibliographique*, 1928, October, Bruxelles.)

"An important contribution. . . . There are some of the important informations from this historical study with which it is full." (From French—*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques*.)

"Work of great value that makes an important contribution to the history of Chinese Buddhism." (From French—*Chronique d'Histoire des Religions*.)

"He has been able to bring out this first volume of a *magnum opus* which vindicates once more the importance of Buddhism in the history of India and testifies to the sound preparation of the author. . . . This is a schematic history of the spread of Buddhism and, with it, of Indian culture into China. . . . One of the best achievements of Buddhistic scholarship, the first contribution of young India to the systematic and comparative study of Buddhism."—*Prof. G. Tucci (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 2)*.

Vol. II. *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome I.*
Double Crown 8vo pp. 336. 1929. Rs. 15-0.

It is a critical edition of two ancient Sanskrit-Chinese lexicons of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., compiled by a Ser-Indian monk, Li-yen, and a Chinese monk, the famous Yi-tsing. The work has been enriched with notes added by Prof. Paul Pelliot, Membre de l'Institut de France, Professor in College de France.

Vol. III. *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome II.* Double Crown 8vo pp. 204 (pp. 337-540). 1937. Rs. 15-0.

The second part of the *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois* contains a detailed study of five Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries which have been preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka. These are—the *Fan yu tsu ming* of Li-yen, the *Fan yu ts'ien tseu wen* of Yi-tsing, the *T'ang fan wen tseu* of Ts'uan-tchen, the *Fan T'ang siao si* and the *T'ang fan leeng yu chouang touei tsi*, all of which were compiled in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Dr. Bagchi has discussed the problems raised by these vocabularies, their authenticity, the biography of the authors, the Prakritic, Iranian, and Central Asiatic elements in the vocabulary, the method of Chinese transcription, etc. A detailed Chinese-Sanskrit index containing more than two thousand words supplies the basis for future Sino-Sanskrit lexicographical works.

This work is of capital interest to students of Buddhism, of Indian history, to Sinologists, to linguists and to all those who are interested in the early history of cultural exchange between China and India.

Vol. IV. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome II.* Royal 8vo pp. 306 (pp. 437-742). 1938. Rs. 15-0.

It contains a history of the Chinese Buddhist literature from the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D.

The work will be completed with detailed indexes in a separate volume which is now in the press.

The Evolution of Indian Polity, by R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Demy 8vo pp. 192. 1920. (*Slightly damaged*.) Reduced price Rs. 4-8.

Contains a connected history of the growth and development of political institutions in India, compiled mainly from the Hindu Sastras. The author being the famous discoverer and translator of the *Kautiliya Arthasastra*, it may be no exaggeration to call him one of the authorities on Indian Polity.

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Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, by Richard Fick (translated by Sisirkumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.). Demy 8vo pp. 390. 1920. Rs. 7-8.

'Dr. Fick's *Die Sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas Zeit* has, for many years, been of invaluable assistance to all interested in the social and administrative history of Buddhist India. But those ignorant of German were unable to make use of that book and their warm gratitude will be extended to Dr. Maitra for his eminently readable translation. The book is too well-known to need any review; suffice it to say that the translation is worthy of the book. Now that this scholarly work is made available in English, it should find a larger circulation.'—*Hindustan Review*, July, 1923.

Contents.

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Chapter III—*The Homeless Ascetics*—Translation to the homeless condition a universal characteristic of Eastern Culture—Causes of Asceticism.

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Chapter VII—*The House Priest of the King*—Historical Evolution of the Post of *Purohita*—His Share in Administration.

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Chapter XI—*Casteless Professions*.

Chapter XII—*The Despised Caste*.

Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India (*Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Law*), by Nareschandra Sen-gupta, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo pp. 109. 1914. Re. 1-8.

In this book the author traces the sources of Ancient Indian Law with reference to the environments in society and deals with matters regarding legal conceptions historically, initiating a somewhat new method, mainly following the one indicated by Ihering with reference to Roman Law in the study of problems of Hindu Law.

Pre-Historic India, by Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D. Second Edition, *Revised and Enlarged*. Demy 8vo pp. 542 (with 53 plates). 1927. Rs. 7-0.

Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (*Readership Lectures in the Calcutta University, 1919*), by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras. Demy 8vo pp. 468. 1923. Rs. 6-0.

In the course of these lectures the author has made an effort to evaluate the influence of South India upon the main currents of Hindu Culture generally. He considers the main problem in its varied aspects. The first important topic is the connection between the Aryan north and the Dravidian south, and the main point for consideration is the religious contact and the position of the Brahman in South India. The Buddhist influence in this part of the country is found to be comparatively small, and the Brahmanism that is established in the land is found to be pre-Buddhistic in point of character. From this, under the influence of the new venue, Brahmanism itself undergoes a change towards the religion of devotion to a personal God intervening in the affairs of people. Following this in a natural line comes the worship of a personal deity in various forms, together with all the paraphernalia of that worship leading ultimately to that point of religion that holds the field named somewhat vaguely as Hinduism. The literary influence is considered in a chapter devoted to the study of the peculiar Tamil classic—the Kural. Then follows a number of Chapters bearing on the history of the Pallavas which, from the cultural point of view, is essentially the period of reconciliation of the two cultures—Aryan and Dravidian. Saivism and Vaishnavism are the two offshoots which, beginning perhaps in the moderate systems, developed schools of thought more rigorous and leading ultimately to the extreme forms of the two sects.

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Extract from Indian Antiquary, Vol. LIII, for January-February, 1924 :—

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Sir Richard C. Temple, Editor and Proprietor of the *Indian Antiquary*, in a letter, dated the 2nd September, 1923, writes : " I am much impressed with your *Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* and I am making a précis of it."

Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, by B. R. Chatterji, D.Litt. (Punjab), Ph.D. (London). Demy 8vo pp. 303. 1928. Rs. 6-0.

" Within this thesis there are probably assembled all the facts at present discoverable concerning Indian influence in Cambodia.....Mr. Chatterji seems to have studied all the available inscriptions (of Cambodia) and he has tracked down an immense number of relevant passages in early Indian, Chinese and Arab literatures.....As a scholar writing for scholars Mr. Chatterji seems to have done his work well....."—*Times Literary Supplement*, 6th September, 1928.

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Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, by Sylvain Lévi, Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch. Translated into English, by Prabodhechandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit. Demy 8vo pp. 216. 1929. Rs. 2-8.

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Indian Ideals in Education, Philosophy and Religion and Art (*Kamala Lectures, 1924*), by Annie Besant, D.L., with a Foreword by the Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves, Kt. Demy 8vo pp. 135. 1925. Re. 1-8.

The lectures were delivered in the Calcutta University by Dr. Annie Besant under the auspices of the Kamala Lectureship established in memory of his beloved daughter by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I.

Philosophical Discipline (*Kamala Lectures, 1926*), by Mahamahopadhyay Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo pp. 179. 1928. Re. 1-8.

Contents: Chapter I—*Discipline in Indian Systems*—(i) General—(ii) Vedanta—(iii) Purva-Mimamsa and other 'Hindu' Systems—(iv) Buddhism and Jainism—(v) Upanishads: Synthesis of Indian Philosophy.

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Chapter III.—*Discipline in Western Philosophy*—Greece and Rome—Modern Philosophy—Conclusion.

Rationalism in Practice (*Kamala Lectures, 1932*), by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. Demy 8vo pp. 99. Re. 1-8.

The lectures briefly discuss certain questions of general interest and are only intended to provoke thought in the younger generation.

Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals (*Kamala Lectures, 1929*), by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D. Demy 8vo pp. xix + 242. 1935. Rs. 2-8.

The thesis of the author is the evolutionary character of the moral ideals of Hindus as embodied and reflected in their sacred laws, customs, social life and conduct. He shows that the moral rules and ideals which have obtained among them have not been immutable and stationary, but have changed, and are bound to change, in the course of time in accordance with their social and economic environments. The need for such adaptation is stressed as an essential condition of life in the modern world. The author examines the defects and merits of Hinduism and the value of the contribution of Hindu thought to moral culture. He discusses the influence of the doctrine of Karma, the question of moral progress, the effect of the impact of Western ideas and culture upon Hindu ideals, the drift of modern forces and tendencies and their bearing upon the future outlook of Hindu society. The subject is treated throughout in the light of comparative thought and in a spirit of detachment. The author enforces his points by numerous references to parallel conceptions and practices in Western countries.

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The History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, by B. M. Barua, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (London). Royal 8vo pp. 468. 1921. Rs. 10-8.

The book gives a clear exposition of the origin and growth of Indian Philosophy from the Vedas to the Buddha, and seeks to evolve order out of chaos—to systematise the teachings of the various pre-Buddhistic sages and seers, scattered in Vedic literature (Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads) and in the works of the Jainas, the Ajivikas and the Buddhists.

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Bharatiya Madhya Yuge Sadhanar Dhara (*Adhar Mookerjee Lectures for 1928, in Bengali*), by Kshiti-mohan Sen, Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian Religion and Mysticism, Visvabharati, Santiniketan, with a Foreword by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. xvi + 135. Re. 1-8.

In this work the author has given for the first time an outline of the religious history of India during the Mussalman rule. He has criticised here the popular theory that India was acquired by Mahomedan invaders *merely* by means of the sword and has properly appreciated the part of the Moslem saints, orthodox as well as heterodox, in conquering India for Islam. This unique work is based principally on materials collected by the author from hundreds of religious shrines (including many obscure ones) visited by him during the last thirty years. Another feature of the work is that it reveals the natural love of spiritual matters on the part of the common people of India.

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Viswa-Vidyalyayer Rup (*in Bengali*), Inaugural address delivered at the Calcutta University, by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. 30. 1933. As. 8.

Sikshar Bikiran (*in Bengali*), by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. 23. 1933. As. 8.

Manusher Dharma (*Kamala Lectures, 1930, in Bengali*), by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. ix + 119. 1933. Re. 1-8.

Sakti or Divine Power, by Sudhendukumar Das, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). Demy 8vo pp. 310. 1934. Rs. 3-0.

An attempt has been made to trace the origin of the idea of Sakti as Divine Power from Jñān or the 'Mother-Goddesses' of the Vedas and show how it developed through the speculations of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads and finally culminated into the Svetaśvatara conception of full-bodied philosophical principle of 'Supreme Divine Sakti' belonging to God himself, hidden in his own qualities. It is an historical study based on original Sanskrit texts. It contains for the first time a thorough discussion on the philosophy of the Kashmere Trika School and that of the Lingayat School of Southern India from the texts both published and unpublished.

Sri Aurobindo and the Future of Mankind, by Adharchandra Das, M.A. Double Crown 16mo pp. 143. 1934. Re. 1-0.

The author has interwoven into a connected statement the contents of a number of articles contributed by Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, on the true meaning of Vedanta Philosophy and has presented his book in a very interesting and attractive manner.

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Ancient Indian Numismatics (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1921),
by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.,
Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Cul-
ture, Calcutta University. Demy 8vo pp. 241. Rs. 4-14.

The book contains a course of lectures on Numismatics, a part of Archæology, delivered by the Professor in 1921. The subjects of the lectures are as follows:

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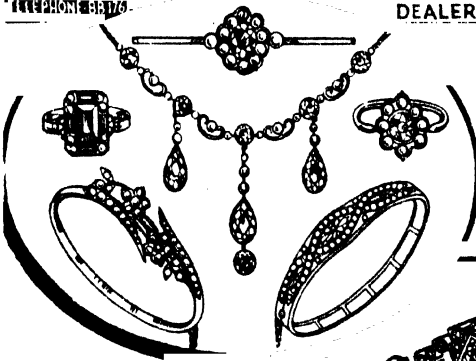
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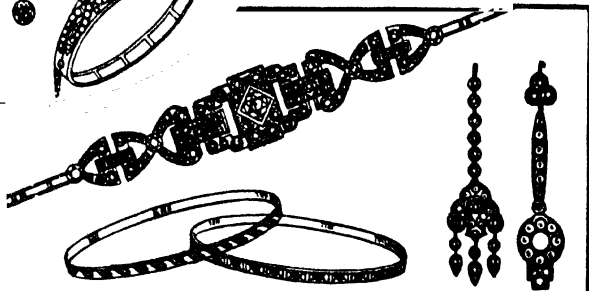
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1941

SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RÂY, KT., AND BHABESHCHANDRA RAY, M.Sc.

XVI

SHAKESPEARE AS REVISER OF PLAYS WRITTEN BY OTHERS—AUTHORSHIP OF THE TRILOGY OF *Henry VI* AND *Titus Andronicus*

LET us now take up the consideration one of the most puzzling, if not the most puzzling, of Shakespeare's plays, *Titus Andronicus*. It has been observed before¹ that this play was the work of Shakespeare and to explain the defects of the play the author of the article accepted the hypothesis that the play was written by the poet in his prentice stage. This view has indeed to be revised and after a careful study the present authors have come to an altogether different conclusion. At the very outset the authors would like to offer an apology for their change of views, and would submit that in the bewildering track of Shakespearean study one is very much prone to revision of one's opinion. An example connected with this very branch of study, and more particularly with the same play, may be found interesting. Dr. Richard Garnett believed Marlowe to be the author

¹ *Calcutta Review*, May, 1940.

of *Titus Andronicus* and expressed his considered view to that effect. Subsequently when Robertson vivisected the play to find out the real author or authors and accredited it to the composite authorship of Peele and Greene, Dr. Garnett addressed a letter to Robertson wherein he mentioned that "I considered the original author to have been Marlowe, but you have convinced me that the play is more likely to have been the production of Peele and Greene." This is only to show that revision of opinion is not very uncommon in Shakespearean studies and the present authors may be excused if they have unavoidably been forced to follow the path which the noted critics have been forced occasionally to do.

Titus Andronicus is found to be first entered in the Stationers' Register in February, 1594. During the lifetime of Shakespeare this play saw as many as three quarto publications but nowhere was mentioned the name of the author neither its questionable abbreviation W.S., or W.Sh. Unlike many others this play has to its credit a number of external evidences which have made the problem all the more knotty. Let us consider these external evidences first. Henslowe records on April 2, 1592 a 'ne' play, *Titus and Vespasian*, which Lord Strange's men played up to January, 1593. In 1594 Henslowe records another new play, *Titus Andronicus*, which was acted by the Lord Chamberlain's men. In 1614 Ben Jonson referred to *Andronicus* as a play produced these five and twenty or thirty years, so that the date of the play comes to be 1589 or 1584. Again Meres included this play in his 1598 list as Shakespeare's. Yet another reference, already quoted, to this play in 1687 by Ravenscroft need be mentioned. The reference is worthwhile considering once more. Ravenscroft reported a stage tradition that Shakespeare was not the author but a mere reviser of the play which came to his hands from a 'private author.'

In the early days of the rise of English dramas it was the tragedy of blood that was most appreciated by the public. "This tragedy of blood was a play which dealt with sanguinary theme and in which the author was seeking not so much to purge the souls of the spectators with terror as to shock their nerves with horror on horror's head accumulated."¹ This had, indeed, been responsible for the popularity of *Spanish Tragedy* and of *Titus Andronicus*. It is practically impossible

¹ Introduction to *Titus Andronicus*, (Renaissance edition).

to decide, after a lapse of more than three centuries, what share had our poet in the production of *Titus Andronicus*, but it is definite that there exists little and in fact very little likeness between *Titus Andronicus* and Shakespeare's any other genuine tragedy. This play fails, according to them, to give a single evidence in favour of Shakespearean touch; it lacks in the marks of Shakespeare's creative genius, his delineation of character, his invigorating humour and exquisite pathos and the directness of his penetrating expression. This want of likeness has actuated many Shakespearean critics to deny the play to Shakespeare. Neither the structure nor the style comes up to the Shakespearean standard and the supporters of Shakespearean authorship of the play attempt a plausible answer to this variation. At the beginning Shakespeare, like almost every poet, exercised his pen by imitation—the outcome of his imitation of Marlowe is *Henry VI* and that of Kyd is *Titus Andronicus*. These critics would say that what is commonly known as Shakespearean is the ideal that we have set up from a study of his best plays. Brander Matthews holds that “it is only by resolutely refusing to look at the facts paraded before our eyes that we can assume an impeccable artist, moving steadily and inevitably towards and always availing himself of his marvellous psychologic insight and of his profound philosophic understanding we shall find it easier to admit also that although *Titus Andronicus* is plainly unworthy of him, it has an interest of its own, in that it shows us an inexpert Shakespeare working over old material without liberty of rejection.”

Critical readers would by no means fail to compare the arguments of both the schools of critics—the school preferring Shakespearean authorship and the school advocating non-Shakespearean authorship. Bellyse Baildon, a reputed critic of the present century, believes in Shakespeare's authorship of the play and argues:

“As a young author making his first essay in tragedy Shakespeare would naturally choose a theme which would find favour with an Elizabethan audience, and, as we shall see, nothing secured that, at the time he must have written *Titus Andronicus*, more easily than a plentiful supply of horrors, just as the sensation novel, the ‘penny dreadful’ and ‘shilling shocker’ attract the multitude now.”¹

¹ Introduction to *Titus Andronicus* (Arden Shakespeare).

It has already been pointed out that this play contains too many classical and mythological references and the abundance of all these has been regarded by many as a convincing argument against a Shakespearean composition of the piece. They would rather prefer to attribute the play to the University wits who were both eager and fit to exhibit the depth of their knowledge of classical tongues. In a previous communication a number of classical quotations from this play has been cited to show our poet's attainment in the tongue. Here we may cite from *Titus Andronicus* a select few which, though written in English, refer either to some mythological allusion or are English renderings of some Latin authors. For example we have:

" Why sufferst thou thy sons, unburied yet,
To hover on the dreadful shore of Styx ? "

which can be compared well with *Aeneid*, VI, 325-29, "Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est:.....Centum errant annos valitantque hæc litora circum"

" The selfsame gods that arm'd the queen of Troy
With opportunity of sharp revenge
Upon the Thracian tyrant in his tent "

which is a reminiscence of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, XIII, 430-575, which describes how Hecuba, Queen of Troy, inveighed into "a secret place" and killed "the Thracian King" Polymnester, who had previously slain her son Polydorus. A close study of the play would amply demonstrate how far its author went to refer to the classical events and the present authors would not like to quote too many of them. The single myth of Philomel has been referred to very often in this play. Philomel was the unfortunate sister of Progne and was ravished by Tereus, the husband of the latter. Tereus was not only licentious but also cruel and cut the tongue of Philomel so that she might not disclose her misfortune to anybody. The full story was described in Latin by Ovid in his *Metamorphosis* and in English in *Palace of Pleasure* and Grascoign's *Complaynt of Philomene*, both published in the year 1576. The author of *Titus Andronicus* refers to this allusion more than once in the same play,¹ e.g.

" His Philomel must lose her tongue to day "
" But, sure, some Terius hath deflowered thee "

¹ Cf. Act II, Sc. 4; Act IV, Sc. 1; Act V, Sc. 2, etc.

" A craftier Terius, cousin, hast thou met,
And he hath cut those pretty figures off
That could have better sewed than Philomel " etc.

" This is the tragic tale of Phiomel,
and treats of Tereus' treason and his rape."

There is a reference to this very event in *Cymbeline*, one of Shakespeare's acknowledged productions. Another quotation of this very type may be found interesting :

" Had I the power that some say Dian had,
Thy temples should be planted presently
With horns, as was Actæon's and the hounds
Should drive upon thy new transformed limbs,
Unmannerly intruder as thou art."

Ovid gave the story as to how Actæon the huntsman was transformed into a stag by Diana and the aforesaid lines are reminiscent of the allusion. Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* contains a reference to this story.¹

Those who advocate the non-Shakespearean theory hold the frequency of this type of mythological and classical allusions a sufficient proof in support of their hypothesis but this is not indeed sufficient. If anybody cares to scrutinise the literary history of the play he would surely find that there were several works, "bookes," plays, ballads, and what not, telling the story of the mythical *Titus Andronicus*, these works being drawn from some original, now lost or unknown, and this original might have been an Italian or Spanish collection of tales. The source play is not traceable at the present day and necessarily cannot be compared with the play at our hand. In this connection one may be interested to note what the early editors hold. Theobald declared that "the story we are to suppose merely fictitious. Andronicus is a surname of pure Greek origin. Tamora is neither mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, nor anybody else that I can find. Nor had Rome, in the time of her emperors, any war with the Goths that I know of: not till after the translation of the empire, I mean to Byzantium. And yet the scene of the play is laid at Rome, and Saturninus is elected to the empire at capitol." But if we do not hesitate to accept such a source play the present writers see no reason

¹ Act II, Sc. 1.]

to deny such a one—they should not shrink from accepting that the references came directly from that and there is no reason why Shakespeare should be thought incompetent to assimilate and reproduce them. In fact almost all the plays produced by Shakespeare have been adopted from running plays, poems, books, and ballads and it has been already shown how the adaptation and the adapted tally at places. There has actually been discovered a ballad on the subject-matter of the play but expert opinion suggests that the date of composition of the ballad cannot be earlier than 1603. If we read Theobald's remarks with Ben Jonson's "five and twenty or thirty years" we must come to the conclusion that between 1584 and 1589 Shakespeare, not yet fully conversant with the English stage, produced a play which had a novel plot not adapted from elsewhere and gained unquestionable popularity. This seems rather unnatural. One has to conclude, therefore, that *Titus Andronicus* passing in our poet's name must have been a play adapted from some source play. The author of this source play might as well be the 'private-author' whom 'some anciently conversant with the stage' might have referred to. Thus probabilities being considered this argument cannot be regarded as sufficiently convincing for denying Shakespeare the authorship of the play.

Those who are in favour of allotting the play to Shakespeare's pen mainly stand on two arguments—weighty arguments indeed, viz., the inclusion of the piece in Mere's list of 1598 and the reproduction of the same in Hemminge and Condell's Folio collection. In 1598 Shakespeare was an author of established fame and many books were falsely fathered upon him. There is no wonder then if Ravenscroft's private author was following the fashion of the time and with the hope of making money was giving the entire credit of the production of the play to Shakespeare. Thus the popular notion most likely had been that *Titus Andronicus* was a play of Shakespeare and Meres might have reciprocated the same view when he included the play in his famous list. Thus Robertson, who has made a close study of the problem, would dismiss Mere's entry on the plea that "the list of Meres is simply an outsider's report derived from the theatre." There was no critical study of this or any other play at the time and we cannot by any means blame Meres for being non-critical in his presentation. Thus Meres can be argued to be wrong, and if by the process of argument we can flout this proof we can well assail the other,

namely, the authenticity of Folio version. The private author must have been not a very important playwright of the time, for had he been so we could have traced him in some other play. This unimportant author was actually buried in oblivion when the Folio editors began their work and on a *bona fide* belief they included this in Shakespearean publications. This may indeed be considered an argument too much far-fetched but if we continue our search from line to line in the play we may be satisfied that though apparently far-fetched this argument may be thought admissible.

So far as Mere's list is concerned it must not be forgotten, as Robertson points out, that "on the face of the case, the argument from Meres is habitually overstrained. On no clear ground can we say that a bare ascription by him counts for much more than an ascription by a contemporary publisher. With respect to the authenticity of the 1st Folio one has to remember that the Folio editors have depreciated, so to say, the real value of their publication by their inclusion of *Henry VIII* which has been admittedly a joint production of Shakespeare and Fletcher.

In the next article we shall try to read carefully what the text of *Titus Andronicus* points to.

(To be continued)

INDIA'S FUNDAMENTAL INDUSTRIES

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BETWEEN 1931 and 1941 the population of India is expected to go up to the extent of about 50 million which means that 5 million have to be absorbed every year somewhere. So long the majority of Indian's children have been absorbed by the rural areas and so far as one can judge, these will have to stay in the countryside and earn a living there. There is no likelihood that this extra population can be absorbed in large-scale industries even if we are in a position to introduce industrialisation on an extensive scale.

An alarming feature is the gradual increase in the number of landless agricultural labourers. In 1901 it was 33 million ; in 1911 it was 40 million, in 1921 42 million, in 1931 45 million. These figures are approximate.

Two very obvious methods which remain open to relieve congestion are emigration and irrigation. So far as the former is concerned, we are aware that to-day Indians, even as coolies, are not wanted anywhere outside India. On the other hand, they are compelled to come back to their motherland. So far as an increase in the amount of cultivable land through irrigation is concerned, all that we can expect is that in certain parts of India it will, for the time being, check the economic evil effects of an ever-growing population. We should remember that there is a limit to the area which can be improved by irrigation and relief through this agency must end once all such areas have received facilities for irrigation. It follows therefore that so long as this extreme dependence on agriculture continues, any increase in the area of cultivable land will relieve our distress only temporarily.

Improved methods of intensive cultivation which may be regarded as the third method will have the effect of increasing the total output of food, thus relieving the evil effects of over-population only when the people adopt them. This again will be possible only when they are literate. We all know that after more than 150 years of British rule, the percentage of literacy in India in 1931 was 8.1 only. This

is why the Congress has been laying such emphasis on the abolition of illiteracy and propaganda for improved agricultural methods. If this can be carried through to a successful issue all over India, our supply of available food may be increased, but, even then, there can be no prosperity in the economic sense so long as the masses have to depend on agriculture as practically the one means for their support.

Another fact which has to be taken into account is our rural indebtedness. This problem has engaged the attention of our economists and administrators for over half a century. Steps have no doubt been taken to improve the credit system and the banking machinery of the country, in spite of which the incidence of debt is continuing to mount. The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee in their report published in 1931 stated that no improvement could be expected without raising the standard of living and the economic condition of the masses and "building up their productive strength." It went on to say that "a potent factor which contributed to the extreme economic weakness of the Indian agriculturist was the inadequacy of subsidiary occupations to supplement the peasant's slender income from agriculture."

The Committee on Co-operation in Mysore State towards the end of 1936 after a careful investigation came to the conclusion that while there has been a considerable increase in the population living on the land, there has not been a corresponding increase in production. It offers some very significant observations to which I would draw the attention of every one. This body of experts held that the distress of the rural masses has been aggravated by the fact that those cottage industries which formerly used to enable the cultivator and the members of his family to earn some money in the off-season have been destroyed by competition from machine-made goods. The agriculturist has enough time at his disposal to pursue one or other of these small industries at home but he does not engage in them as the market for them has been lost. At the same time, though his income has been reduced, "he goes on parting with his cash for the purchase of his daily needs," which, naturally enough, impoverishes him still more.

It is not correct to hold that large-scale manufacture will afford any appreciable relief, for while factories increase in number, there is no corresponding increase in the number of those employed. To prove this I may refer to one instance only. In 1928, we had 7,823

factories which employed roughly 15 lakhs 20 thousand hands. Next year, there were 8,629 factories giving employment to approximately 15 lakhs 53 thousand labourers. In other words, the extra 206 factories provided work for about 33 thousand extra workers. This was a smaller increase than the pre-war average of 40 thousand yearly and was due to the use of improved machinery, the adoption of a more efficient organisation and the starting of very large-scale factories in which division of work was carried on to the furthest possible limits, a combination which cannot but lead to a smaller demand for labour.

In fact, those qualified to make pronouncements on a matter like this maintain that large-scale factories can, at most, be expected to give employment to the additions now going on to the population of the urban areas. It thus follows that large-scale industries will never produce work for the constantly increasing landless population. Similarly, the agriculturist will not be able to profit much by the development of industries on a large scale for he cannot withdraw from his fields for long and continuous periods of time for work elsewhere.

Under these circumstances, it is only too probable that unless vigorous steps are taken in time, pressure on land will never be relieved and our motherland will gradually be reduced to something like a rural slum where our countrymen will continue to lead a more and more sub-normal life ; where hunger and nakedness will be the rule and where man will ultimately go back to a brutal existence. Such an India would be a curse to herself and a menace to the rest of the world.

Employment will therefore have to be found not only for the landless agriculturists referred to above but also for the rural masses who are engaged in the work of cultivation. We must think of the millions of peasants who have to remain idle for at least six months in the year. Mahatma Gandhi, with his clear insight into essentials which is surely the gift of God, pointed out unerringly the solution of this problem when he quoted the following lines from the Census Report of 1921, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter XII, p. 271 :

“ The bulk of the population is agricultural, and Indian agriculture involves very hard work for certain short periods and almost complete inactivity for the rest of the year. These periods of inactivity are, in the great majority of cases, spent in idleness. But where the

cultivator pursues some craft which will employ him and his family at times when they are not required in the fields—a craft in which continuity of employment is not essential, the proceeds of that craft are a saving from waste and therefore a clear gain.”

OUR FUNDAMENTAL INDUSTRIES

If, as Mahatma Gandhi seems to hold, cottage industries are the only satisfactory solution of unemployment under Indian conditions, one would like to know what types of cottage industry should be encouraged. We are aware that, in the old days, India exported large amounts of artistic specimens of handicrafts which commanded a ready sale outside India and also among the aristocracy in our country. While there is undoubtedly room for cottage industries of this type, there is not the slightest doubt that, profitable as they are, they must enjoy a limited patronage and will provide work for comparatively small numbers of workers.

In order that our masses may have work in their millions it is necessary that the cottage industries in which they engage themselves should supply the primary needs of life, of which the two most important are food and clothing. As India is a very poor country, we might profitably add to the cottage industries coming under these heads others which will use as raw materials things which are available in almost every village, which are not ordinarily utilised in any way and which are in fact being wasted at present. It may be added here that the policy which has been implemented by Mahatma Gandhi through the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association is based upon these fundamental ideas.

The wisdom underlying the adoption of this plan is evident when we remember that, in this way, we can utilise the raw materials available in India and produce articles which are consumed inside India. The position would be better if each and every part of India could manufacture articles out of raw materials produced locally and if they were consumed locally. By doing so, the agriculturist could find a ready market close to his own home and could thus be saved from exploitation by middlemen who generally manage to interpose themselves, of course to their own profit, between the products direct to the consumers enjoying thus an opportunity of deriving the largest amount of benefit from their labours.

THE UTILISATION OF WASTE MATERIALS

Among the three types of cottage industries to which I have just referred, I shall deal first of all with some of those which are intended to utilise raw materials available in practically every village and which are being wasted to-day because we do not know how to utilise them profitably. It is not perhaps known to many that every year in India 30 million cattle die of some kind of disease. We have to remember also that there are millions of goats, pigs, sheep, buffaloes, etc., which are slaughtered for food. Similarly we must think of other animals such as mules, donkeys, dogs, etc., which die every year. It is not of course correct to assume that 100 per cent of the skins and carcases of these animals are being utilised to the best possible advantage.

Mahatma Gandhi and his lieutenants, always on the look-out to assist those for whom no one cares and nobody thinks, are teaching Harijans, Chamars, etc., improved methods of flaying, making glue from the fleshings, fat from the entrails, gut from the intestines, manure from the blood and the flesh, bone-meal and bone-dust from the bones. Easy methods of tanning, the making of foot-wear and other leather goods are also being taught. The headquarters of the All-India Village Industries Association at Maganvade, close to Wardha, is the place where the greatest progress seems to have been made. Under the inspiration of Gandhi, Brahmin, Bania, Chamar and Harijan youngmen and boys are being trained in all these processes and then going back to their homes in order to teach them to others.

It is held that, with the introduction of the Vidyamandir, the Wardha and the Basic Education schemes, and the almost universal campaign against illiteracy, there will be a larger demand not only for books, slates and slate pencils but also for paper. With the gradual spread of education, a larger number of people will take to writing letters, keeping memoranda, accounts, etc. National India holds that it is not at all desirable that the villagers should be compelled to spend any part, however small, of their very small earnings on these items. On the other hand, they should be taught, as far as possible, to supply their own needs in these as in other directions. It is therefore that a special process has been evolved, by following which hand-made paper from leaves, old clothes and other waste material available in every village can be easily manufactured.

No one can have any doubt that even though unemployment on any extensive scale cannot be solved by industries of this particular type, they have a very big future before them and once they are practised on a large scale, they will give work to many a man who is without it to-day.

THE PROVISION OF WHOLESOME FOOD-STUFFS

During the period that the different Congress cabinets were in office, the cottage industries which received great encouragement are those concerned with the provision of pure and healthy food, durable clothing, healthy homes, medical aid, sanitation, etc. The methods recommended were those which have stood the test of time and actual experience. I made a study of these cottage industries in the course of my visits to all the provinces of British India except Sind and the North-West Frontier, and I think I am in a position to state that everywhere the efforts put forth have, on the whole, been successful. I made an attempt to give a detailed survey of these cottage industries in an article contributed to the *Calcutta Review* a few months ago. On this occasion, I intend to confine myself to only a few items among them.

But before doing so, I should like to remind every Indian that the total amount of food produced in India is between 60 and 70 million tons. From this we have to deduct about 10 million tons for seed, for feeding cattle, for export and for wastage. The available balance, when divided by the population of India in 1931, amounting roughly to 352 million, leaves less than one pound daily per each head of population. It is said that the population of India will be about 400 million by 1941. Unless there is a very appreciable increase in our output of food, the amount available daily per each head of population will be a little more than half a pound. Such a small quantity can hardly be regarded as adequate.

Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerjee, Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University, in his recently published book "Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions" has come to the very definite and at the same time disquieting conclusion that "India has now fallen short of food for 48 millions of her average men, provided that agricultural seasons are normal and droughts and floods do not occur." Taking it for granted that we shall all along enjoy normal conditions which can by no means be expected, these 48

million average men will either have to die of sheer starvation or the rest of the population of India will have to give away part of its food in order to keep them alive. This is what is actually happening everywhere in our motherland, with the result that many are underfed.

Sir John Megaw who retired as Surgeon-General of India was referring to this aspect of the matter when he said that, in his opinion, only 39 per cent. of the population of India are well-nourished. The implication of this statement of course is that 61 per cent among Indians are not well-nourished.

But the average Indian suffers not only from what one may rightly describe as semi-starvation but he also misses in the small quantity of food he consumes some of those important mineral salts and vitamins without which his health is bound to be impaired. It was therefore that, under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, not only did the different Congress cabinets encourage the use of improved agricultural methods and specially intensive cultivation to increase the output of food but they also took steps to see that the people were ensured a supply of wholesome food.

This explains why the different Congress cabinets so long as they were in office sought the assistance of the All-India Village Industries Association and encouraged the use of improved rice-husking implements and bullock-driven flour mills and oil-crushing *ghanis*. All these being cheap are within the means of the ordinary villager and combine maximum output with minimum exertion. To-day, unpolished rice, wholemeal flour and pure mustard and other edible vegetable oils are to be had at prices which compete favourably with similar machine-made products which are not always unadulterated. Then again, cheap devices for making *gur* out of date, palm, palmyra and cocoanut juice contrived by the engineers connected with this organisation are in use in many parts of India. Improved methods of catching and preserving fish have been introduced in some fishing centres situated on the coast of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. The Bihar, the U. P. and the C. P. Congress governments took steps to popularise improved methods of pisciculture in their tanks and rivers. These are providing and will continue to provide increasing amounts of cheap and healthy food for the masses and will also help the fishermen who belong to the Harijan class to increase their earnings.

The report of the All-India Village Industries Association does not give any figures regarding the number of those who are supporting

themselves by following cottage industries of this type. But we have to remember that the demand for what we call "natural" and unadulterated food is on the increase and that with every day that passes there will be greater opportunities for those who devote themselves to work of this kind.

KHADDAR AND MASS UNEMPLOYMENT

With that keen insight into essentials which characterises our greater national leader, Mahatma Gandhi has emphasised again and again the fact that the best method of relieving the poverty of the cultivator who forms the backbone of our economic organisation is to provide him with some kind of remunerative subsidiary occupation which should be of such a character as to give employment to the largest number of people possible, which can be taken up and laid down at any moment and which does not require any expensive implements to carry it on. He knew and we now know that hand-spinning meets all these requirements. It was therefore that Gandhiji gave prominence to the khadi programme and, what is more, fixed Ahmedabad as the headquarters of the All-India Spinners' Association. The fact that this town is one of the largest centres of the cotton mill industry as well as the headquarters of this organization leads me to think that it is more than likely that hand-spun and hand-woven cotton fabrics, so long as they are confined within well-defined limits, will continue to flourish side by side with machine-made cotton stuff. It is also well-known that spinning and weaving practised as cottage industries have, next to agriculture, given work to the largest number of people from times immemorial. It is significant that, even to-day, in spite of the extensive use of machine-made cotton stuff, they have not as yet lost that distinction for, according to the latest available Census report, spinning and weaving were followed by about a million in India in 1931.

So long I have not given any facts in support of my contention that cottage industries if properly organised are a valuable method of combating unemployment. I shall now refer to what was actually done in 1938 by the All-India Spinners' Association. As is well-known this organisation, with its headquarters at Ahmedabad and branches in every part of India, has undertaken the task of having certified and registered spinners, weavers and artisans all engaged in the production

of pure khadi. That year, this organisation gave regular employment to 2 lakh 32 thousand spinners, about 19 thousand certified and registered weavers and 6 thousand 8 hundred certified and registered artisans. Therefore the total number of certified and registered workers employed by this one association only was 3 lakh 8 thousand and these earned as wages Rs. 39 lakh 20 thousand.

Before I leave this point, I ought to remind my readers that the 3 lakh 8 thousand workers employed by the All-India Spinners' Association are a part only of those engaged in the manufacture of khaddar. There are many organisations, business men, etc., having no connection myself with saying that all people employed both by the All-India Spinners' Association and by the other organisations would not have found employment but for the impetus given to the movement by our great national leader. After this, who will say that cottage industries are not at least a partial solution of the problem of unemployment ! They may not offer handsome amounts to those who follow them but there is little doubt that if pursued honestly and steadfastly, they can yield a regular and humble income and that is all that can be expected in a poor country like India where the national income, as proved elsewhere, is not more than Rs. 50 per head per year.

According to the estimate of the League of Nations, the average amount of cloth consumed per year *per capita* for the whole world is 30 square yards. India consumes about 11 square yards per head per year whence the half-naked condition of her children. If we take 18 square yards *per capita* per year as the minimum amount which ought to be consumed in order that every one may be clothed decently, it follows that our annual requirement in this particular direction is 720 crore yards. It has been stated that the available labour supply in India is 125 million, of whom about 40 million are unemployed. According to the estimate of M. Kishorelal Mashruwala, Ex-President of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, who has made a careful and exhaustive study of this problem, 15 million full-time workers will be required all through the year to produce India's annual demand of 720 crore yards of cotton stuff. If the manufacture of khaddar is followed as a part-time occupation, the production of this amount will require 3 hours' daily work from 7 crore people. At the average rates now paid by the All-India Spinners' Association the daily wages for this work will be 84 lakh 25 thousand.

These figures which have been carefully scrutinised by many experts and found to be correct clearly prove the amount of money we could literally pour into our countryside and the extent to which we could remove unemployment by adopting Gandhiji's khaddar programme.

KHADDAR AND NATIONAL ECONOMY

The only argument which remains to be answered is that the cost of khaddar is high, in fact almost high enough to be prohibitive.

It may be argued with a certain show of logic that, in these days of competitive prices and low incomes, it is not wise to pay more than what one is compelled to do, specially when we take into account the poverty of India. As against this, we have the very important fact that even when we patronise Indian mill-made cloth, it is the Indian capitalist who is benefited to a larger extent than the Indian labourer. We have to decide whether by patronising Indian mills we are really helping the masses. It has however to be remembered that it is expected that a majority will provide their own requirements in the way of clothing and sell what they do not need for themselves. As for those who do not wish to spin they will have to buy their khaddar and it is more than probable that they will belong to the well-to-do classes who can afford this extra expense. These latter should not hesitate to incur some extra expenditure, specially when the object is improvement in the economic condition of our masses.

SOME PROMISING COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

We know that modern rice and flour mills and oil-crushing factories have nearly killed the age-old cottage industries of wheat- and rice-milling and oil crushing, added to which is the fact that the white flour and polished rice produced by them are deprived of certain essential vitamins and mineral salts. All these are adulterated either by unscrupulous mill-owners or by the middlemen who stand between the producers and the actual consumers. I have described already how this problem is being tackled by the All-India Village Industries Association. Then again, our village blacksmiths used to supply all our requirements in the way of agricultural implements such as spades, pick-axes, crow-bars, hammers, etc., but competition from

foreign and Indian firms which have specialised in their manufacture on the factory scale has driven them off the field. These people have taken to agriculture not as cultivators enjoying some kind of right over the land they cultivate but either as tenants-at-will or as landless labourers. I quite appreciate the fact that before the home-made implements can hope to command an extensive market which will include such large buyers as the Railways, the Public works, and other political Departments, District Boards, Municipalities, etc., they will have to be standardised, and improved methods and probably machinery used for their manufacture. But this, in my view, does not present insurmountable difficulties.

Certain kinds of cotton, silk and even woollen textiles, soap, cutlery, brass and copper ware, enamel work, hosiery, twine, rope, durri, carpet and blanket weaving, may be classified under cottage industries and given protection by legislation against mass production by large-scale factories till they are sufficiently developed. If we insist on protection in order to foster the development of industries like iron, textiles and sugar, National India finds no reason why cottage industries should not claim protection not only against foreign but also against internal competition from large scale Indian factories. Every one familiar with conditions prevailing in rural India is aware that the handicrafts practised even now are nearly as numerous as they were a century ago, the only difficulty is that, owing to competition with factory made articles, our artisans are not getting remunerative prices for them. As a natural consequence, these are languishing and may ultimately disappear altogether. India is not in a position to allow this. If once cheap power is made available in every part of India—and it may be said parenthetically that, efforts to this end are being put forth in nearly every province—it would not be difficult to organise the different cottage industries on improved lines with the help of electrically powered small machines. By doing so, the cost of production would be diminished and at the same time the finish improved so that they would be able to compete with their factory-made rivals on equal terms. But it is too much to expect that, at least at the beginning, they can be marketed as cheaply as the products of large factories.

PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT OF EDUCATED YOUTHS *

MR. NALINI RANJAN SARKER

BROADLY speaking, unemployment is a problem of maladjustment, and is brought about by a host of causes, both subjective and objective. Among the objective causes is the fact that the industry, trade, commerce and agriculture of the country are yet far from fully developed, so that the absorption of an increasing number of young men in the diversified activities associated with a properly developed industry, trade, commerce and agriculture is not possible. Yet another objective factor is the inadequacy of the developmental programmes of Government in the extension of social services, health schemes, housing schemes, sanitary services, expansion of education, etc. The activities and efforts of the Government are still rather insignificant. Developments in these directions will naturally bring in their train many employments in which educated young men could be absorbed. While this has been the position in regard to the scope of employment, there has been a disproportionately great increase in the number of educated youths coming out of the Universities in comparison with the growth of economic opportunities; in short, avenues of new employment have failed to keep pace with the increase in the number of those wanting employment. The subjective causes, on the other hand, are some of the unwholesome traditions of our society which incline people to consider certain types of work, such as manual work, undignified and tend to create caste groups and thereby destroy the easy mobility of people from profession to profession. Attraction for service of any sort whether in Government, private firms or in liberal professions, a craze for ownership of land, to which was attached a sense of prestige and security, and disinclination towards undertaking the risk of investment in business and industry, have also been subjective factors which have operated to narrow down the scope for employment in Bengal in particular. In this category we must also include the lack of any planning in our

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education and the training given to the young men so as to enable them to adjust themselves to the changing requirements of the existing opportunities of employment or the changing requirements of our society as a whole. While many of the subjective causes spring from an attitude of mind steeped in past traditions, but can, if we only will, be brought under control, a solution of the objective causes would not be so easy to find, at least very early or immediately in the prevailing state of things.

The seriousness of the problem of the educated unemployed and its far-reaching consequences are matters which must above all be clearly appreciated if we are to understand this problem. The total number of educated unemployed, though small when compared to the vast numbers of our rural agricultural population, nevertheless, presents a serious social problem on account of the deleterious moral and psychological effects of such unemployment. Of all the disadvantages of prolonged unemployment in youth, the worst are the disappointment and the demoralization which ensue on this enforced idleness and the more or less complete wreck of psychological aspirations and hopes. This is an aspect of the problem which one must very thoroughly appreciate in order to realise the grievous consequences with which the problem is fraught. One may give you figures and statistics about unemployment, one may enter into a dispassionate analysis of cause and effect: but what one must realise above all things is that behind the statistical tables, behind the analysis of cause and effect, there lies the misery of a whole generation, the "utter despair of thousands and thousands of parents who saved and slaved a lifetime to give their children an education, only to see them in the end unemployed, very often broken in body and spirit; and the impotent wrath and slow demoralisation of promising young men, loaded with degrees and certificates, to whom society denies the opportunity to put to any use their gifts and their knowledge." It is against this background that you must view the problem in order to appreciate its seriousness and its far-reaching effects. In our own case, I mean in Bengal, there are additional factors which increase the gravity of the problem. For, in Bengal, of all the classes affected by unemployment, none has been so badly hit as the *Bhadrolog* or middle-classes of the Province, and it is to this class that the Province owes much of its culture and enlightenment and many of the noblest qualities of our race. The middle-classes form, in fact, the centre

bloc in society from which all reforms and idealism flow, who are the depositories of all culture and constitute the stable elements in the society. Anything that impairs their working capacity and maims their initiative and constructive ability would be the most serious disaster for society as a whole. When, therefore, members of such an important class go begging for employment from door to door and meet with refusals everywhere, I shudder to think of the terrible confusion which this state of affairs may lead to, if allowed to continue much longer.

Unemployment exists not among the educated middle-classes only, but among agriculturists and among artisans as well. But Nature in this country being very bounteous, the problem among these latter classes is not so much one of unemployment but rather one of under-employment accompanied by extreme poverty. In all countries where peasants and artisans form a large proportion of the population the main problem is one of poverty, the removal of which naturally is the only way to bring about economic well-being. Nevertheless, the problem of unemployment or under-employment among these sections of our population is also a serious problem, and it is also in its effects connected with the problem of unemployment among the educated middle-classes; for, if the problem of unemployment or under-employment among agriculturists, artisans and industrial labourers eases, if their purchasing power increases, in the process the problem of the educated unemployed will also ease; for the prosperity of agriculturists and labourers provides sustenance to numerous professions and economic activities in which the educated sections of the community are largely engaged. If in my talk to you to-day I do not deal with the problem of unemployment of agricultural and industrial labourers but confine myself only to unemployment of the Educated, it is not because the former is not urgent or serious or interconnected with the latter, but because the time at my disposal is short.

Much anxious discussion has centred round the problem of the Educated unemployed; committees have from time to time been appointed to investigate into this problem, but a systematic treatment of the malady with a really comprehensive approach does not appear to have been undertaken so far. We have a vague notion about its growing magnitude and seem to grope for its remedies. If the problem is to be tackled systematically, one of the first essentials is to have a census of the unemployed, at least a workable idea of the magnitude

of the problem. It is only when such data are available that it is possible to estimate how far and in what manner our existing resources and our present economic organisation may be used or adjusted for a solution of the outstanding problem. I realise there are difficulties in compiling such a census, especially in ascertaining who are really unemployed and who are probably only partially so. Nevertheless, some workable idea of the extent of unemployment of the educated youths is necessary if the problem is to be systematically grappled with.

Even if there should be no developmental deficiencies in trade, industry, commerce and agriculture to which I have referred already in reference to unemployment in this country, unemployment may and will very often arise. For, one must bear in mind that unemployment is not a problem in itself but an aspect of a much wider question of maladjustments in the economic system. These maladjustments may arise from such causes as decline in prices, shrinkage in demand or other changes in production, which in their turn may be governed or caused by such factors as changes in rates of interest, new inventions and discoveries, government policies, etc. It should, therefore, be evident that as economic conditions or stages of economic development differ from country to country, the problem of unemployment cannot also have the same connotation and denotation in all countries. For this reason, those who advocate the adoption of remedial or relief measures adopted in other countries, as for example, the method of unemployment insurance which is in vogue in Western countries, apparently do so without giving much thought to the material difference in the character of unemployment in India and in the West. The conditions of employment in the highly industrialized countries are different in many essential respects from those prevalent in this country. The problem in Western countries is largely one of industrial unemployment and the unemployment is also generally temporary in character, being the result of cyclical trade and industrial depressions. Only in recent years were these countries presented with a comparatively larger body of permanently unemployed persons as a result of the Great Depression. All the Governments, however, bestowed their serious thoughts on this problem and instituted various measures for tackling it, of which the most important has been public works expansion. War clouds and the demands of a rearmament programme have since

then effectively resolved the problem of unemployment in most of these countries. However, speaking generally, it may be stated that in these countries the problem has mostly been to find employment or relief for those workers who previously had employment, but were unfortunately thrown out of job. But in India, in Bengal in particular, the problem is more or less of a permanent character, because the unemployment arises as a result of certain socio-economic maladjustments. The problem is to find careers for young men who are employable, but have not had any employment at all. The problem arises because trained and educated young men are coming out of the Universities in increasingly larger numbers, but our economic structure and organisation and public administration have not developed and progressed at an equal pace so as to be able to absorb many of them.

As for a solution of this complex problem of unemployment in the country, there can obviously be no single specific remedy. If there be any attempt to resolve it, it should necessarily comprise a series of attempts planned and consistently pursued on different fronts of the economic system; otherwise the ramifications of the problem in many spheres will remain unmapped and untouched, and consequently the solution of the problem will be partial and fragmentary and not radical or thorough.

The problem of the educated unemployed is not to be solved by the efforts of any single agency, be it the Government or any other body. It is not a social malady that could be effectively cured by a system of doles. It is a disease which can be removed gradually only through the growth and diversification of our social and economic life. As social services are extended and intensified, as new wants arise and claim satisfaction, and as in order to satisfy those demands and to provide the increased social services, new machineries are created, in that complex process more and more of educated youths will find an increasing scope for useful employment. But this growth and diversification cannot be expected to come as mere accidents; instead, they require to be fostered and promoted by the State and the community as part of a well-conceived economic plan. That is the way in which we may expect a satisfactory solution of this problem.

In many of the civilised countries of the West industrialisation has reached its highest peak and developmental activities of the

State have progressed very much farther than in backward countries like ours. Looking at things exclusively from the point of view of facility for tackling the problem of unemployment, one may say that compared to those Western countries, India stands in a position of advantage, so far as opportunities for creating new machineries for gainful employment are concerned. The very fact that our country is backward means that we have considerable scope for an extension of the social and economic services that would remove the accumulated deficiencies of the past. The extent of our illiteracy is appalling: which means that we require schemes for the extension of primary education for boys and girls and for removing the accumulated illiteracy among the adults. And this necessarily means that we shall require thousands and thousands of educated young men to work these schemes not merely as teachers but in various other capacities. The health and sanitary arrangements in our rural areas are extremely poor; which means that we require many more dispensaries, with the necessary staff, a better and far more thorough health service than we have at present. Similarly, our villages require an extension of the co-operative movement, both credit and general. The improvement of transport services throughout the country, road construction and housing schemes, improvement of cattle, dairy farming, etc., are yet other directions in which the scope for developmental work is immense. Much, again, remains to be done for increasing the productivity of our agriculture and the quality of agricultural products by training agriculturists to adopt and use new methods of cultivation, for organisation of marketing services to help agriculturists in obtaining good prices for their products. Improvement of irrigation, canals and waterways and drainage are yet other major works in which much may be done. National defence work, it appears, must now and on future be considerably extended and intensified. And a comprehensive programme of defence work and the trades and industries that must develop as its ancillaries, will no doubt open up new vistas of employment to not only educated youths but also to many other sections of our people. The scope for the extension of public utility services, like electricity, telephone, etc., is, again, immense. To the extent that we progress in each and all of these lines, we would correspondingly facilitate the task of providing employment to our youths and absorbing larger and larger numbers in useful occupations. On

the other hand, as agriculturists benefit by the various services and amenities provided to them, as their lands yield more products and of better quality, as they are put in possession of increased and increasing purchasing power, the benefits of that larger purchasing power and consequently larger spending both on goods and services cannot but have salutary and strengthening effects over all sections of the community, including the educated middle-classes.

I think I have given you sufficient indication as to how the extension of social services and developmental activities by the State will help to ease very materially the problem of unemployment among educated youths, helping simultaneously also to provide work for very large numbers of manual labourers. The comparatively small work which the Bengal Ministry has so far undertaken by way of debt redemption schemes and jute census has already provided employments to considerable numbers of educated youths. From this it should be easy to appreciate what great scope for employment is likely to be opened up to our youths as more and more work and projects of this nature are undertaken.

By enumerating what the State is capable of doing for the unemployed, I do not suggest for a moment that we should look to the gracious activities of the State as the only remedy possible. In almost all advanced countries a most significant rôle has been played by private initiative and enterprise, for instance, through the expansion of industry, trade, and commerce. In some of the more forward provinces in India also similar important contributions have been made by private enterprise. In the whole of the industrial field, the scope of potential future employment through the growth of private initiative and enterprise is obviously large. In industry the progress of Bengalees is still very small, but the need as well as the scope for expansion is great. And if industry expands and develops, with it also must develop trade and commerce, both wholesale and retail, which are the ancillaries of industry. And a developing industry, trade and commerce will no doubt each make a large contribution to the problem of finding suitable careers for educated young men.

At this stage I would like to draw your attention to one point in order to avoid a possible confusion. You must have noticed that in speaking of unemployment I have spoken very considerably on the need of increasing industrialisation and the organisation of newer and better social services. But I must not be understood to

suggest that industrialisation is the only solution of the problem or that it has no limitations of its own. But in an under-developed country like ours, industrialisation most naturally engage our special attention because of the large potentialities for development that it offers. As a method of solution, industrialisation, however, is not without its limitations taking a long-view of the situation inasmuch as it may bring complications in its own trail on account of cyclical reverses. But an alternative solution that is sometimes suggested strikes me as still more defective and, in fact, hardly practicable. There is a feeling that schools and colleges should be drastically reduced in number so that only as many clerks, lawyers, supervisors, etc., will be turned out as the country needs. The rest should go back to the villages, cultivate lands, spin and weave their own clothes and catch their own fish. So there will be no unemployment. Such a solution of the problem, even though we sincerely insist on simplicity of life, seems to be far too simple to be really practicable or useful. It entirely ignores the outlook and basic social traditions of the middle-classes. It also ignores the fact that in social and economic life it is hardly possible to put the clock back like this. As an abstract logical proposition such a scheme of solution is understandable, but it is frankly too pessimistic and is altogether out of tune with the concept of a progressive, dynamic society, which although increasing in numbers, yet manages to organise in such a manner that increased social services and better amenities are provided to all. The real remedy does not lie in closing down schools or colleges or denying higher education except to just a few. The remedy should rather be sought through adjusting and adapting the education system so as to be helpful towards the expansion of the productive activities of the community. The proper remedy does not also lie in depressing the standard of living and redistributing what little we have among an increasing population. In fact, to my mind, the question of unemployment and the question of increasing the standard of living should go together. As I have tried to emphasise in other contexts also, unemployment is not a problem by itself. As our economic life grows in diversity, as standards of life improve, as new wants arise, there will be the scope for absorbing larger numbers of our educated youths in gainful occupations.

I would emphasise once more that unemployment should be solved not by depressing the standard of living, but rather by trying

to raise it. We should try to serve one another and it is by that process that we shall create employment for us all, raise the standard of living in accordance with our conceptions and our conditions, and thereby increase the sum-total of economic satisfaction. This is not only a solution of the problem of unemployment but also an ideal worth living for.

I may also refer here to the idea fondly cherished by some sections of our younger generations that maldistribution of incomes in the country is the basic factor underlying the problem of unemployment. The natural conclusion that would flow from this premise is that once the levelling down of the existing inequalities in incomes is somehow carried out, the scourge of unemployment will disappear from our midst. Even if we refer to the case of other countries like England and America in order to find support for this theory that maldistribution is the root cause of our unemployment, we should find that Mr. Hobson's concept of "poverty amidst plenty" is not applicable to the economic conditions of India in the same sense or degree as in other advanced countries. I do not suggest for a moment that there is no maldistribution of incomes in India which would not require rectification; but what I want to emphasise in this connexion is that the problem is not very acute in India and it is not responsible for the growing unemployment in the country. India is a very poor land and under-consumption is the dominant feature of its economic structure. Under-consumption here is due more to restricted production and lack of adequate purchasing power in the hands of the masses than to the concentration of wealth in a fewer hands. A few statistics may make this idea clearer. While in the United States of America families with annual incomes ranging approximately from Rs. 6,000 upwards form 57.7% of the total population, here in India families enjoying annual incomes ranging from the same level to Rs. 6,000 constitute only 1.5% of the total population. If you consider the per capita income in the two countries, the contrast will be more telling, for whereas the per capita income in India comes hardly to Rs. 80 a year, it is about Rs. 1,200 in America. It should thus be evident to you that by levelling down the incomes in India, even if it were desirable or feasible, we would not be able to improve the position to any appreciable extent. The vital problem in India is evidently more and more production which means the creation of more economic opportunities for the people and more and more wealth in the hands of the people. The question of

righting whatever maldistribution might persist would only come at the last stage when the pain economy of people will have disappeared. In that way only can we raise the standard of living of the people and solve the problem of unemployment among our young generations.

It is well to recognise here that the problem of unemployment of educated youths has a two-fold aspect and significance—an immediate, and a long-term one. There is an immediate problem created by the existence of a large body of educated unemployed. It is a legacy of past maladjustments and is being augmented from year to year by the number of educated young men coming out of the University, and who are unable to secure any gainful employment. It has to be considered whether any measures can be devised for a solution, even partial, of this immediate problem. In the second place, there is the long-term problem of resolving the maladjustment in our socio-economic framework which inevitably goes on swelling the ranks of the unemployed. As I have already stressed, a satisfactory solution of the whole problem of unemployment would depend, on the one hand, on widening the scope and avenues of employment, and, on the other, on recasting our educational system on a more rational basis and revising social values and removing unhealthy traditions. In short, the education given should be such as to make its recipients better fitted for employments and ready and able to undertake all kinds of work.

The immediate problem does not, however, admit of an easy or complete solution. A large number of the educated unemployed is already cramping the employment market, and furthermore augmenting itself from year to year. The extent to which these young men may be absorbed in gainful employment would depend on the rapidity with which new avenues can be created, both by private efforts in the shape of new enterprises in industry, trade and commerce and by governmental initiative in the extension of schemes of public works and social services of various forms. But to absorb so many in regular and permanent employments is not a task that could be easily accomplished, yet the dangers inherent in a large army of dissatisfied and unemployed young men particularly of those belonging to the intellectual classes are obvious. The growth of a generation—self-conscious, restless and explosive—seemingly forced to rebel against an economic and social system which does not appear to have enough room for it, naturally militates against social and economic stability.

To immunise these possible rebels and to give them some sort of occupation rather than let them feel that society has no use for them at all is an imperative necessity. And to this end many of the Western countries have devised methods and established institutions through which certain temporary, and in some cases part-time, occupations are given to the educated unemployed. The best known of these are the Work Camps in Germany and the Civilian Conservation Corps and the services organised under National Youth Administration in America. The work provided in these countries has ranged from purely manual work, such as digging ditches or shovelling snow, to jobs in line with the specific training and intellectual attainments of the unemployed youths, such as employment in libraries, in statistical and surveying work, in meteorological offices, in hospitals and museums, etc. The effect of this kind of employment has been manifold. In the first place, it stops psychological demoralization, it makes the youth feel that he is, after all, doing some useful work for the society: and in all cases it provides the youth a further training and education, a practical experience and breadth of outlook, which, the experience of Western countries shows, has made it easier for him to find and pass on to permanent jobs. Employment schemes of this nature have been financed by both the Government and by private organisations, but mainly by the former, and the yield on this investment has generally been found to be high. I have spoken at some length on this, because I feel that it should well be possible for governments in our country also to try certain schemes of temporary employment for the benefit of our educated unemployed. While in the Bengal Ministry I had under contemplation a project under which every matriculate would have to give a year's service to the State by working for educational and general uplift in the villages. But, unfortunately, it did not prove possible to get the scheme through at that time. However, I think this and other works in the nature of surveys, collection of records and statistics of the kind that I have already mentioned could well provide temporary jobs to intellectuals, which would be welcome and gainful to them, useful also to society and to a government pledged to undertake schemes for amelioration of the conditions of the masses.

A statistics of different kinds and grades of unemployment would be very useful in this connection. For instance, if it is known who and how many among the unemployed must earn in order to carry

on their livelihood, and who and how many were not helpless to that extent, and could therefore be employed in honorary work temporarily without any difficulty about their livelihood, the task of keeping them occupied with useful, and in some cases also gainful, work would be facilitated. With such statistical material in hand it might be possible to find some solution for a good many cases either by distributing them over the existing economic organisation or by creating new channels where feasible. Speaking of new channels I might refer to the fillip given by the War, and the creation of new employments both in industry and in State service. With a statistics of the unemployed of the kind I have suggested in our hand, it should be possible to fit in many of these unemployed young men into such new employments. Moreover, production in industries is so increasing, that it might be possible, even apart from the regularly recruited employees to persuade many firms to take some of these young men as apprentices in some form. This is a task which can be undertaken by Government much better and much more easily than by any private organisation. Nevertheless, if Government should not be coming forth, some endeavour on this line even by private initiative would appear to be eminently worth while in the present circumstances. For, whatever benefit such an organisation can obtain of the new channels of employment for our educated youths is a distinct gain.

The long-term problem has, as I have indicated, two facets but I want to devote more attention to the rôle of our educational system in this problem. I may reiterate that the solution of the unemployment problem does not and cannot lie in restricting education, for as a matter of fact, we have even now too many illiterate and ill-educated among our countrymen. Any one able to visualise the almost elemental strength of the urge for education will recognise the futility of measures which may be taken to control or restrict student enrolments. Stricter examinations, higher fees, the lengthening of the courses of study are but palliatives. Wherever such measures have been taken, they have proved ineffective or at best have temporarily succeeded in stemming the tide. The situation thus presents a sharp challenge to educators and social scientists alike. Education is a precious gift to which mankind owes much of its dignity, but education must be saved from itself. It must be planned. It cannot be allowed to develop haphazard, to grow without a clear sense of

direction and realization of its purpose. Education should be planned and has to be adapted to the changing needs of a changing society as I have already said. Schools are needed to serve not the society of today but the society which will exist when the children are ready to take their share of the world's task. Where the schools are slow in adapting their curricula and where educational leaders lack the foresight to understand future needs, maladjustment fraught with grave consequences is inevitable. In adapting education to the needs of society, one must also take it into account that in our society, even with industrial progress and with a better balance between industry and agriculture, about 60 per cent. of the people must remain engaged in agriculture. Our agriculture, too, will essentially be in the nature of small farming and not large-scale operations. In industry, again, most of the establishments are likely to be on a more or less small scale, requiring the services not of high technicians, but technicians of a lower grade. Education both general and practical, its grade and character, must, therefore, be planned with an eye to these factors.

The changes in economic and social conditions which have taken place in recent years create a demand for kind of education radically different from that which in the past was regarded as adequate. Members of a changing society must be prepared to readjust their ideas and habits of life. The aim of education is to prepare the young for life not in an abstract community but in the community which eventually they will have to serve. In any scheme of educational planning which must precede occupational planning, vocational education will occupy a most important and essential place. It is now recognised that any system of economic reconstruction would be exposed to the risks of failure unless vocational training was developed in accordance with the needs of that reconstruction. It is an integral part of economic life inasmuch as it provides a most desired means of adjusting the employment market to the needs of the economic system at any given moment. I must mention one thing here. It is absolutely necessary that a close contact between technical and vocational training imparted and between economic and occupational life should be maintained. For, even where scientific, vocational and technical education is imparted at present, it is often found that the curricula have no real touch with the conditions of actual life. The education and training do not therefore have the desired result. In view of this I would suggest the establishment of special advisory

bodies. These may be attached to the central public authorities dealing with this subject or to the institutions themselves, and their duty would be to give suitable advice in order to ensure that the organisation, working and curricula of vocational and technical schools are adequate to meet the needs of our economic and occupational life. There should be collaboration by the business houses, chambers of commerce and industry and industrial associations in the work of technical and vocational education. It is only on the basis of such insight and understanding that it will be possible to arrive at something like an occupational plan, a vision of future needs in the various professions and occupations. We cannot expect such a plan to be perfect or fool-proof; but plan we must if we are to build up a better society where unemployment as an evil will be non-existent. But vocational education, after all, is essentially theoretical, and therefore to get the best results and to serve best the needs of trade and industry as also of those to be employed by them, a system of apprenticeship has to be resorted to. In fact, the maintenance of an adequate supply of skilled labour, efficiently trained under good conditions, has been found to be a matter of great importance in almost every progressive country. The results of investigations on the subject have served to emphasise that apprenticeship is still of supreme importance in the modern industrial system and in various groups of trades, and it is still by far the most systematic method of entry into the ranks of skilled men in most of the important trades and industries. It is, therefore, most desirable that in this country also we should try to evolve in co operation with businessmen and industrialists, a system of apprenticeship training in various business and industrial establishments, not necessarily with the idea of absorbing the apprentices in the particular establishments in which their training was obtained, but for employment in any establishment, old or new, where demand for skilled services may arise.

The question of occupational planning naturally arises in this context. I feel strongly that some expert machinery should exist which would be in a position to focus the attention of the public on the probable scope of employment in various occupations. A body on the lines of the National Professional Orientation Committee which the Wicksell Report in Sweden recommended may be set up here. This body should consist of representatives of the learned professions, University professors, student organizations, commercial

interests and of the Government. Its tasks should be twofold: (1) to observe continuously the situation on the market for intellectual labour; special enquiries to be made from time to time into changes within individual professions; (2) to publish its findings at regular intervals and to bring them to the notice of schools, parents and students. The widest publicity should be given to the work of this institution. If such a machinery could be set up and made to function properly, there cannot be the least doubt that its findings would prove of great benefit to both students and their parents or guardians. During my tenure in the Bengal Ministry I had, as a preliminary to a full-fledged body which would actively assist guardians and parents, initiated the setting up of the skeleton of such an organisation, with the object of studying and classifying the various types of existing employments available to educated youths and the qualifications necessary for them, both under the Government and the private industrial establishments and public bodies. It was my idea to have brochures embodying the data collected published and distributed to Universities so as to help students in finding and selecting suitable careers. Preliminary enquiries in a good many lines were completed, but unfortunately I had to relinquish office before a broadening of the activities of the organisation on the lines suggested in the Wicksell Report could be undertaken. Let me, however, hope that those now in authority would complete the task I had initiated.

The planning of the educational system independent of the objective factors like industrial expansion, agricultural improvement and adoption of other methods in order to create more and more economic opportunities cannot by itself bring about a reduction in the extent of unemployment. In fact the planning process should proceed simultaneously both in education and in economic development, for up to a certain extent the former has to be conditioned by the stage of progress in the latter. The Government may do a great deal by way of assisting the expansion of industrial careers and trade opportunities by the adoption of suitable financial and fiscal policies as the recent history of India's industrial development backed by a series of protective tariffs would amply testify.

Speaking of opportunities in industry, one cannot help observing that although Bengal as a province is more industrialised than any other province in India, the share of the sons of the soil in the prosperity and employments created by these industries has been

comparatively small. These industries are mostly controlled and important positions under them held by Europeans and enterprising immigrants from other provinces of India. Not that the people of the province have not derived any benefit from the presence of the industries in this province, but undoubtedly their gains would be far larger if they themselves controlled and managed many industries.

It would be interesting in this connection to site a few statistics collected by the Bengal Government regarding the number of Bengalees and non-Bengalees employed in a few industries in the province which will show that in them non-Bengalee employees still predominate :—

				Percentage of non-Bengalee employees.
Jute Mills	...	...	...	54.9 %
Silk Mills	...	...	...	66.9 %
Battery and Dry Cell Factories			...	70.8 %
Gas Factories	...		...	69.3 %
Match Factories	...		...	64 %
Aluminium and Enamel Factories			...	57 %
Sugar Mills	...	...	...	56.8 %
Glass Factories	...		...	85 %
Aerated Water & Ice Factories			...	73.1 %
Tea Estates	...	...	...	59.8 %

The total percentage of non-Bengalees in 28 categories of industries, inclusive of the few I have named, comes to 45.4%. It will thus be seen that educated Bengalees still lag behind in many lines of industries and considering the fact that these percentages relate only to the superior grades of jobs, excluding manual and unskilled labourers, their significance, so far as the question of educated young men of Bengal finding a foothold in industrial openings is concerned, is indeed striking. I should at the same time point out that these percentages need not be taken as the perfect barometer of the actual situation, since they have not been arrived at on the basis of complete statistics of all the industries concerned; but they certainly indicate the trends which are quite revealing and indicative of the fact that in many of the branches of the industries, Bengalee unemployed young men should have an increasing scope for employment. Even in the case of jute, for instance, in both its manufacture

and in the trade in jute, there should be a large scope for our young men. It is a fact that our young men do not get proper opportunities of apprenticeship in the jute mills controlled by non-Indians and our businessmen also do not receive proper facilities of custom from them. If an estimate were made, it would be seen that even in the matter of selling of raw jute Bengalees fail to take advantage of several crores of rupees worth of trade which goes to outsiders, but with a determination on their part and the necessary goodwill and co-operation of the interest concerned, it should be possible for the people of this province to recover at least a substantial portion of the distributive trade in raw jute, also secure positions of responsibility and many of the higher offices in the jute manufacturing industry and obtain as well as a good share of the export trade in manufactured jute. Needless to say that if scope in these lines is obtained, this would mean considerable relief to the unemployment situation.

From what I have said so far it must have struck you that although the problem we are confronted with is both serious and vast, it is not beyond our means or capacity to attempt some sort of solution. I have indicated some of the many lines which, if developed, would probably absorb a very large proportion of the educated unemployed. But there is a big 'if' in this. The scope for employment can only come if certain work or activities are undertaken. Unfortunately the obstacles to such activities being undertaken are many. In the first place, we do not possess the full measure of political power necessary for undertaking all the works I have mentioned. And what is more unfortunate, the prevailing atmosphere seems to be all against the proper utilisation of even such powers as we possess, in the interests of work of this nature. In the existing situation, power and authority are the result of votes, and those placed in power by the voters are not always imbued with the mentality or endowed with the capacity for constructive work of such magnitude; moreover, the slogans by parading which the votes are secured generally have little or no bearing on constructive national work. In fact, in the political sphere there exists a welter of ideas; conflicting slogans and a most disorderly admixture of creeds and shibboleths have produced an atmosphere which serves to distract attention away from constructive thought and constructive work. Yet what we need most at the moment is that those in authority should give the province a bold and constructive leadership. It is required that they should not only be

sympathetic towards a planned programme of work for social, economic and industrial development, but that they should take an initiative in such matters. I do not of course suggest that the Government can or should do everything that I have mentioned. For one thing, it would be more desirable if under the prevailing conditions big industrial schemes, trade and commercial undertakings are launched by private enterprise with Government help, if necessary. But any large-scale enterprise in this direction must mean a joint-stock enterprise, for in Bengal there are few who could singly provide the huge capital necessary for any big industrial or commercial undertaking. It would, therefore, be necessary to pool together the small resources of many. It would also be necessary to harness to the aid of such enterprises the best that we possess in scientific and expert knowledge. Only thus could Bengalees hope to be able to make up the deficiency they have in this field. It may not be easy to start industries in many cases owing to the presence of strongly entrenched rivals; but whatever opportunities there are for new enterprises by Bengalees themselves could be availed of only if big large-scale efforts are undertaken on the lines I have indicated. Many new lines have developed in this province even in recent years, but Bengalees themselves have had little share in them, because they did not possess the machinery or organisation by which to take advantage of the opportunities for such development. An instance in point is the development of motor transport in recent years in this province. This was a new line and new opportunity which Bengalees might have availed of; but for absence of a suitable machinery or organisation they failed to do so.

Apart from new lines or new openings, opportunities sometimes arise even within the existing industries, which Bengalees could avail of if only they have a proper financial organisation. With such financial organisation they could, for example, capture and take over existing establishments when such establishments change hand. With an adequate machinery for financing, they could also rejuvenate many a languishing industry. And all these, if they materialised, would obviously mean scope for increasing employment for Bengal's young men.

In this connection I would like to address a few words now to my young friends directly. I would ask them to realise that life has become increasingly more complex to-day. The brilliant success

achieved by a few should not make us blind to the realities of the situation. Success is apt to beget a degree of complacency in which every object in the landscape puts on a rosy hue; and the successful are apt to under-rate difficulties, when they are the difficulties of others. But let me assure you that although I have personally no reason to complain of the way life has treated me, I appreciate the uphill task that awaits you when you will come into your own and be called upon to do your duty by yourself and others. In days gone by it was almost certain that the average university student, provided he was not particularly dull-witted, would, on the completion of his college career, step into some definite job which did not leave him in want of the material necessities of life. But the situation to-day has become over so much more difficult and complex. There is, therefore, a greater need now to equip yourselves more thoroughly for the respective departments of life you elect to pursue. Even the career of a Government servant requires now-a-days far greater equipment for the efficient discharge of his duties, for he has not only to perform the special duties entrusted to him, but in its performance he is required to have a far more comprehensive equipment for the whole range of the activities of the part of the country where he is posted. And this need for a better equipment is even greater in other walks of life. For business has become more complex, and for success one has to be well posted in regard to conditions not only in this country but also outside for fear of being overtaken by a more intelligent competitor. Business and service conditions of every description make an increasing demand on the capabilities, both mental and physical, of our young men, and they must train themselves adequately to meet the requirements of such a demand.

Our young men must also shed false ideas and expectations. Social and economic conditions are so shaken under the influence of the growing political consciousness of the common mass of people that we would do well to anticipate in the future a considerable narrowing down of disparities in respect of opportunities and incomes than is the situation to-day. This will no doubt be a welcome development. But a necessary corollary of this development is that opportunities for amassing huge wealth, and amassing it quickly will become fewer. Our young men, however talented, should not be actuated by any expectations of getting rich quickly. Their expectations of material success should be tempered as much by accepted

standards in our country as by the needs of a more planned development of it. False ideas may very well prove tragic. For, the desire to get rich quickly may drive our young men to starve in some congested city rather than make a modest living on the land. And the inevitable unfortunate result is that more often than not they seek their salvation in protests and uprisings rather than by attempting to fit in where they are most needed. I would appeal to my young friends to guard against a mental attitude which may lead to such tragic developments.

In conclusion, I would like to say that I do not think for a moment that an address or discourse of this nature can provide cues for any speedy solution of such a difficult problem. The problem is baffling and intractable and there exists a welter of ideas and suggestions in regard to it. In the circumstances, if what I have said so far should help to clarify ideas on this knotty problem, and if it should stimulate you all to a correct appreciation of the issues I shall consider my labours as amply repaid.

I am afraid that my analysis of the different aspects of unemployment in this country may have created mixed feelings in your minds. Some of you may be imagining the uncertainties of the future and hence a sadness may be creeping around your vision and aspirations. But let me advise you, my young friends, not to be so easily dismayed by an economic phenomenon which is prevalent in all countries. You must not allow your momentary pessimism to invade your youthful dreams and darken your outlook about the future. The present belongs to you and you must utilise it in the best way possible so that the future may also be yours. If the educational system is wrong in some of its aspects to-day, it is not your making and it is not for you to think about its rectification. You should make the best use of the opportunities that are now open to you and that is the surest way of equipping yourself for the battle of life under the existing conditions. Society is passing through a continuous process of revision; if the present stage is not what we desire or need, it is because the process of revision has lagged behind our requirements. We are all conscious of it to-day and this fact alone indicates that we are on the threshold of reforms. So pessimism need not chill your ardour and befog your youthful vision. The present is making you and it will be your privilege to make the future.

The Presidency College to which you have the distinction of belonging has built up many glorious traditions in the social and intellectual life of this province and even of India. I have heard it said by one of your ex-professors that anybody who is somebody in Bengal must have some sort of connection with Presidency College. It is a proud tribute to the college and I have no doubt that it is perfectly justified. I hope that all of you will be worthy of such traditions of your college and add more traditions to its hoary glories. It may be that all of you will not be equally well-placed in life ; but in whatever spheres you may find yourselves, you will keep the banner of your college flying. You will issue out into the world with a sacred mission from this Alma Mater of yours to serve your society and your countrymen. You will never allow that mission to be betrayed, undismayed by what economic tribulations may overtake you. If the youthful atmosphere of this college in which you have spent your training period and in which your ideas and ambitions have been nurtured does not follow you all through your life with its uplifting influence, you will thereby have lost a great heritage and a great spiritual talisman against the buffetings of the world.

It is against the easy discomfiture of our young men in the face of odds that I want you to be sufficiently loined in time. The faint-hearted never win a victory. Life is as much a test of your moral qualifications as of your intellectual or educational equipments. Maintain the standards of conduct your college has instilled into you, keep your ideals high, your mind clear and your heart stout in the adventure of life in which you will soon enter, and success will be yours.

SOME SOLDIER-POETS OF THE GREAT WAR

B. K. PALIT, M.A. (CAL.), B.A. (LOND.)

THE last Great War, which stretched itself over four weary years, was a great inspirer of poetry. No other war in historical memory has called forth even a quarter of such a quantity of verse, maintained at a high level of quality, for the plain reason that national emotion had never before, for any length of time, been stirred to so deep an extent. For the first time in history, fighting was not limited to a professional class of soldiers but drew forth the efforts of almost the entire manhood of the nation. In many ways the war poetry has been unique. Most of it is written, not by the spectators, the stay-at-home civilians, but by the soldiers themselves; so many volumes of poetry have been composed by young officers in active service. It was the emotional stress of war that impelled these otherwise "mute, inglorious Miltons" to give vent to their feelings in poetry.

Most of the war poetry of the past has depicted war as a grand affair, misrepresenting it as something intrinsically beautiful, splendid and inspiring. The poets of the Great War, excepting a few not permitted to stay long enough to lose the traditional illusions, have looked at war, not as Wordsworth and Scott and Campbell regarded it—as the clash of moral principles or as something essentially glorious and honourable—but from a quite different point of view. They wrote as tortured individuals struggling in the clutches of a blind and senselessly cruel fate; they had the absorbing prepossession that war is after all a kind of toiling, moiling business in which the individual is of no more importance than a tiny screw in a huge machine. Yet the earlier war poems were full of high idealism and aspiration, looking upon war as something worthy of the noblest efforts of the nation. Rupert Brooke's *The Soldier*, and Julian Grenfell's *Into Battle* are poems of this type, as is also *All the Hills and Vales Along* by Charles Sorley, the first of the war poets whose work will be examined in this article.

CHARLES SORLEY

Charles Hamilton, the only son of Professor W. R. Sorley, was one of the few soldier-poets who would not or could not bring themselves to write mainly war poetry during the opening months of the armageddon. When the war broke out, he was in Germany, a country he loved ; and the force of his love kept him singularly free from all prejudices. He enlisted early with enthusiasm and fought in a spirit of utter detachment. Some of his poems, intensely human and full of noble pathos, symbolise the young soldier's spirit of self-dedication and unquestioning surrender :

On, marching men, on
To the gates of death with song.

—*All the Hills and Vales Along.*

These poems carry the spirit of the English school playgrounds into the drab, drenched flats of Flanders. Sorley died too soon (October, 1915) to suffer the accumulated torment of those who lasted into the long agony of war. Hence there is very little bitterness in his poems ; we find instead the keen candour of spiritual innocence :

That's what I am : a thing of no desire
With no path to discover and no plea
To offer up

—*Deus Loquitur.*

Much of the verse written by Sorley was an emotional escape from the war generally to the favourite themes of the English countryside, and particularly, to the environments of his *alma mater*, Marlborough School. He tried to put down in verse his delight in different aspects of Nature. The mossy buildings, the fields and downs, the sweet-smelling flowers and the singing birds are described with a humorous exactness in several of his poems. Even the rancous rooks are not passed over :

The rooks are cawing all day.
Perhaps no man, until he dies,
Will understand what they say.

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conventional style and evolve something closer to his own conception of poetry.

WILFRED OWEN

Wilfred Owen was a sweet and shy English boy, rather tender-hearted and inquisitive. His mother's love and a staunch devotion to Keats were the principal formative influences of his life. A long residence in France taught him the charm of French poetry and led him to experiment in French literary technique and in a poetry of emotional suggestion. His early poems, like *My Shy Hand*, show an excess of epithet and a supremacy of verbal music over thought. Then came the war, of which he felt himself to be the destined recorder. At first he tried his hand at producing poems in the manner of Mr. Siegfried Sassoon, but he soon passed to a wise maturity of his own. The later poems are as vigorous as those of Mr. Sassoon, but are less bitter and have a greater infusion of pity. He never lost his faith in men, and so his ironical moods were less bitter than the other's. His poems, however, show less skill in workmanship, and some of them are difficult, if not obscure.

Owen's achievement has been the recording of the effect of the impact of modern war on the sensitive mind of modern youth. He scouted the idea that his war verses were poetry. Sketching a preface for the book he did not live to print, he says:

"Above all this book is not concerned with Poetry. The subject of it is War, and the Pity of War. The poetry is in the Pity."

The pity of it was reflected in his own life, for he was killed, poor fellow, just a week before the armistice. In 1920 a collection of his poems was published with a foreward by Mr. Sassoon, and in 1931 Mr. Blunden brought out a new edition of his poems.

The main drift of Owen's verse is the shattering of the illusion of the glory of war, and its mood is not free from a scathing bitterness for the people who nurture this illusion. He has seen hell in the trenches, and he wants the horror of it to descend upon mankind like a nightmare:

Our brains ache, in the merciless east winds that knife us
Wearied we keep awake because the night is silent

.....

What are we doing here?

—*Exposure*.

War involves savagery; it demands of men such cruel outrage against their human instincts that as a moral experience it is unbearable. The only glory imperishably associated with war is that of the supreme sacrifice:

Of them who running on that last high place
Leapt to swift unseen bullets, or went up
On the hot blast and fury of hell's upsurge,
Or plunged and fell away past this world's verge,
Some say God caught them even before they fell.

—*Spring Offensive.*

It has been Owen's aim to represent to the mind of peace the inconceivable atrocity of war, with the suffering and death-in-life which it entails. One might suppose that this was an impossible task for poetry; yet Owen has passages in which he achieves it, showing us together, by a wonderful mastery of the association of words, both the havoc and the wreckage and the tender, trustful loveliness they have replaced:

A short life and a merry one, my buck!
We used to say we'd hate to live dead old—
Yet now.....I suppose
Little I'd ever teach a son, but hitting,
Shooting, war, hunting, all the arts of hitting.

—*A Terre.*

A sustaining impulse of Owen's poetry is sympathy and pity. He is pitiless with his readers, but only for the sake of utter truth and faithfulness. His poems are calm; in spite of the intense passion which is their impulse they have a haunting serenity, for the poet has mastered his experience and his emotion has become tranquil. Often the tenderness behind the relentless gives the hard, brutal words a redemptive virtue, searing us with an anguish which they transcend, as in *Insensibility*, the last stanza of which has a sad poetic serenity:

By choice they made themselves immune
To pity and whatever mourns in man
Before the last sea and the hapless stars;
Whatever mourns when many leave these shores;
Whatever shares
The eternal reciprocity of tears.

His hope for mankind Owen did not give up altogether, and he found something worth while in the exultation of battle as well as in the fellowship of comrades.

Mr. Blunden draws a comparison between Owen and Keats. He had not Keats's avidity for words, nor his triumphant ease in the use of them; there was nothing in him of the flowering sensuousness in which Keats rivals Shakespeare. His great gift for poetry was strengthened by meditation and resolve; with less poetic zest he had more balanced manliness than Keats. In Owen's *Strange Meeting*, Mr. Middleton Murry finds echoes of *Hyperion*. "The sombre imagination, the sombre rhythm, is that of the dying Keats."

Strange Meeting is indeed Owen's strongest poem, though not the most perfect one. It approaches the realm of really great poetry; in it the quintessential Owen speaks. Mr. Murry calls it "the most magnificent expression of the emotional significance of war that has yet been achieved by English poetry." Owen dreams that he talks in a tunnel with the dream-shade of a man whom he has bayoneted and finds that they are of the same mind about the 'pity of war'. The poem has an awful rigour of style; almost every line is a sentence and every sentence comes out as on a dying man's last breath. The concluding lines

I am the enemy you killed, my friend.
I knew you in this dark; for so you frowned
Yesterday through me as you jabbed and killed.
I parried; but my hands were loath and cold.
Let us sleep now . . .

are indicative of Owen's final mastery of life and of poetry.

Strange Meeting is complete, profound and awe-inspiring, but it does not stand alone, for although Owen wrote no other poem quite on the same level, we can only regard it as the culmination of poems scarcely less profound. *Exposure* is charged with the same sombre mystery, and the unity of technique and emotional intention is almost as close. In Owen's best work a passionate concentration of strength helps him to evoke forms which, without any loss of precision, have the stamp of universal truth. In his later poems there is no rebellion but only pity and regret, and the peace of acquiescence. It may not be a comfortable peace, but it is a victory of the human spirit. As Mr. Parsons says, "His poems evidence not only his clear perception

of the real issues involved, but the vital humanity which was so essential a part of his philosophy of life."

Owen has made useful contributions to verse technique. From the first he had experimented in different kinds of rhyme. His search after some garment for his ideas more closely fitting than the familiar rhyme arose, not from any desire to experiment for experiment's sake, but from the inward need to say what he had to say most exactly. Ultimately he evolved a peculiar type of rhyme to aid him in the expression of the prevailing emotions of disgust, of weariness and of bleak realism. To put it briefly, he substitutes for vowel identity, with its pleasing music, a consonantal identity which sounds strange to the ears; in other words, instead of rhyme, there is consonance. Generally it is mere consonance, with entirely different vowel sounds:

Both arms have mutinied against me—brutes.
My fingers fidget like ten idle brats.

—*A Terre.*

It seemed that out of battle I escaped
Down some profound dull tunnel, long since scooped
Through granites which Titanic wars had groined.
Yet also there encumbered sleepers groined.

—*Strange Meeting.*

At first a casual reader feels that it is blank verse with a mournful, impressive, even oppressive quality of its own. He looks again and discovers the technical innovation. Those assonant endings are indeed the discovery of genius; they are a natural flowering of the poet's emotion. They are the very modulation of his voice; we are in the presence of that rare achievement, a true poetic style. Owen tried to check the growing laxity of form among contemporary poets by using a balanced metre. Shunning *vers libre*, he used mostly the five-stressed line with an iambic basis freely patterned.

Many eminent critics Mr. Murry and Mr. Eliot among them—have agreed that Wilfred Owen was the greatest poet of the last war. There have been many war-poets; but he was a poet of a special calibre. He was not a poet who seized upon the opportunity of war, but one whose being was saturated by a strange experience, who bowed himself to the horror of war until his soul was permeated by it, and there was no mean and personal element left in him. The war was a unique and terrible experience for mankind; its poetry had

likewise to be terrible and unique. It had to record not the high hopes that animated English youth at the outset, but the slow destruction of that youth in the sequel; more than this, it had to record not what the war did to men's bodies and senses, but what it did to their souls. Owen's poetry is unique because it records imperishably the devastation and final victory of a soul.

ISAAC ROSENBERG

Isaac Rosenberg came of Jewish stock and was brought up in the East End of London. Having convinced his headmaster of his talent for drawing, he was sent to the Slade School of Art. He also took to writing verse, and his earlier pieces, full of echoes of Donne and Blake, were not long in attracting attention. Mr. Laurence Binyon welcomed him into the brotherhood of poets and a poem of his, *Zion*, was included in one of the *Georgian Poetry* volumes. He enlisted in 1915 and was killed in April, 1918, after three years of trench life which crippled and blunted his gift for poetry. Mr. Gordon Bottomley edited a collection of Rosenberg's poems in 1922, and a more copious volume came out in 1937 with a preface by Mr. Sassoon.

Rosenberg's poems are worlds apart from his pictures. They break forth into large floating clouds of idea and language, which often dissolve into disorder. We feel that as he struggles hard to realise his ambition of writing poetry, yet feels crippled and numbed by the miseries of trench life, his ear and vision seem to grow blunter and his voice more shrill and more strained in its effort to overcome the clash and clang of modern warfare. In his own overstrained words:

The air is loud with death,
The dark air spurts with fire,
The explosions ceaseless are.
.
.
.
The drowning soul was sunk too deep
For human tenderness.

—*Dead Man's Dump.*

In several of his poems Rosenberg is obscure, for the sequence of the thoughts are hard to follow. This is not because he aimed at any deliberate extravagance of style. The truth is, Rosenberg got

entangled in symbolism in a vain effort for a more modern realism. His shaping spirit is involved in too many symbols at once; he cannot quite command the floods of imagery he lets loose, as is seen in *Girl to Soldier on Leave* and in *Wedded*:

Babel-cities' smoky tops
 Pressed upon your growth
 Weary gyves. What were you
 But a world in the brain's ways,
 Or the sleep of Circe' swine?

—*Girl to Soldier on Leave.*

Like Yeats Rosenberg seldom exhibits any clear connection between the symbols he employs—e.g., "Babel-cities' smoky tops" and "weary gyves" and "Circe's swine"—or between the symbol and the thing symbolised, so that one feels that a cog has slipped somewhere and the images succeed without any connection. There is a quaint charm in this sort of kaleidoscope, but it is imperfect poetry. Rosenberg wrote in 1917: "Poetry should be definite thought and clear expression, however subtle; there should be no vagueness." But an intense restless striving after strength makes his poetry more strange than beautiful and leads him away into regions of cloudy incomprehensibility. In his own view the best of his poems is *Amazons or Daughters of War*, which took him about a year to write and into which he had striven "to get that sense of inexorable-ness the human (or inhuman) side of this war has." The poem reads a little like one of the passages from Blake's prophetic books; Rosenberg is hot in chase after some idea which, for all its splendour and impressiveness, contrives to elude him:

These maidens came—these strong everliving Amazons,
 And in an easy might their wrists
 Of night's sway and noon's sway the sceptres brake,
 Clouding the wild, the soft lustres of our eyes.

 So the soul can leap out
 Into their huge embraces.

Among Rosenberg's poems there are a few scattered ones in which we can catch a glimpse of his appreciation of Nature. Tortured by the glare and clangour of the inferno he lived in, sick to death

of the whole business of war, he had yet feeling enough left in him to respond to the occasional joys of Nature. The notes of the larks ringing out on a sombre night were like balm to the war-worn soldier who marched along the "bleak poison-blasted track":

But hark! Joy—joy—strange joy.

Lo! Heights of night ringing with unseen larks:

Music showering on our upturned listening faces.

—*Returning, We Hear the Larks.*

A cluster of poppies growing on a mossy parapet attracts his attention, and straightway he plucks one

To stick behind my ear.

—*Break of Day in the Trenches.*

Rosenberg was "always afraid of being empty." But emptiness was the last thing he needed to fear. He had a flair for the vivid phrase, for illumination in flashes. If he had learnt co-ordination and restraint, if only he could have knitted the struggling parts into an artistic texture, he must assuredly have won a lasting place in the annals of English literature. His now famous *Dead Man's Dump* begins thus:

The plunging limbers over the shattered track
Racketed with thier rusty freight,
Stuck out like many crowns of thorns,
And the rusty stakes like sceptres old
To stay the flood of brutish men
Upon our brothers dear.

Stringency of form compels continuity here; in line after line the burning heat of the opening stanza is maintained, and Rosenberg brings to an adequate conclusion the rhapsody which a more experienced artist would hardly have dared to set in motion. As Mr. Sassoon points out, Rosenberg's experiments were a strenuous effort for impassioned expression; his imagination had a sinewy aliveness; he modelled words with fierce energy and aspiration, finding ecstasy in form and dreaming in the grandeur of superb light and deep shadow. "In the peculiar freshness and originality of his mind," remarks Mr. Parsons, Rosenberg was among the most remarkable of the poets of his generation, and it is impossible to guess what he might have accomplished

had he survived the War." It is too much to expect that his work will win lasting remembrance. But that does not mean it was wasted; for he was poet enough to write for himself.

SIEGFRIED SASOON

Mr. Siegfried Sassoon is one of the soldier-poets whose work is of lasting value. His early poems were written after the Georgian model, with their lyric quality and amatory sentiment. The war changed him totally; he responded gaily to the call, but soon became embittered by the sight of misery and bloodshed. Now he began to write poems exposing the ruthlessness of the war—its horrors and brutalities. These poems were published in two successive volumes, *Counter-Attack* (1918) and *Picture Show* (1919). In Mr. Sassoon's poems, as in those of Owen and Rosenberg, there is no dream of heroism, of a cause or a crusade, of brodered banners or glittering spurs. He held up to biting scorn the old familiar glosses upon war. He came to look on his comrades as victims of stay-at-home cant, sacrifices to a false idealism. He wrote from the point of view of the wounded men, not as a spectator to whom the sight of them suggests high, romantic thoughts. The mixed feeling of angry, pity and love wrenches from him these fine lines:—

Lend him your eyes, warm blood, and will to live.
Speak to him; rouse him; you may save him yet.
He's young; he hated war; how should he die
When cruel old campaigners win safe through?

—*The Death-Bed.*

Escape from the unchanging torment and challenge of the war, from its waste and foulness and barren heroism, was, as Mr. Sassoon knew, impossible. And this knowledge was responsible for the fierce satiric vein that runs through much of his poetry. The satire is entirely impersonal; for personal anger he substitutes a general mockery of all things.

In the greater part of Mr. Sassoon's work, the descriptions are too bare and truthful to betray him into exaggerated visualisation. What gives its beauty to his poetry is the human colour of his realism, the warmth of imagination pulsating in the grimmest of his descriptions. He does not cry out suddenly on the tormented life he sees.

The steady accumulation of objective detail is always his most effective means of restraint. It is when the sense of restraint is presented in all its blurred, revolting actuality that the horror and pity of war emerges from it. Then the background of shells, mud, corpses, vermin, groans, fear, longing, death takes a living form; and we are conscious of the human implication of such details:

White faces peered, puffing a point of red;
Candles and braziers glinted throuh the chinks
And curtain-flaps of dug-outs; then the gloom
Swallowed his sense of sight; he stooped and swore
Because a sagging wire had caught his neck.

—*A Working Party.*

Pieces like these, marking an unwilling transition from a pink world to a black one, were too acid for the public taste of Mr. Sassoon's time. Yet they are his gift to modern poetry. The defects of art that accompany his quick, passionate utterances are seldom more than of a technical character; his practice was incomplete, and perhaps his vision was too much wrought by feeling. The exact economy of his language and the forceful directness of his imagination made him one of the leaders of the soldier-poets who waged mental strife against the horrors of the armageddon.

TRANSCENDENTALISM IN THE POETICAL WRITINGS OF SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE

M. TAHIR JAMIL, M.A.

I

SAMUEL Taylor Coleridge was not only a great poet, but was at once a critic, a lecturer, and an ardent student of philosophy. It is as a poet-philosopher that he claims our attention here. Starting with the stock-in-trade materialistic philosophy of the 18th century, he passed through the schools of Godwin and Hartley, till he discovered in Germany the birth of a new creed, and became its exponent to English readers at a time when there was a yearning for light. How much of this philosophy permeates his poetry, we shall determine in the following pages, but one thing that every lover of the poet regrets, was his growing voracity for metaphysics that gradually eclipsed the divine poetic gift in him. After his return from Germany where he had devoted himself most exclusively to the study of the philosophy and literature of that country, he discovered in himself a barrenness of poetic inspiration, and, with corresponding keenness, tried to fill up the void by means of critical and metaphysical writings and discourses. His is the tragedy of a sublime poetic genius who lost his way in the "holy jungle of transcendental metaphysics." Escape from it was made impossible for him by domestic troubles, irresolution and opium. Strange as it may seem, despite his labour and devotion, Philosophy today disowns him as her child, while his name will remain eternally inscribed in the temple consecrated to poetry, as one who introduced men to the elements of unseen beauty, and aided them to catch the symphony of angels singing in high heaven.

Predilection for the field of abstract thought and meditation was inborn in Coleridge. His mind was cast by nature in a contemplative mood, and he used to derive the highest form of pleasure by resorting to the friendliness of books and nature. They helped him to indulge in his usual "habit of self abstraction from visible surroundings."¹

¹ J. Shawcross : Introductory remarks in his edition of the "Biographia Literaria," p. xii.

Books he read with great avidity. They encompassed a wide range of subjects and included fairy tales, books of travel through unfamiliar lands, history, poetry, metaphysics, and theology. During his boyhood days the alluring and fantastic tales of the Arabian Nights, with their store-house of the marvellous, the weird, and the eerie, appealed to his highly sensitive imagination and made him a 'playless day-dreamer.' But his 'day-dreams,' be it noted, had an educative value and helped the growth of his latent imaginative powers. They were the training for the young mind to cultivate "a love of the Great and the Whole,"¹ as he tells us later in his letter to Thomas Poole (October 16, 1797).

With growth in years, however, even these became insipid for Coleridge, and he began to woo philosophy as his mistress. "At a very premature age, even before my fifth year," writes Coleridge, "I had bewildered myself in metaphysics and theological controversies," which dealt with problems such as providence, fore-knowledge, free-will, and fate.

When Coleridge entered Jesus College at Cambridge, he was well-versed in the ethical and theological doctrines of the time. His erudition, much above that of his college-mates, made him the centre of intellectual discussions, and the undergraduates used to flock round him in order to listen to his discourses on poetry, philosophy, theology, and politics. His interest in metaphysical writers increased with years, and he studiously went through the writings of Locke, Hume, Descartes, Priestly, Godwin, and Hartley. The doctrine of Necessity made a strong appeal to him because, in the first place, he found in it a corroboration of Cato's idea of Fate and natural necessity that he had imbibed earlier, and had expressed in some of the poems of his school-days, and, in the second place, because he was overpowered by the dialectic skill of Hartley who had presented his system in such a logically coherent manner that once the premises were accepted as true, the inferences inevitably followed. The result was that we find Coleridge saluting Hartley in the "*Religious Musings*" as "of mortal kind wisest,"

"who marked the ideal tribes

Upon the fine fibres through the sentient brain."

This and poet's assertion in his letter to Southey where he says, "I am a complete necessitarian and believe the corporeality of thought,

¹ Letters of S. T. Coleridge ; edited by E. H. Coleridge.

namely, that it is motion," have led the critics to commit the mistake of asserting that Hartley and Godwin were in complete possession of his mind when he wrote his "*Religious Musings*." They find in Coleridge's conception of Fate an expression of his creed of necessitarianism, because Coleridge believed at this time that God had pre-determined every detail of man's life, and liked to invoke Him both as an inspiring and pre-dooming Deity. In "*The Destiny of Nations*," it is often alleged by the critics, Coleridge is a thorough-going necessitarian when he states that even the 'universal guides' of men are helpless, and shape out his course only to 'the pre-doomed adventure.' People do good deeds not out of their own free-will, but like Joan of Arc in the poem, because they feel the weight of a 'mighty hand' upon them which controls all their thoughts and actions. The same idea of necessity and pre-determined doom they trace in the "*Ode to the Departing Year*" and find their point carried when the poet, comprehending the immutable nature of the divine decree, preaches to us a doctrine of submission, for joys and sorrows come in their turn, fixed according to an unalterable law. Everything must be as God has willed it in His full omniscience and Love, and nothing can change His purpose.

If, however we carefully examine these utterances of Coleridge we shall find in them something more than the creed of blind necessitarianism. Here we must take into account the facts that Coleridge had an early Anglican training that had kindled in him fervent religious zeal, that "*Taylor's translation from Plotinus filled his boyish imagination*,"¹ and that his school exercises tell us of implicit faith in the personal God of Christianity. And we never find these tendencies yielding place to the cult of empiricism. The empiricists had appealed to his head and he had admitted their conclusions and proofs, but never became a convert to their empirical faith. "*My infidel vanity never touched my heart*,"² he proudly states on one occasion, while in another place he writes: "*The arguments (of Dr. Darwin) against the existence of a God and the evidences of revealed religion were such as had startled me at 15, but had become the objects of my smile at 22.*" As a result of such mental activity Coleridge came to entertain doubts as to the pretensions of "the thought-benighted sceptics" and by the

¹ Charles Lamb: *Essays on Christ's Hospital, 85 Years Ago.*

² *Life of Coleridge* by Alex. W. Gillman,

close of 1796 he denounced their system as one of 'Pride,' that vainly tried to find a satisfactory answer to all the problems and mysteries of the creation by a piecemeal study of physical phenomena and their laws. His unrestrained and thorough condemnation of the "vain Philosophy's aye-babbling spring" in "*The Aeolian Harp*," and in still stronger terms in "*The Destiny of Nations*," leaves no room for us to doubt the sincerity of his conviction. In the latter poem Coleridge has no sympathy with those who

"within this gross and invisible sphere
Chain down the winged thought,"

and thereby not only deny it freedom but depreciate it. The point of denunciation cannot be missed by any student of Coleridge. He will find it directly aimed at the materialistic psychology of Hartley who resolved mental activity into the sensory vibration of the nerve-centres, and looked upon consciousness as the product of a materialistic evolution. Coleridge characterised the system as a "cheat," which with "noisy emptiness of learned phrase" could give no convincing solution of our problems, and which by "untenanting creation of its God" had made man, in the words of Lamb, "an outcast of blind Nature ruled by fatal Necessity." This sense of the inadequacy of the contemporary English philosophy that gave a very little knowledge of the universe, and reduced it to "a mass of little things," was again emphasised by Coleridge in his letter to Benjamin Fowler, written towards the end of 1796. There he notes: "My metaphysical theories lay before me in the hour of anguish as toys by the bedside of a child deadly sick." He is apparently dissatisfied with the empirical theories of knowledge, and feels repugnance for them because they cannot soothe his ailing heart that yearns for the spiritual understanding of Man and the Universe. And so he turned to mysticism, to Christianity, and to his own imagination for the fulfilment of his spiritual needs, as we shall presently see.

Before we proceed any further let us examine here how far Coleridge shows himself in the garb of an associationist and a necessitarian in his poems of the first period that closes with his departure to Germany in 1798. The supporters of the view that makes Coleridge a bondman of Hartley and Godwin in the "*Religious Musings*," attempt to explain the poet's theories of evil and the soul's

identity with God, expressed in that poem, in the light of necessitarianism and the doctrine of association, and refuse to admit that widening and deepening of the mystic strain in him that is only too patent to be missed. That the poet's mind, habituated to the "Vast," to "something one indivisible" that cannot be realised with the senses alone, and his profound religious nature, even from the very opening of the poem, give their unmistakable impress, and as we proceed we find Plato, not Hartley or Godwin, in complete possession of poet's thought. The study of Plato and Plotinus, with the addition of Jacob Boehme, Spinoza and Berkeley, as Coleridge confesses in "*Biographia Literaria*," "acted in no slight degree to prevent my mind from being imprisoned within the outline of any single dogmatic system. They contributed to keep alive the heart in the head." They nourished him "with the imaginative manna of intuition" ¹ through which he could conceive of an unchanging reality revealed behind the ever-changing phase of the material world. To feel and to realise this Ultimate Reality it was not sufficient for man to look upon the universe with his senses alone, and connect the data thus supplied, with the help of the law of association, but he should draw himself "back into the deep places of his consciousness," and "live again in the divine ground of his existence." ² "Seek to mount aloft in pure intellect, in perfection of goodness, and in intuition of the Godhead" was the teaching of Plotinus, and it was an ardent desire of Coleridge to live in that divine experience so that, to quote his own words, he could catch "a little glimpse of Heaven..... a moment's converse with an angel.....any ray of God." This, certainly, is the point of view of a mystic adopted by Coleridge, and so he now discerns the spiritual value of objects, and perceives in them the unmistakable sign of a central divine energy responsible for their form and beauty. The objects of nature appear to him as bearing the "true impress of their creating Sire" ³—the symbols or manifestations of the Great Invisible, and he cries out with the mystics of yore:

" There is one Mind, one omnipresent Mind
Omnific. His most holy name is Love." ⁴

¹ S. T. Coleridge and the English Romantic School by Alois Brandl; p. 41.

² A. E. Powell: *The Romantic Theory of Poetry*; p. 82.

³ "Religious Musings."

⁴ *Ibid.*

God is the principle of Love in the universe. He does not only create the forms of life and beauty, but also encircles them with His eternal Love. The conception brings about a welcome reconciliation of all the apparent conflicts between the spiritual and the physical forces, and transmutes the mechanical and the material into a manifestation of the spiritual. And this consciousness of the Supreme Reality as "Nature's essence, mind, and energy"¹ apprises him of the "noontide majesty of man" as well, but in a manner different from that of Godwin or Rousseau. The conception of man's greatness and glory was given great currency at that time by these thinkers, but the sublime man of Coleridge is different from that of the theorists. He is at one with them in his vigorous attack on the "Fiends of Superstition," and on.

"The Kings and the Chief Captains of the World,"²

who, through their baleful influence, sow and nurture in the human breast the seeds of suspicion, hatred, and jealousy, but Coleridge ascribes the cause of man's degeneration to the want of spiritual insight. He condemns the short-sighted individualism of Godwin, and the narrow-minded sensual considerations of the utilitarianism of his time as breaking up the cohesion of the moral world by making man proud and self-centred:

"Feeling himself, his own low self the whole."³

Coleridge accepted the idea of rigid personality, self-conscious and self-determining—but he could never reconcile himself to the point of view that asserted the self-sufficiency of the individual, and regarded him as an end in himself. Such a doctrine, he believed, would make the world an "anarchy of spirits." For him the cardinal point in human regeneration was to be the idea of one vast family knit together in bonds of Love, that expanded the vision of men and made them consider themselves as:

"Parts and portions of one wondrous whole."⁴

¹ "Religious Musings."

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

As he says in a later poem, morality based upon these "sensual" considerations:

"Poison life's amities, and cheat the heart
Of faith and quiet hope, and all that soothes
And all that lifts the spirit."¹

It was to be a highly developed spiritual life through which they could comprehend the eternal and deeper unity underlying the "superficial isolation," lose the individual in the universal, and recognise the Divine Spirit as the basis of this essential unity. Once this universal harmony was realised, the soul would be elevated out of its 'small particular orbit,' and would extend its 'sacred sympathy' to all around. Thus it is the consciousness of man's "high dignities from God," that the poet regards as essential to the recognition of the rights of the individual. He was the first amongst his contemporaries to demand the removal of "unseemly disproportion" of wealth and comfort from a spiritual point of view.

It is from the same elevated plane of realistic-idealism that Coleridge looks at Evil and gives his interpretation of it. To him evil is not only real, but is necessary for the attainment of intellectual security through a knowledge of its consequences, for it is only after a man has realised the depth of evil that he can expect to rise to a higher level of good. It is all in the plan of Divine Benevolence of the poet's orthodox creed which seems to be intermixed here with his idealistic trend of thought. He believes that evil is inseparable from good, and that it awaits the touch of God's grace to transform it into the agency of good. After referring to the oppression and evil prevalent in the world, the poet gives vent to his optimistic faith when he exclaims:

"These, even these, in mercy didst Thou form,
Teachers of Good through Evil, by brief wrong
Making Truth lovely and her future might
Magnetic o'er the fixed untrembling heart."²

Man, at first dimly conscious of the Truth, undergoes a long and painful struggle, which awakens his spiritual nature, and gradually

¹ "Fears in Solitude."
² "Religious Musings."

reveals to him the Absolute Good. When that stage is achieved and man surveys his victory over evil from the vantage ground of spiritual elevation, he will recognise the antagonism as transitory, though an essential, condition for the realisation of loftier aim. With the widening of his intellectual horizon and the sharpening of his spiritual vision, he will understand the real significance of vice and anguish as not unsurmountable realities, but as "shapes of a dream"¹ that haunt the brain as long as he is not awakened in spirit. Once that awakening comes, he knows that his true nature demands the identification of his will with that of God, and that evil consists in willing his own selfish and material ends which are of an ephemeral character.

Thus we find that the basis of the poet's account of the evil and the good is not the blind force of necessity working without a purpose, the soulless mechanical law of the physicists. Coleridge moved in a purely mystical and transcendental realm which the materialist Hartley, inspite of being a profound believer, could not reach, and so the "must" of the necessitarians appealed to him as the result of "pure" and intuitive knowledge. Man, according to Coleridge, performs noble and heroic deeds as a spiritual necessity, being a partaker in the divine nature. The real destiny that has been pre-doomed for him by the divine providence is the attainment of perfection and completeness through a harmony between the divine will and his own. This, the inner and better self of man, "the indwelling angel-guide," as the poet calls it in "*The Destiny of Nations*," urges him to seek. There are "dim inexplicable sympathies," excited in the heart as that realm of the divine ideal floats before him, and the feeling of an "inevitable Presence" within, keeps up his spirit and never suffers the heat of the soul to be cooled down by despair. The all-consuming fire of this mystical faith burns away his dark passions and carnal desire, and he can no further be conquered by "the throb and tempest" of his heart. Thus "enrobed with Light, and naturalised in Heaven"² he can never fall away from the enjoyment of the beatific vision, and willingly places himself under the law of that spiritual world. Coleridge thus never makes a bondman of human beings, as Godwin's law suggests, nor regards an act of virtue as originating either out of impulse or out of cool calculation

Ibid.
 "Religious Musings."

with an eye to its utility. He rather regards man as an essentially free moral agent working under the freely accepted guidance of "a mighty hand," which Kant had called in Germany by the name of "categorical imperative." It is a parallel thought, though Coleridge had not yet read the German philosopher. The notion spiritualises virtue, and gives a motive to our good deeds, not in terms of pleasure and profit, but as an effort after moral perfection having been dictated by our higher and transcendental nature. It is an act in which all the faculties of man worked together in harmony, and its sweetness was enjoyed by that divine faculty in man through which "we cleave unto God." It is such an act of self-surrender to the law of goodness and service, cheerfully willed by man himself, that has been responsible for all the progress made by him, and has reared up "kingdoms" the kingdom of Man over Nature, and the kingdom of God in Man.

To conclude this topic we may say that there is little of true associationism or necessitarianism in the poems of this period in spite of an atmosphere of necessity created in "*The Ancient Mariner*" and "*Christable*," the two remarkable poems of Coleridge written during this time. There is marked passivity in the characters of the Mariner and Christable, and the weight of necessity seems to be over-bearing, but this is only a device used by the poet to intensify the pathos of the situation. His real faith comes out when he makes a spiritual appeal in the poems by establishing an interconnection between the physical and the spiritual worlds where human beings, though a prey to evil influences, as governed by the law of necessity, are saved in the end by the omnipotence of Love through the saving grace of God. Coleridge could never surrender his belief in the transcendental glory of man, which pointed out that though he lived in a world of pollutions, as in Christable, or by his sinful deed he wilfully cut himself away from the universal life, as in the case of Mariner, yet his true spirit aspired to achieve its unity with God by intuitively learning the lesson of benevolence and of love—a love that unifies all existences in God and is the true form of piety. Thus did the poet seek to broaden our intellectual horizon beyond the ken of the empiricists and the associationists whose unimaginative systems of thought influenced but little his poetic faith and utterances. The fact is that in moods of metaphysical contemplation when he wanted to understand the process of human thought and emotion he gave his allegiance to contemporary thinkers, but when poetic inspiration was within

him the psychology of association gave him no help, and the system to which he was "intellectually committed" stood before him in all its bareness.¹ He would then bring to bear upon life an idealistic outlook which owed the mastery of the great teachers of antiquity—Plato and Plotinus, combined with the enlightenment that had come through personal experience. In such moments he rose on the wings of faith with the halo of mysticism around his head, and spoke to us of "heaven and infinite." Under that ultimate guidance he used to find his way to the spiritual destination, and it was from that region that he drew his sources of sympathy, the love of God, and "the highest reaches of the moral sense" in man.²

Coleridge, we accordingly claim, never became a prisoner "within the outline of any single dogmatic system." Although the natural attitude of his mind was towards philosophy, and he wanted the satisfaction of his reason through metaphysics, yet he could divorce it from the satisfaction of the heart, the "religious feeling" as he chose to call it in his letter to Benjamin Fowler. This feeling, according to him, was the one way of being cognisant of the Ultimate Truth. Nature, consequently, yields her delight to him not through an observant eye and an attentive ear, but when the experience of the senses is transcended by submitting one's whole being to her influences. She then "keeps the heart awake to Love and Beauty,"³ and her sensuous objects waken the 'working soul' to 'thousand phantasies.'⁴ The mind in such a mood detaches itself from the appearance of things, and seeks to understand its underlying meaning. It is not a synthesis of ideas superficially formed, but a complete absorption in the contemplation of the inner significance of the object, best understood

"When the soul seeks to hear; when all is hushed,
And the heart listens."⁵

We have a record of such a "splendid apocalypse" in "*The Aeolian Harp*" where the charm of music dissolves the real world, the bodily senses sleep, and the spirit awakens in a world where music is

¹ J. Shawcross: Introductory Essay ; p. xxv

² Arthur Beatty: "William Wordsworth," p. 119. Prof. Beatty does not uphold this view.

³ "Lime Tree Bower."

⁴ "To the Nightingale."

⁵ "Reflections on Having Left A Place of Retirement."

"the one great reality and rhythm the ruling principle of all things."¹ Here we have a strong emotional element in which the entire "responsive mechanism" of the poet has been set free to function, and he yields to the rich sensation of life, a consciousness of which is the starting-point of all inspiration. And once the soul starts on its journey, to its "dilated eye"

"All doth seem
Less gross than bodily; and of such hues
As veil the Almighty Spirit, when yet he makes
Spirits perceive his presence."²

The garb of sense-perception is thus transcended, and the mind grasps the inmost reality which is the presence of the Divine Spirit manifesting itself through the organism of "living Nature". Under the influence of such "blest intuitions and communions fleet", all the details of Nature are unified into one great flow of life, and all facts explained by the one Universal Principle of Love, which makes the poet sing in true Platonic spirit:

"Oh! the one life within us and abroad,
Which meets all motion and becomes its soul,
A light in sound, a sound-like power in light,
Rhythm in all thought and joyance everywhere."³

This is pantheism that makes the Deity wholly immanent in the diverse phenomena of Nature and helps man to discover one divine life stirring in all. But pantheism could not be the creed of Coleridge whose mind was capable of rising to the higher point of view of transcendentalism. With his choice of the analogy of musical harmony he makes God not only immanent but transcendental,—the great Spirit of Harmony, or the great Musician Himself "calling forth the harmony latent in all creation"⁴ in different degrees of perfection according to their diverse nature, in the same way as the wind, passing through various musical instruments, produces different notes:

"And what if all of animated nature
Be but organic harps diversely framed,
That trembles into thought, as o'er them sweeps

¹ M. A. Keeling: "Poems of Nature and Romance," notes, p. 226

² "This Lime-Tree Bower My Prison."

³ "The Aeolian Harp."

⁴ M. A. Keeling: "Poems of Nature and Romance," p. 226.

Plastic and vast one intellectual breeze,
At once the Soul of each, and God of all?"¹

It is the transcendentalism of Plotinus that we find here expressed by Coleridge. He conceives of God as a living and willing Presence, "Nature's vast ever-acting energy," "in will, in deed, impulse of All to all,"² the mode of whose working is objectified in different forms and grades of reality, from the simple forces of Nature to the conscious and responsible actions of man. He was the will exemplified in the forms of organised Nature, rising in graduated scale till it expressed itself in its highest form in man.

Faith in the unity that lies at the centre of all existences, something common in which they all participate, led Coleridge inevitably to attempt a symbolic interpretation of Nature. It is a favourite mode of thought with the mystics, and Coleridge seems to be re-writing Plato when he says:

"All that meets the bodily sense I deem
Symbolical, one mighty alphabet
For infant minds; and we in this low world
Placed with our backs to bright reality,
That we may learn with young unwounded ken
The substance from its shadow."³

Here, as well as in a later poem, "*Frost at Midnight*," the symbolism of the alphabet finds special favour with Coleridge. To us the reason appears to be its aptitude for conveying the transcendental significance of the universe which the poet seeks to bring home to his readers. A word is a combination of letter which apparently unconnected, but combined by the interpreting mind, or in Kantian language, interpreted by a synthetic act of the understanding, convey a meaning otherwise concealed from the view. Similarly, Nature could be nothing more than a "conglomeration of particulars"⁴ with no spiritual significance, so long as she was studied in her broken fragments. She refused to yield her meaning to the merely "scientific reason" that was not initiated into the secret of her spiritual meaning. And for gaining this insight a training such as mentioned in the passage quoted above was indispensable for

¹ "The Aeolian Harp."

² "The Aeolian Harp."

³ "The Destiny of Nations."

⁴ J. Shawcross: Introductory Essay, p. xxv.

the human mind. Fettered by the chains of physical nature and with its spiritual element in infancy the soul can only hope to gain a knowledge of Reality by looking in everything for a deeper and more symbolic meaning than is revealed by a cursory view of it. The finite intelligence like a little child, is incapable of comprehending a full flood of divine truth if suddenly revealed. It must prepare itself for its reception through a slow process of growth. By the aid of symbolism it will gradually be able to gain the consciousness of the Divine as it finds His glory, power, and love effulgent "through meaner powers and secondary things,"¹ and once this consciousness is awakened, and Nature is looked upon as a harmonious whole, she becomes real and intelligible—the eternal Divine language written in Matter and comprehended by the power of the Mind through which man is noumenally related to God. We thus have due recognition of the reality of the individual objects along with an anticipation of the teachings of Kant that examines the process of our consciousness and goes beyond experience. It accepts the free power of the human mind that gives man "a superiority to the unconscious forces of the material world," differentiates him from the surrounding existences, and enables him to recognise his origin in God.

The poems of the first period of the poetic career of Coleridge, therefore, disclose to us the mental conflict that was going on at the time in the mind of the poet. In them is effectively reflected the fluidity of his mind, which could not stay long at one anchor of thought, but passed from one speculative system to another, and delighted in extracting truth from every one of them. In the words of Southey: "Hartley was ousted by Berkeley, Berkeley by Spinoza, and Spinoza by Plato; when last I saw him Jacob Behmen had some chance of coming in. The truth is that he played with systems." What, however, appeared to the little mind of Southey as play was really the insatiable thirst of a great mind for truth. He derived it from every source according to his personal need. He took his stand upon common-sense, and recognised the powers of the mind, but was, at the same time, convinced that there could be no finality in human thought, and that there was more behind the veil which could not be discovered by an exercise of our ordinary

1 "The Destiny of Nations."

faculties of knowledge. Though yet a stranger to the critical philosophy of Kant, we have seen how he maintained, throughout, the superiority of the human intellect over all experiential truths, but set a limit to its powers when it had to deal with spiritual realities. In that sphere, he relied upon the mystic conception of "intuition" that was not against reason but transcended it where the discursive mind failed to reach the Truth.

(To be continued)

MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA

AMALESH GHOSE, M.A., B.T.

III

PRIMARY EDUCATION TILL THE MONT-FORD REFORMS.

AT least a decade before the enquiry of Mr. W. Adam, (during 1835-38), into the condition of Indigenous Primary schools of all types, one hundred thousand of which existed in the province of Bengal alone, in a disorganised state, the Missionaries had started opening Primary schools in the vicinity of their centres of work, which were located near the principal provincial towns like Calcutta, Bombay, Patna etc. None but the Missionaries had realised at that time that the Masses could be successfully educated only through the Medium of the Vernaculars and they were seriously engaged in their work of vigorously pushing through the publication of Books, Pamphlets etc. printed by them in the Vernacular. Societies were formed in Calcutta and Bombay for the expansion of Primary education with the help of the Government grants. The functions of these Societies were later taken up by the provincial Boards of Education when they were formed, by the year 1840. The limited resources and the condition of the country did not permit them to carry on their programme beyond a certain limit. The Organisation, Curriculum and Expansion of Primary Education rested more on the voluntary efforts of individuals interested in the education of the Masses and the limited resources, coupled with a lack of Policy, did not allow the Government to launch upon a systematic programme on a wide scale. The acceptance by the Government of the "*filtration theory*" of educating the Masses through the intelligentsia gave incentive to the expansion of Secondary Education only. This received further stimulus in the statement of Policy in the Despatch of 1854, in the creation of the Universities and in the introduction of the Grant-in-aid system for the expansion of education in the higher stages to the detriment of Primary Education.

In the south, the Government gave legal sanction to the attempts in this direction for the betterment of the Rajamundry type of schools by the promulgation of the Madras Town Improvements Act, which repealed the Voluntary Education Act of 1863, by which that type of schools received stimulus to grow. By this Act of 1871, the Municipal Commissioners were given powers to devote a part of their Funds for the expansion of Education.

The Collector of Midnapur, Mr. H. L. Harrison, devised a method of encouraging the *Gurus* of the Primary schools. Awards were made to the heads of Primary schools on the Results of the Examination of their pupils. The Report of the New Castle Commission of 1862 and the Revised Educational Code of England of the same year in which such provisions were made, may have caught the imagination of Mr. Harrison, in introducing the scheme in his district. For good or for bad, this 'Payment by Results' system was introduced. The Director of Public Instruction was asked by the Government in 1873 to try the scheme in the other districts of the province. Thus the system was gradually extended and was adopted at other places. The result of the introduction of this system was that a great many schools which would otherwise have been unwilling, came under the control of the Department of Education. This system worked well for a pretty long time till its abolition in 1905.

A system of *Circle Schools* existed in the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab. By this, the Head of a Central School used to inspect and supervise the working of a number of schools in his area. This system was introduced into Bengal also and it worked successfully for sometime. The Hunter Commission observed :—

"It has been found to be far more effective of its object than any system heretofore tried. It appeared to be the best calculated to preserve and bring under organisation whatever indigenous schools exist in the country which are or can be utilised, as a part of the educational system."

This system had the salutary effect of improving the standard of Education.

As a result of the revision of the Rules for giving Grant-in-aid in 1877, which had been introduced since 1855, there was a great fall in the number of schools, as the revised Rules insisted on raising

the standard of instruction. The Rules had to be revised again in 1880 to make the standard lower than what was required in the former. They were revised once again in 1883 and these, with the necessary modifications here and there, are followed at present in the Codes.

The Municipal and Local Government Acts of 1883-85, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, brought into existence Local Bodies with powers to open, maintain and manage Primary schools with Grant-in-aid from the Government. The salient feature of the recommendations was the encouragement of private enterprise. The result of these efforts was that there was a tremendous development of English Education in the higher branches. The courses of Instruction of both the Lower and Upper Primary schools were made more useful but were different in the different provinces. The provincial Governments used to set apart funds specially for the purpose of Primary Education and they used to open and maintain Primary schools specially in the backward areas.

Although the quality of instruction had improved by the raising of the standard of inspection and examination, there was a check in the progress of Primary education when the authorities directed their attention to the backward villages in the interior of the country. There, they looked upon education as something which was the privilege of the well-to-do. The programme of expansion met with little opposition in the urban and the otherwise accessible parts of the country. There, the question was one of quality. The interior backward tracts presented a different picture—the people there were unwilling to have the schools.

The effect of all these was that civic consciousness of the people were roused and there were animated activities in those bodies for the expansion of Primary Education but as indicated in the preceeding paragraph, the saturation point was soon reached when the authorities turned their attention to the backward areas under their jurisdiction. There, the people were loathe to appreciate the benefits of any sort of education and were even suspicious of the motives. This problem checked the growth of Primary education to a certain extent but it was partially solved by the opening of Primary schools which were maintained by the state, in the backward tracts of the country.

A limited amount of improvement having been achieved in the control, organisation and instruction, it was felt that a drive need be taken in the direction of improving the Curriculum in all the spheres of education. At the instance of Lord Curzon, there was a overhaul of the system and the Curriculum was revised in almost all the provinces so as to give it an *agricultural bias*.

With a view to improving the quality of instruction, the Government of India issued a Circular in 1911, after the withdrawal of the Resolution of Mr. Gokhale from the Central Legislature urging the introduction of Universal Primary Education in 1910, and after his Bill to the same effect had been defeated in the Legislative Council. This Circular of 1911 emphasised on the necessity of having teachers for the rural schools drawn as far as possible from the rural areas. It suggested that the number of pupils in each standard (for each teacher) should be fixed at 30 to 40, which, in special cases, may be increased to 50, and recommended that attempts should be made to allot the task of teaching separate classes to separate teachers. In the detailed Circular of 1913, the Government of India, admitted that no large expansion of Primary education was possible or advisable unless there was a sufficient number of trained teachers. They advised that attention should now be directed to the opening of Middle Vernacular Schools for the purpose of getting recruits for the training schools for the teachers of Primary Schools, in the rural areas, as it was thought that they might be best suited for the vocation. The Circular issued by the Central Government in 1918, reviewed the position as it stood since the previous issue. This Circular, for the first time, drew the attention of all to the "Wastage" from class to class in the Primary stage, and reiterated their view, previously expressed, of having better types of teachers with better Pay and particularly to the necessity of having better and qualified teachers to take the charge of the Infant classes where the Wastage was heaviest.

The Circulars of the Government of India was more of a reviewing nature, but they formed the basis of the course of action and the policy taken up by the provincial Governments and thus they had their influence on the activities of the provincial Departments of Education.

Just before the Reforms of 1919 were introduced, the provincial Legislatures enacted certain measures to make Compulsory Primary

Education permissive to the areas administered by the Local Bodies. The Control of the Government of India having ceased by now, they discontinued the practice of paying any financial aid to the provincial Governments. They, however, continued to pay the Imperial Grant of Rs 50 lacs, announced by the King-Emperor at the Delhi Durbar in 1911. For assisting any scheme for the expansion of Primary Education in the provinces, the Government used to sanction money from time to time as their funds permitted, and between 1913 and 1917, no less than a sum of Rs. 3,29 lacs non-recurring and Rs. 1,24 lacs recurring were granted for the provinces by the Central Government, in furtherance of the proposal contained in their Circulars of 1911 and 1913. They frequently asked the provinces to submit to them definite schemes for the expansion of Primary Education, and when received by them, these schemes were duly considered in their turn, and allotted money, as was available.

The funds at their disposal, however, were quite inadequate to meet the demands of the provinces and therefore, the grants were made proportionate to their requirements out of their available funds. The result was that no scheme could be taken up as a whole, and being introduced piece-meal, they could not gain the desired end. Neither could any successful scheme be evolved owing to the anticipated financial inadequacy. Still, the provincial Governments hoped to receive financial support from the Central Government who in their turn, were besieged with requests for grants much above their capacity to pay. Schemes were prepared and enthusiastically awaited sanction, but financial stringency came in their way of success. They were thus unnecessarily held up. New and unforeseen circumstances appeared in the field and the proposals had to be re-cast and the mode of approach to the problem had to be altered.

Then the Government of India put forward a definite proposal and set forth a programme for the ten years to follow. In 1918, a Circular was issued which set forth that they intended to provide for the facilities for the extension of Primary Education, through local Bodies and gave a hint that Compulsion may be applied. They proposed to meet one-third of the cost, the provincial Governments were to pay one-third and the remaining one-third was to be met out of the Funds of the Local Bodies, for bringing the scheme into operation. The provisions of the Mont-Ford Reforms came in the way of further interest being taken by the Government of India, and

so it fell through. The Reforms Constitution prevented the Central Government from giving any direction and the question of financial aid was not thought of. Education as a *Transferred subject* came under the control of the popular Ministers, who were responsible to the elected representatives of the people.

Before the inauguration of the Reforms, the Central Government considered themselves responsible for the initiation of Policy on all matters, including educational, for the whole of India, and the provincial Governments were regarded as their Agents in carrying out their proposals and their Policy. Besides any new proposals for educational enactment required the previous sanction of the Government of India before being introduced. The provisions of the Bills of the provincial Governments used to be examined in all their aspects before according sanction.

As a result of the relegation of this authority of controlling the Policy on Education, a Central Advisory Board was formed in 1921, which may be regarded as a body taking the place of the annual Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction of the Provinces of India. This Central Board, consisting generally of eminent educationists and administrators, used to meet three or four times a year and discussed the Policy, etc. to be adopted. The activities of the Board were conducive to the healthy development of education but it was discontinued in 1923 as a measure of economy. The need of the existence of such a Board was soon perceived and after a lapse of about 12 years, it was revived in the year 1935.

The Central Bureau of Education also was useful and a necessary adjunct to the Central Board. The Bureau not only reviewed the state of the progress of Education of India as a whole and thus enabled each province to become well-aware of the activities of the other and their flaws, but it also did some valuable work by publishing pamphlets on the growth and tendencies of education in the other countries, thus presenting good materials for comparison and indicating the line along which improvement may be made. This Bureau which had been abolished has now been revived.

There is also a proposal to form a National Committee of intellectual co-operation and make the Central Advisory Board, the National Centre of Educational Information.

IV

PRIMARY EDUCATION SINCE 1919

By the year 1919, the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, the U. P. and the Punjab got their Primary Education Acts passed and the other provinces had theirs soon afterwards. The Madras Act--was passed in 1920; the Bombay Act in 1923; the C. P. Act in 1921 and the Assam Act in 1926. The amendments were made as and when necessity arose. The Local Self-Government Acts, which were passed since 1919, constituting and defining the powers and duties of the Local, Union and District Boards, besides making them subordinate self-governing institutions, imposed on the Bodies the task of the opening and the supervision of Primary Schools with the help of grants received from the Government, ear-marked for the purpose, and empowering them to levy land or property tax, if necessary. Some of the Municipalities and Corporations were empowered to introduce compulsion if they found it expedient to adopt the measure. Government, in any case, did not divest themselves of the financial responsibility to a certain extent. In some cases the position became anomalous. The Minister-in-charge of Education had no control over the administration of the education department of some of these self-governing institutions. No outside control in the management of this nation-building department may be considered beneficial to its actual working, but the real state of things revealed a lack of true spirit in those responsible for the management of Primary Schools, due perhaps more to the want of administrative experience than anything else.

In the urban areas, specially in places like the big cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Delhi, etc., and the other provincial towns of some magnitude, the progress of Primary Education of some of them has been up to the expectations and has moved on without any impediment. In the rural areas the position has been far from satisfactory, as revealed by the provincial Reviews of Education, although it has considerably improved from what it was during the eighties of the last century. The real position in the U. P. was depressing. There the Government Inspectors were placed under the control of the Chairmen of the Local Education Boards

but their pay used to be met out of the government treasury. Thus, being deprived of the controlling authority, the Minister-in-charge was unable to carry out the programme as outlined in the Policy. Receiving the Inspection Notes when called for, did not, in any way alter the position. If he wanted to see an improved state of things, he had no other alternative but to ask the Legislative Council to modify their decision and give him the authority to enforce the Policy by amending the previous Acts. On the plea that, that will amount to virtually withdrawing some of the privileges granted to the self-governing institutions and transferring them back to the departmental control from popular management, the governments did not take the initiative in this matter and therefore the condition of Primary Education showed signs of deterioration.

The outstanding feature, in respect of Education in most of the Local Bodies, is the lack of a definite Policy and of administrative experience of the members. When the local Bodies were allowed to administer the scheme of the expansion of Primary Education, the underlying motive may have been a desire to let the members learn by their mistakes and gain experience thereby. In some places, at least, there is evidence to show, that this has been used for personal gain and to serve personal interests and party factions. In a place which is preponderatingly uneducated, the result may not have been otherwise and it may continue unabated unless there is provision of some sort of a check, like a regular inspection and insistence on periodical reports from executive officers. The goal is to get an intelligent electorate, who can read and write and are well-equipped with the knowledge of the outstanding events affecting their lives. The sooner it is obtained without a feeling of distrust anywhere, the better for all.

The District Educational Councils formed in Madras with Officials and non-Officials, as representatives of different interests, seem to be a satisfactory arrangement. But there is room for improvement in this also. The Councils should have enough money and a sufficient number of Inspectors, not for extravagance but for ensuring expenditure in the right direction and for properly carrying out the provisions of the Acts passed by the Legislatures.

In the Punjab, where the District Educational Councils are presided over by the District Commissioners, as a rule, the administra-

tion has run successfully with much better results. Official Control and administrative experience appear to be indispensable for the organisation and the extension of Primary Education in the Rural areas. Voluntary efforts without the proper check have not produced good results, of late.

In respect of Official Control, the non-official mind seems to be prejudiced against the official mind. No less note-worthy is the desire for Power on the part of the non-official. But this tendency neglects the fact that education is essentially a nation-building subject and therefore it needs a special, unprejudiced treatment for getting effective results. The officials and the non-officials may work together and the efficient management of the department will be an index to the eagerness as well as the ability for good and successful administration. Opinions, however, widely held, on public affairs, may not be divided in this field.

Neither the figures nor the number of schools in British India as a whole, will indicate the real progress made in regard to Primary Education. The Progress of Primary Education, which has been remarkable and unprecedented in its history, during the Reforms, has neither been uniform nor graduated throughout the provinces, taken separately. In some, the progress is characterised by efficient management or by phenomenal increase in the number of schools and the scholars, in the others, by the inception of new Policy. Taking into account that India is a country of diverse Races and Languages, and that allowance must be made for local conditions, there is no reason why there should not be any uniformity in general Policy and Control. The flaws and the short-comings in one may be easily rectified in the others and thus each province may gain by the experience of others and by comparison much better results may be secured.

In British India, about 19·2 millions, out of a total population of 250 millions are literates, i.e., about 8% (7·5% in 1929) of the people can read and write. With an increase of population in recent years the percentage may have remained stationary. This alone is sufficient to indicate how much more has to be done in order to get an intelligent electorate who may be called literates.

The population of school-going age to total population is about 14% and those under instruction form about 5·2% of the total. That

is, about 8·8% more of the total population of school-going age are receiving no instruction at present. The growth of this percentage in the last 8 years is interesting :—

Percentage of Scholars in the Schools to Total Population

Year	Male	Female	Total
1929-30	8·07	1·88	5·06
1930-31	7·86	1·8	4·67
1931-32	7·83	1·89	4·7
1932-33	7·82	1·98	4·73
1933-34	7·44	2·09	4·85
1934-35	7·68	2·2	4·97
1935-36	7·72	2·29	5·09
1936-37	7·86	2·88	5·2

It will appear from this that although the percentage has increased, the figures for the male scholars have been varying and shows little signs of improvement to reach the figure of 1929-30. It is evident from the figures that more girls are now attending the schools and their percentage has been steadily rising every year. It is an encouraging sign indeed.

In the year 1911, there were 17·4 million boys and 17·7 million girls in British India, of whom only 6·5 millions were attending the schools. That is, about 18% of the total number of boys and girls were receiving instruction, and of them, as much as 15% were in the Primary stage !

The number of boys and girls in the Primary stage during the years 1917-1937 is given in the following table. It will be found that the highest increase during these years was in 1925-26. The increase was tremendous and the record shows a tendency to move upwards. There was an increase of 6,90,000 scholars and 9,300 schools during the period 1925-26.

Number of Boys and Girls in the Primary Schools

Year	Total No. of Pupils	Boys only	Girls only
1917	64,04,200	52,88,803	11,15,497
1923-24	69,55,684	56,90,820	12,64,814
1926-27	82,56,760	67,07,479	15,49,281
1927-28	87,12,968	70,81,554	16,81,414
1928-29	90,18,591	72,18,518	18,00,073
1929-30	92,24,048	73,82,678	18,91,406
1930-31	93,62,748	73,81,199	19,81,549
1933-34	98,06,356	75,12,279	22,94,079
1934-35	1,00,89,762	76,80,088	24,09,584
1935-36	1,03,08,403	78,03,326	25,05,077
1936-37	1,16,58,584	90,47,007	26,11,577

The following table gives the total number of boys' and girls' Primary Schools with their enrolment.

Year	No. of Schools for Boys	Male Scholars	No. of Schools for Girls	Female Scholars
1923-24	1,44,430	56,90,000	23,586	12,64,814
1929-30	1,72,686	73,82,678	31,408	18,91,406
1933-34	1,66,880	75,12,279	34,054	22,94,077
1934-35	1,66,588	76,80,088	33,785	24,09,584
1935-36	1,65,240	78,03,326	32,618	25,05,077
1936-37	1,64,894	90,47,007	32,333	26,11,577

From the fore-going Tables it will be apparent that although the number of schools for Boys and Girls is slightly decreasing, the number of scholars is steadily going up, pointing to the fact of

increased enrolment in each school and perhaps, better instruction and weeding out of the less important and unnecessary schools. A process of consolidation may be slowly taking place. Besides, the figures for the Boys and for the Girls in the Tables, there are a number of them in the lower Forms of High and Middle schools. However, there was an increase of 6,234 schools and of 10,84,319 scholars over the figures of 1930, in the year 1935-36.

Included in the Tables are the figures for the special schools for the Backward Classes and Muktabs, which are institutions for the Muslims. Out of a total of about 45,000 schools for Boys and 17,500 schools for Girls in Bengal during 1936, there were no less than 25,000 Muktabs *i.e.*, special schools for the Muslims.

The percentages for boys and girls of school-going age who are attending the schools are worth perusal. In 1917, 30·3% boys and 6·7% girls; in 1922, 31·5% boys and 7·7% girls; in 1927, 42·1% boys and 10·4% girls; in 1932, 42·2% boys and in 1937, 51·7% boys, of the total number of boys and girls of school-going age were receiving some sort of education in the schools. That is, about 48% boys, and more than 85% girls of school-going age, are receiving no education at all. The percentage for girls has steadily improved and that of the boys showed a gradual improvement from about 30% in 1917 to about 52% in 1937, in the course of a decade. It is an encouraging sign to note the gradual increase in the case of girls.

The percentage of the total number of pupils to the total population increased but with a snail's pace from 3·77% in 1923-24; 4·7% in 1930-31; to about 5·2% in 1937. The percentage of the total number of boys and girls of school-going age to the total population is reckoned at about 14%. Therefore, at present about 9% more boys and girls of the total population, have to be brought to school.

The figures for the total direct expenditure on Primary Education in British India, have gone up considerably since the organisation of Primary Education on a systematic basis. The total amount spent for Primary Education was about Rs. 50 lacs in 1877-78 and it rose gradually to about Rs. 7 crores in 1927 and stood at Rs. 8·37 crores in 1937. A perusal of the figures may be illuminating. The percentage of the total direct expenditure on Primary Education only, to total expenditure on Education, had been between 24% to 30%.

i.e., Primary Education consumed about one-fourth to one-third of the total amount spent on education in India, as a whole.

The following Table gives the amount spent on Primary Education, and the total amount spent on Education, during the years noted against each year.

Year	Amount in Crores spent on Primary Education.	Total amount in Crores spent on Education in India.
	Rs.	Rs.
1892	'92 crores	
1897	11'0 „	
1902	1'18 „	4.01 crores
1907	1'55 „	5.59 „
1912	2'07 „	7.85 „
1917	2'98 „	11.28 „
1922	5'09 „	18.37 „
1927	6'95 „	24.48 „
1932	8'12 „	27.18 „
1937	8'37 „	28.05 „

The provincial figures for the total amount spent by them on account of Primary Education is interesting for the sake of comparison. While Madras spends about Rs. 2'35 crores, and Bombay and Sind spend a little over Rs. 2 crores, Bengal with a population which exceeds that of Madras and which is more than double that of Bombay, spends only Rs. '83 crores. U.P. spends about Rs. 1 crore and the Punjab a little more than half a crore of rupees. The total provincial expenditure is not evenly distributed and bear an uneven ratio to the number of scholars and schools to the total amount, on Primary Education, by them.

Total Direct Expenditure on Primary Education by Provinces

(In lacs of Rupees)

Provinces	1917	1922	1927	1932	1937
Bengal	44'52	54'08	67'61	82'06	83'69
Bombay	68'48	149'53	198'88	205'47	177'36
Madras	70'13	106'49	170'51	234'72	235'76
The U. P.	28'80	67'42	84'31	95'25	95'22
The Punjab	19'65	34'32	42'34	47'98	52'31
B & O	27'62	36'51	55'86	57'03	49'04
C. P. and Berar	16'15	28'22	32'61	35'60	38'68
Burma	10'36	14'39	20'07	24'67	24'39
Assam	7'51	9'12	11 18	13'40	14'62
N. W. F. P.				4'88	5'67
Sind					31'82
Orissa					16'20
Coorg				1'15	2'06
Delhi				4'22	4'88
Ajmer & Merwara				2'12	2'39
Baluchistan				74	1'28
Bangalore				1'45	1'63
Other Provinces				1'18	2'06
British India Total	293'14	509'08	605'22	812'00	837'77

It will be seen from this that the total expenditure has increased gradually according to the needs of the increasing number of scholars and schools in the provinces. And since, wastage has diminished with an increase in expenditure, it is apparent that the increased amount has enabled the administration to keep a better watch on the growth of Primary Education.

The progress of Primary Education during the ten years 1917-27 has been rapid. It had moved with such a heavy stride that the existing arrangement of Inspection and of the Training of Teachers

could hardly meet the increased demand. The number of Inspectors was found insufficient to deal efficiently with the increased pressure of work, and they were required to handle so large a number of schools and made to cover so wide an area in this land of ill-provided and insufficiently arranged communications, for the purpose of inspecting schools, that they could hardly do justice to their duty and consequently, they were obliged, it may be presumed, to confine their attention to the routine work in the offices.

Province.	Average number of Primary Schools per Inspector.	Average Area covered by each Inspector.
Madras ...	142 schools	3'07 sq. miles
Bombay ...	Inspected by Boards	10'05 "
Bengal ...	172 schools	2'01 "
The U. P. ...	92 "	5'65 "
Burma ...	29 "	59'7 "
The C. P. & Berar ...	57 "	23'84 "
The Punjab ...	40 "	16'89 "
B. & O. ...	106 "	3'03 "
Assam ...	104 "	12'1 "

The figures in the fore-going Table will sufficiently illustrate the point for the explanation of the wide differences of area and the magnitude of the task of the Inspectors of Primary Schools.

Since the beginning of this century, at the instance of Lord Curzon, greater attention has been paid to the opening of Middle Vernacular Schools. The M. V. Schools were looked upon as the best nurturing fields for the teachers of Rural Primary Schools and for the recruitment of prospective candidates for the Training Schools for Teachers. The number of M. V. Schools was not sufficient although special encouragement used to be given for the opening and the maintenance of these schools and during the Reforms, these institutions, gradually came into disfavour and their number dwindled further. In Bengal specially, they became unpopular, and 47 only of them are now in existence. But although this field of recruitment of teachers for Primary Schools has been seriously affected due to this

source, the places are naturally taken up by better and qualified persons who hold the Matriculation or even better certificates. With the inducement of better pay and prospects, persons with better educational qualifications may be given special training for Rural work and the amenities of Rural life, in rural reconstruction work, so to say, and then they may be sent out with the expectation that they will do much better work than their predecessors. It is obvious, therefore, that what is more needed in the matter of getting better teachers for the Primary schools, is an inducement of better pay and prospects, and perhaps, security of service. Bombay has given the lead in this direction and others may follow.

Average monthly Pay of Teachers

	Rs.	A.		Rs.	A.
Madras	... 15	4	Punjab	... 25	8
Bombay	... 47	0	Burma	... 38	1
Bengal	... 8	6	B. & O.	... 11	15
U. P.	... 18	8	C. P.	... 24	8
Assam	... 14	4			

The pay of the Primary School teacher is generally low but in Bengal, specially, and in B. and O. it is disgraceful, and the teacher's pay naturally does not attract the right type of men. Those who work as teachers, therefore, have to divide their attention for this and some other profession, if they have to put their body and soul together. How is it possible to obtain the services of an educated and promising man for this work on a pay, much below that of a day-labourer? It stands to reason therefore, that the teachers are not only not properly qualified and trained but also, they are not up to the occasion, but simply carry on their day-to-day duty to keep the system going.

The question of Primary Education and therefore of Mass Education of India, is intimately connected with the broader problems of the welfare of the villages as will be apparent from an examination of the number of villages and the occupation of her people. An improvement of the system of Primary Education in the Rural Areas, will automatically mean an improvement in the problems of the villages also. They are so closely related to each other that one

cannot be considered without the other and the whole problem should be tackled from that point of view.

In British India, about 87% of the population live in the villages; 75% of the population are Agriculturists; 10% of the population depend on the Industries of various kinds and 5.5% on the Trades. There are 2 cities with a population of more than a million; 34 cities with a population of more than a lac; 2,500 towns with a population of between 5,000 and a lac, and the number of villages verge on half a million. About 18 crores of her people live in the villages with less than 2,000 persons in each and there are more than 3 lacs and a half villages with less than 500 persons, and their aggregate population is more than 7 crores. About 13% of the total population of India live in the towns and cities and the rest live in the villages.

The Linlithgow Commission on Agriculture laid emphasis on this great problem of the villages and the mode of living of the villagers. They recommended that improvement in the life of the rural population was necessary to have an all-round prosperity of the country, if any real progress was to be achieved. The urban population do not present very striking difficulties as regards their provision of Primary Education. Some of the big cities having taken to compulsion by degrees, the problem is being solved in its course. In all, about 120 Municipalities and 1600 Boards have applied the option of Compulsion in their jurisdiction. In spite of all these efforts, there are large numbers of boys and girls of school-going age, in the urban areas, specially of the backward classes, who do not attend any school. These children make up the bulk of those, some of whom perhaps, attend the Night schools in the towns and cities. But the fact that there are not many Night schools to accommodate them has also to be taken into consideration. So, efforts should be made to direct the energies to this aspect of the problem of bringing those children to the school.

Besides these children in the urban areas, there are many boys and girls in the Rural areas, who have not yet been given any chance of learning the three R's and they should now be taken care of. In these localities, the children of the Agriculturists are made to work in the fields and to do hundred-and-one duties to help the family in their daily routine as Agriculturists, as soon as they become, in any way, serviceable to them. The Artisans, the Traders and even the workers in the village industries, make use of the services of their

wards in their Arts, as soon as their children reach the 8th or 9th year, they are drifted on to the services of their parent and become adjuncts to the bread-earning problems of the family. The children of the lower classes in society become menials in the house-hold of upper-class people, sometimes without any monetary gain, or they become apprentices in the farm as labourers. In this way, the most impressionable age and the most valuable time, in the development of the mind, body and health of the majority of the children in the villages is wasted. In the later life of these children, when they become adults, they hardly find any time and any energy to make up the lost time, which has perhaps been unprofitably spent during their early years.

THE LOVE POETRY OF JOHN DONNE *

SUDHIR KUMAR CHATTERJEA, M.A.

IT is usually said that the past shall have a glory from afar. The remark contains a sarcasm which mildly but surely condemns those who delight in things of the past. And a reader of John Donne is not safe from ridicule. The ridicule will be of a twofold character. On the one side he will be accused of having a puerile modern craze; and on the other side he will be jeered as seeming to be a 'oner' at something old and obscure and therefore learned. As a matter of fact, there have been few in literary history who have received praise and opprobrium in such amazing abundance as has our poet, John Donne. 'Wring the neck of rhetoric', said Verlaine; and we were once struck outright with the idea; and we do at times think of shedding our literary artifices as far as possible. But when it comes to reading Donne, the same old world complaint of lack of word-value is made. In fact, we are seldom ready to lay down the knapsack of rhetoric, even when we will go to a really serious poet. And Donne cannot but choose to disappoint such readers. It is, therefore, so easy to tire of John Donne. One has to make up one's mind for a serious intellectual exercise before choosing to go through a John Donne poem. My own inadequately intellectual approach will account for any inaccuracy of judgment that I may be guilty of.

There are some critics who over-emphasise the philosophical side of Donne's poetry. Miss Mary Paton Ramsay in an otherwise brilliant essay¹ calls John Donne a schoolman. Premise: Donne's early Catholic training and later acquaintance with the Italian and Spanish mystics; deduction,—Donne must be a school man in thought and in literary activity. There are others again who find the relation between Donne's mental cast and Dante's a good deal closer than it actually is. All this necessitates a close study on our part of the Dante personality and the Donne personality. The difference between their manners of approach will be clear only on a determination of

¹ *Vide A Garland for John Donne—Edited by Theodore Spencer.*

* Read at the Poetry Society, Calcutta, on December 8, 1940. Some slight changes have since been made in the paper.

the literary precedents which Donne made use of or revolted against. And this tracing of the philosophical background of Donne's poetry will not be irrelevant to our consideration of a particular aspect of his poetry, namely that dealing with love. In fact, Donne has viewed love not merely as an emotional turmoil of the heart, but as an experience which is conterminous with life. Love to him seems to be very difficult of correct understanding, and makes him as intellectually alert as one would be in dealing with the Metaphysical problem of the Many and the One. The problem of reconciling the flesh with the soul is the most fundamental of problems; and this problem is the key-note of Donne's love-experience. In fact, he is a poet of love, first, and of everything else next. It is, therefore, that we should at the very outset consider his attitude to life and determine in what respect he differs from the Scholastics and especially from Dante. We shall do well to indicate here in brief the main tendencies of medieval thought and see what shape it took in Dante.

There is a common misunderstanding among many that medieval philosophy consisted in mere abstract speculation and that it both began and concluded in an *a priori* fashion. We shall do well here to consider the main mission that scholastic philosophy made it a point to fulfil. Christianity from the very beginning had a message to give to the world; and for a proper medium through which to disseminate its ideas and ideals it turned to Greek. But then, neo-platonism and Islamic philosophy with a considerable infusion of Greek thought in it wanted to bang the door in the face of this intruder. It is as a counter-movement against the menace to Christian philosophy of neo-Platonism and the Greek-derived teachings of Averroes and Avicenna that scholastic philosophy shaped itself in the beginning. The fundamental difference between Greek philosophy and Christian philosophy is that while the Greek philosopher's approach was the approach of a ratiocinative mind, the approach of the Christian was that of one possessed with faith. Plato has a metaphysical system in which he considers the soul to be the mediator between supra-mundane God and the material world. Plato's God, in the last analysis, is the supreme unity of all ideas of the invisible world, in which these ideas exist. The whole thing is thus a metaphysical pattern in which the living faith of a Christian is absent. Christianity, in its essence, is a call to obedience, and not so much to argument. Jesus is the only Son of God whom every Christian must accept as the only Saviour of man.

kind. Aristotle, who believes in the eternity of matter, while looking upon God as the only Real Being, gives us a system which is more of an explanation of the cosmic universe than a faith radiant with life and hope. The idea of a God as a Person in the supremest sense, which is of the core of Christianity, was something altogether foreign to Greek philosophy. The Arabs again made a synthesis out of Aristotelian philosophy and a little of neo-Platonism which proved of great peril to Christian thought. Now, medieval philosophy attempted a defence of the Christian faith by putting it in the crucible of Aristotelian logic and even so proving to the world that its validity was unassailable. St. Thomas Aquinas, the most representative of the Schoolmen, emphasises the distinction between essence and existence, while differentiating act from potentiality. God is the only Being existing in essence, and all other existents are individual by reason of their imperfect beings owing their real but limited status to Him. His theory of analogy expresses the limits of our ignorance and knowledge; and it becomes patent that we can never know God in the absolute sense, but by analogy can ascribe to Him nothing but the highest excellences. Now these Schoolmen were all out to reconcile their faith with reason. Aquinas has quite a large number of hymns instinct with faith, but he also tries to justify his faith by reference to the Aristotelian interpretation of the eternity of the phenomenal world with God as the controlling and motivating power. With the Scholastics faith always took precedence of reason, as is well-evident in their observation, 'Credo ut intelligam.' (I believe so that I may understand). They believe in God as the supreme unity of all individual intellect and will which is only empirically real. They also hold that the individual has an inborn infirmity which can be cured only by divine help. Certain disintegrating tendencies were, of course, noticeable in some Schoolmen, as for example, in Eurigena with his pantheistic leaning, in Duns Scotus who considers the concept of being as univocal, the individual being only an analogue of God's Being, and in Ockham with his rigidly logical bent of mind. But in the main, Scholastic philosophy believes in the relatively real existence of the individual and urges the necessity of worship and service to God, Who is the only Absolute Being.

Now our Dante, who gave the love-motive a great momentum, and was thus responsible for poets like Petrarch and Boccaccio to take up the love-theme as the only releasing force of their poetical genius,

was a child of the Scholastic faith. The mystical element that we find in them owes its birth to the influence of the Bologna School of poetry, in a certain measure, and is to be noticed even in the Schoolman, St. Bernard of Clairvoux. The idea of a mystical relationship between the soul and her Heavenly Bridegroom which is so dominant in St. Bernard, has a counterpart in Dante's mystic worship of woman. Dante's designation of his beloved as 'La gloriosa donna della mia mente' (The glorious woman of my mind) is clearly an echo of St. Bernard's soul yearning for communion with the Heavenly Bridegroom, though the background in Dante is largely different from that in St. Bernard. St. Bernard's poems like 'Jesu dulcis memoria,' and others have, in a considerable measure, the mystical attitude to be followed up consistently later by Dante.

Now, one other thing to be taken into consideration in connection with the medieval attitude to love is the Provencal tradition of singing of love, as if love was the only pied-à terre for man amid the rush and tear of general existence. Now this love also curiously combined with the Schoolman's reconciling the visibly real with the other-worldly which is only imperfectly perceptible. From the stigma of being considered a disease infecting the soul and atrophying the body, as in most ancients like Ovid and others, love swiftly changed to the First Principle of life in medieval culture. How the change was effected presents a long and intricate history. Perhaps it was because of a reaction against the obviously unsound conception of love held in old times or it also may be due to the fact that the presence of a beautiful and hazel-eyed lady had a soothing effect on knights fighting one another. Anyway people in those days came to look upon love as something very serious and important indeed. And if modern love claims superiority over medieval love in respect of a proper apportioning of values, medieval love is unsurpassed in its specific gravity. The Troubadours of France carried this tradition to Italy because of easy communication with the country lying south of the Alps. The German minnesängers were also imbued with the same spirit and they were in very close touch with the Troubadours of France. The relation that subsisted between them was almost one of action and reaction. Now according to these people no woman without love could be considered a 'dompna' a very high honour indeed; and no man without the same tingle of the spine could be called 'gentil'. Bernart of Ventadour is conspicuous among the Troubadours for giving

expression to this conception of love in many of his love-lyrics, as they ought to be properly called. Now this medieval outlook on love combined with the Platonic and Aristotelianised Christianity of the medieval school had much to do in giving ballast to Dante's treatment of love.

Apart from the fact that Dante, in his *Divina Comedia*, had a fling at many of the social customs of his time and had quite a good many things to say about the theological and astronomical stock-in-trade of the time, and even about the Established Church of Rome, Dante does not fail, in this book, to apotheosise his Beatrice ad absurdum. Dante, in his ascent of heaven, imagines St. John to assure him that Beatrice will do for him what Ananias did for Paul:

“Perchè la Donna che per quèsta dia
region ti conduce, ha nello sguardo
la virtù ch' ebbe la man d' Anania.” *

And then in a moment of unbounded exuberance Dante exclaims:

“E se nature od arte fa' pasture
da pigliore per aver la mente,
in carne umano o nelle sue pitture,
Tutte adunate parrebber niente,
Ver lo piacer divin che rifulse,
quando mi volsi al suo viso ridente.” *

Beatrice, the glorious woman of Dante's mind, is thus viewed not from the standpoint of the physical charm and even 'amore', in the ordinary sense of the term, that she could offer, but from that of her being almost a releasing force of his poetical genius. Dante's imagination wanted a pair of wings to fly on, and Beatrice gave him the wings and flapped them for him. Beatrice could in no case evoke a

* Lines 10—12, *Paradiso* XXVI.

Because the eyes of the Lady, through this land
divine conducting thee, irradiate
the power that was in Anania's hand !

—Translation by Melville B. Anderson.

* Lines 91—96, *Paradiso*, XXVII.

What nature made, or art, to captivate
the eye and give a banquet to the mind
in human flesh real or delineate,
All would appear nothing, though combined,
to the divine enjoyment glowing through me
on turning her smiling face to find.

—Translation by Anderson.

genuine passion in the poet because she was married to some other man and the poet was also comfortably in possession of a good wife. And a little bumping of the heart that the poet experienced in his 'nonage' when he met Beatrice, a very small thing then, could easily subside in a breast, set in tumult, later on, by the polemics of theology and philosophy. One other thing to be taken into consideration is that Dante prized communion with God above everything else, and that in him the thing of the first importance, that is to be noticed, is a mystical apprehension of the reality of divine presence. And Beatrice meant to Dante the concretion of all that was noble and good in life, and even a mirror in which the Divine was to be reflected.

It is only when he is in a retrospective mood that we find our poet considering Beatrice something of a human and speaking about her with a genuine sense of inebriation, in the Italian significance of the term.

"Presi tanta dolcezza che come inebriato mi partio de le genti,"* says our poet in *Vita Nuova*. Then again, in the same book, he threatens to rarefy his mistress, by calling her the glorious woman of his mind (*La gloriosa donna della mia mente*). It thus becomes clear that Dante's loving of Beatrice is, in the eyes of the ordinary man, a kind of trying to catch the 'Blue Bird,' with the anachronic difficulty eliminated, but not the failure inherent in the chase.

Dante was, of course, mystically above the plane of the two-legged beings of the muddy earth to be able to contact Beatrice who, to Dante, only gave a visual and emotional form to the Divine. But, for one who would comprehend and realise love entire, Beatrice is but a shimmer of light in the horizon which recedes as fast as one would try to reach it.

Petrarch, who comes a good second in the metaphysical chase, early in his poetical career, felt a division of mind and seemed to feel that his Laura was not a mere philosophical category. His

"Chiare, fresche e dolci acque,
ove le bella membra
pose colei che sola a me par donna;
gentil ramo, ove piacque

* I came into such sweetness that I parted from thence as one inebriated.

(con sospir mi remembra)
 a lei di fare al bel fianco collona
 erba e fior che las gonna
 leggidra ricoverse
 col' angelico seno;
 aere sacro sereno
 ove Amor co' begli occhi il cor m' aperse;
 date udienza insieme
 a le dolenti mie parole estreme " *

is an unmistakable departure from Dante.

But in the end he becomes almost as full of spiritual fervour as Dante, when Laura is no longer in the land of the living. Petrarch's Laura is not altogether bereft of the touch of the flesh; and the loud sensuality of Boccaccio's poetical output found in Petrarch's departure from Dante a shifting of the "mystical" scene which deprived the poet (Boccaccio) of no latitude whatsoever.

Now, poets of the English Renaissance take up this Petrarchan attitude to love with an enthusiasm which cannot but lead one to the conclusion that they were emotionally starved before. And the fact that a Renaissance poet like Watson, in a good many of his poems, translates lines from Petrarch is sufficient evidence that the Elizabethans were badly in need of good material for poetic treatment. And Petrarch seemed such an enormously rich 'dish' that they swallowed it all, casting all discrimination to the winds. Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney, Watson and quite a good many of the Elizabethan sonneteers move within the narrow groove of Petrarchan idealism. Sidney's

"I do not envy Aristotle's wit,
 Nor do aspire to Caesar's bleeding fame;

* "Clear, cool streams that softly flow
 Where hath no peer on earth below;
 Gracious tree she deigned to bless
 Leaning her sweet body down
 (I must sigh remembering);
 Yet beneath her dainty gown,
 Flowers and grasses covering
 Her angelic bosom over;
 Bless'd and unclouded skies
 Where love opened my heart's door
 With the wonder of her eyes;
 Hearken to the words I sing
 Of my bitter sorrowing."

—Translation by Lorna de' Lucchi.

Nor ought do care though some above me sit;
 Nor hope nor wish another course to frame,
 But that which once may win thy cruel heart;
 Thou art my wit, and thou my virtue art"

betrays an enthusiasm characteristic of the Troubadours. Watson feels as if he is ship-wrecked in life's sea without his beloved's love and says:

"In clouds she shines and so obscurely shineth
 That like a mastless ship at seas I wander,
 For want of her to guide my heart that pineth."

Greene will describe the features of his beloved with characteristic gusto and in an obviously conventional way, as in

"Her tresses gold, her eyes like glassy streams,
 Her teeth are pearl, the breasts are ivory
 of fair Samela."

One other thing to be noticed in connection with the Elizabethan lyrists is that a certain dream-motif, which has a parallel in the French poetry of the Renaissance informs a good deal of their poetry.

Watson does not feel that his love is much of a reality to him, and he will, therefore, like his dreams to continue for long because he meets his beloved only in dreams; and when his sleep breaks off, he exclaims in utter agony, "Such mocks of dreams turn to deadly pain." But then, a reaction soon sets in, and the idealising attitude, of which even Shakespeare is not altogether innocent, is in the process of wearing off in Michael Drayton. His celebrated sonnet opening,

"Since there's no help, come let us kiss and part," suggests a novel approach. And there is a little of wit in it too. The lover's signifying his alienation from his beloved with a last kiss, while a stealthy attempt is made to get hold of her heart again, is a device altogether unknown to the Elizabethan mind. Drayton's

"Love from mine eyes a tear shall never wring,
 Nor in Ah me's my whining sonnets dress'd.
 A libertine, fantastically I sing;
 My verse is the true image of my mind,
 Ever in motion, still desiring change,
 And as thus to variety inclined,
 So in all humours sportively I range;
 My muse is rightly of the English strain
 That cannot long one fashion entertain."

seems to betray a consciousness on his part of the fact that the Petrarchan manner of idealising the mistress was already in the process of palling. The Petrarchan fog was a better thing than the dark clouds of Ovid's sky, but sunshine, a still more glorious thing, was yet to come. And the Apollo of that sunny morning was our poet, John Donne, to give an otherwise bold statement the mythological touch of the Petrarch-derived sonnet-literature of the Elizabethan times. From the stigma of being considered a lesion of the soul to be raised to the status of the only experience that counts in life was, for love, a vast change; but a greater and more remarkable change was to come, and in that change the goddess of love was to reside neither in heaven nor in hell but in the heart of the ordinary man.

Now, John Donne's love poetry has two very clear aspects. In the first place, it consciously rejects the Elizabethan custom of idealising the mistress; in the second, it consciously assigns to itself the task of "realising" the mistress. A good deal of it is conscious caricature as a good deal of it, again, is a conscious revolt against caricature. Donne is a clever and conscious craftsman, but the craft never holds him to a mere trickery of words. In fact, there is an unsurpassed robustness in his poetical outlook, which even Robert Browning cannot fully match. John Donne was a desperate seeker of truth, while Browning had his truth well up his sleeve, and was only anxious to keep the truth from dropping off. His poetical experience was a device more or less to ballast an already accepted truth. Our Donne was constitutionally averse to summarising his faith into a categorical "All's right with the world." Now, this attitude of questioning was the passion that gave colour and tenour to all Donne's poetical effort. And this attitude signifies the revolt of the ordinary man against a theological or philosophical pattern. It will not be amiss here to notice that in the whole range of English literature there is a curious duality of thinking, which is both its weakness and its strength. Christianity with its Judaic basis of unqualified and rigid monotheism was, certainly, in a measure, destructive of real artistic impulse. The literary man thinks in terms of symbols and not of an accepted, rigid article of faith, and the rather robust way in which Christianity was out to stamp out all that was pagan in the literary mind could not but have a deleterious effect on real artistic work. Even the theological accumulation, not of the purely monotheistic brand, which we find in certain of the celebrated works in English

literature could not but make them a little too stodgy and destroy the unity of impression which it is the purpose of art to create. The *Samson Agonistes* of Milton has undoubtedly more of this unity of impression than his *Paradise Lost*. The point that I want to make is not that English literature must wither in the shade of Christianity, but that an unchangeable system of thought tends to destroy the kind of temperament that the artist need have and even the way he has to react to life and nature. Protestantism, of course, set the individual conscience at liberty to interpret the Scripture in its own way; but then zealots of the old school still walked the earth. And our John Donne was ready to do battle with these people for whom the Bastille of dogmas had not fallen. It is characteristic that, even at nineteen years of age, Donne temporarily suspended his studies, as Izaak Walton tells us, in order to determine whether reformed Christianity was good or the orthodox form of it. All this cannot fail to show that Donne's was a vigorous mind out to find truth and find it whole. The fact that, though born and brought up a Catholic, he turned Protestant is sufficient evidence of his passion for truth. And this boldness of approach characterises his love poetry also. We shall now see in what respect he departed from the conventional Elizabethan way of love.

We have already pointed out that a certain dream-motif was a characteristic feature of Elizabethan poetry, specially of Watson. Now against this desire for meeting the beloved in dreams Donne's reaction is complete, as is evident in

" My Dream thou brok'st not, but continued'st it;
 Thou art so true, that thoughts of thee suffice,
 To make dreams truths, and fables his times;
 Enter these arms, for since thou thought'st it best
 Not to dream all my dream, let's act the rest.¹ "

The dream-motive is not altogether dead in Donne, but Donne's attitude to a dream is certainly a different thing from Watson's " Such mocks of dreams turn to deadly pain." The touch of realism in Donne's love is unmistakable, and there is a definite emphasis on " let's act the rest." And it is but natural that for a man who is an active participant in life's most exalted experience, love, the woman

¹ The Dream, Songs and Sonnets.

who possesses his heart must be undeviatingly a woman of flesh and bone. Not for Donne the vague insensible cerebral excitement caused by a momentary dream or the vision of an imaginary beloved to be seen through the vistas that unmeaning clouds offer into an unmeaning, mystic beyond. The pleasure that he seeks to derive is the pleasure not of a sentimental crank nor of a pervert curiously engrossed, pig-like, in mere 'muck', but of one who knows what normal existence is and has the bold conviction that he is above it all. Like the most modern of moderns he knew that love was rooted in sex but could also rise to the level where sex would be forgotten. Leishman rightly suspects that no one before Donne used the word 'sex' in its perfectly modern sense.¹ Now, the fact that quite a good deal of Donne's poetry was caricature of Elizabethan love is well borne out by lines like

"I scarce believe my love to be so pure
As I had thought it was,
Because it doth endure
Vicissitude, and season, as the grass ;
.
Love's not so pure, and abstract, as they use
To say, which have no mistress but their Muse."

Besides being an indictment of the sentimental, romantic attitude to the mistress, the lines do not also fail to show that Donne was highly critical of his impulses. The *ars poetica*, for him, is not rooted in absence of thought, but in a tremendous jostle of diverse, and even conflicting experiences. Donne will be a disappointment for those who will turn to him for things happening in that wonderland where the voice of question is never heard. If the dictum of Matthew Arnold that poetry is the criticism of life is true of the poetry of any Englishman it is certainly the most so of Donne's poetry in the whole range of English literature. Leishman, in his essay on *Metaphysical Poetry*² goes a little too far out of his way, when saying that the literature of the Elizabethan period is a literature of conviction, while the literature of the seventeenth century is a literature of disillusion. Leishman is wrong in seeming to suppose that the conviction of people who think little or do not think at all is a conviction of the first importance. It will be no exaggeration to say that the Elizabethans had very much the same attitude to problems as a child yet

¹ Essay on John Donne, *The Metaphysical Poets*—J. B. Leishman.

² *Ibid.*

unborn has to the light of day. On a study of Elizabethan literature it becomes abundantly clear that England's opportunity for colonial expansion and Renaissance enthusiasm gave the Elizabethan mind such a feeling of things going on jolly well that any deep contemplation could be and really was lulled to sleep. Even Elizabethan drama which a sense of conflict was not altogether absent was unmistakably characterised by an enormous faith in all being splendid and "topping." Tragedy would occasionally intervene, but it was without any bearing on Elizabethan life and only provided a grand variety in dramatic entertainment. Even its moral tone saved it from the incubus of a standing gloom and the Elizabethan audience were too sure of it already to be left to ponder and contemplate. Elizabethan poetry, again, was patently unassailed by any need for serious reflection. If this is conviction, then one might suggest that Leishman has no idea that he himself is without a conviction. Now, we are to consider whether the literature of the seventeenth century expressed any deep sense of disillusion. In order to understand the true spirit of seventeenth century literature one has to go to the thought-background of the time on which it was reared. And our Donne was quickly responsive to any new ideas. The seventeenth century was, in fact, marked by a great revolution in contemporary thinking. The Renaissance passion was given time to quieten down and people could begin to ascertain the nature and even the degree of progress that they had made. Bacon came forward with his inductive logic, a remarkable departure from Aristotelian methods; and shattered our illusions which he properly and forcefully called 'idols.' And political troubles began and there was also a little of fighting between systems of worship, a thing which could not but lead the people to think out whether their accepted truths would stand the test of practical application. On top of all these the rational approach of Descartes was soon to be sighted. The Ptolemaic explanation of the workings of the solar system had gone the way of all flesh, and Copernicus with his theory of the earth revolving round the sun was hailed as being a landmark in the realm of astronomy. All this could not but produce a questioning attitude in the seventeenth century mind and give a foretaste of progress being definitely on the up-grade. One other thing to be noted is that James I's blunders certainly released seventeenth century thinking from the bonds which the sense of security which characterised Elizabeth's reign could not but impose.

It is only when your house is within easy possibility of being raided that you acquire the consciousness of having a house. And a similar thing happened in the seventeenth century, but things were certainly not of bad augury. And John Donne never spoke in the accents of a Cassandra but of a captain who sighted a harbour and snapped his fingers at the angry waves lashing his ship with a boast which was soon to be quenched. Even our poet's wit could not but signify his conviction that his citadel was unassailable. The lines

" So, if I dream I have you, I have you,
For, all joys are but fantastical.
And so I scape the pain, for pain is true;
And sleep which locks up sense, doth lock out all
And after a such fruition I shall wake,
And, but the waking, nothing shall repent;
And shall to love more thankful sonnets make.
Than if more honour, tears, and pains were spent,"

cannot be the utterance of one who is an easy prey to disappointment and anguish. He knows that love is a very complex experience, just like life, with a variety of phases, some of them unquestionably disappointing; but he can contemplate his love with an intellectual balance which was altogether unknown in Elizabethan times. Even his cynicism is just a merry pose of which a man of exceptional powers of contemplation is capable. And then, in spite of his moments of cynical indifference, love to him is the most significant of all experiences, a thing which must shatter the conclusion that the spirit of the literature of the seventeenth century is one of disillusion. The man who would occasionally play truant to his own self and make a joke, as in

" Some tears, that knot of friends, her death must cost,
Because the chain is broke, though no link lost " ¹

was also capable of

" But thou canst not die, I know,
To leave this world behind, is death,
But when thou from this world wilt go,
The whole world vapours with thy breath."

If this is disillusion, then it must cause disillusion about its own job.

¹ *Elegy on Mistress Boulstred.*

Now, as we have already seen, Donne's beloved is an ordinary woman of flesh and bone who shivers and quails and again returns to the arms of her lover, transported by a soft squeeze or a significant look of the eye. She is not an Amoret to be won only with the help of a shield with a picture of Cupid inscribed in it, nor is she to be eternally leaning on the bars of heaven calling a lover on the terrestrial globe in a perfect metaphysical way. She is every inch a woman, and in her love aversion and reciprocation are beautifully blended. The tug-of-war between flesh and soul which is as old as time itself, persists, and in it alone consists the charm and freshness of love. The soul and the body must, of course, co-operate in order to give the touch of completeness to a love-experience, but then a certain sense of duality cannot be altogether banished. And this note of duality is the most fundamental of all notes, and the problem of how to reconcile flesh with soul is the most crucial of life's problems. It is this consciousness of the most vital problem of life which informs Donne's poetry. And it is, therefore, that his love consists of such a great variety of moods. The Elizabethans had a single passion—the passion, let us say, of idealising the mistress. But to Donne love was the vital experience of a man who was out to understand life and understand it correctly. Dante's love for Beatrice was a theological and metaphysical article of faith transformed by a poetical colouring and verve; but Donne's love, though similar to Dante's in seriousness, is infinitely more concrete in fact and various in experience. This can in no way fail to prove that there are more mansions in Donne's mind than could be found in Dante's. This is evidence also of the progress that the seventeenth century has made, since the age of Dante, in its attitude to life and its independence of thinking. As we have already noted, Donne's love must not be viewed as an experience with little or no bearing on other aspects of life. His love is, indeed, a kind of mirror in which the totality of his personality is reflected. And the very fact that the moods of which he makes up a love-experience are various suggests that his attitude to life was, therefore, as completely various. His wit signifies a rare keenness of intellect and novelty of approach. But underlying all these a great striving in him to unify his experiences is unmistakable. The lines

" Love's mysteries in souls do grow,
But yet the body is his book,"

clearly suggest that he was at times very near hitting upon a definite conclusion. But, born in a period of great philosophical unrest, ready to revolt but yet without courage to declare its convictions as unchallengeable, Donne could only loosen the chains of conventional thinking, but failed, inspite of his best efforts, to substitute for it a system as definite and as free from doubt. But the very fact that Donne experienced honest doubts cannot also fail to show that all his feelings proceeded from the bed-rock of sincerity. And what counts in really high poetry is not a well-knit thesis but keenly felt experiences made as keenly articulate. And it is for this alone that Donne's poetry has a sure claim on our aesthetic appreciation.

It will be worth our while, before we conclude, to consider whether the designation 'metaphysical' adequately represents the nature of the poetry of John Donne. There are many who would understand by 'metaphysical' a thing of really metaphysical significance. But then metaphysical poetry can be understood without any ingenuity of mind to convey the sense of a kind of poetry in which a clear approach to the roots of things is discernible. Metaphysical poetry is not a poetry of metaphysics but a poetry in which a consciousness of the incompatibility of matter and spirit and an earnest attempt to remove that incompatibility are displayed. And in Donne's poetry the conflict between matter and spirit takes the form of the conflict between flesh and soul, and this conflict engages our poet's mind in the very same way as the problem of the Many and the One does the metaphysician's. As the metaphysician will pierce the world of appearance and go to the noumenal aspect of things, so will John Donne go to the bed-rock from which his love or religion proceeds. What we are to look for in Donne's poetry is not metaphysical content, but the metaphysical manner; and poetry in order to be poetry has to be definitely other than a mere tract on metaphysics. The very fact that Donne's poetry is analytical almost in a metaphysical fashion justifies our opposition to calling the designation "metaphysical" a misnomer.

One other point will not be beside our scope here. The poetry of modern England has something of the metaphysical attitude of the seventeenth century. The same keenness of sensibility is there and the same seventeenth century manner of focussing various experiences, war, philosophy, economics, etc., into a poetical orb. The felt thought of the seventeenth century is clearly noticeable in poets like Auden,

Spender, Day Lewis and many others. These moderns also try to achieve a unity of thought and sensibility in the manner of the seventeenth century poets. All this suggests scope for good work in this line.

The Vaishnava poetry of India also suggests a striking similarity to seventeenth century poetry. The same metaphysical note is there and the same recognition of flesh and soul in love. But the difference between them is that while the seventeenth century poets only experienced honest doubts, the Vaishnavas evolved a philosophy of their own and related their experiences to that philosophical pattern.

BLANK VERSE IN ORIYA LITERATURE

RADHANATH RAY

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The novelty of Radhanath's *Mahāyātrā* was mainly due not so much to its historicity or its great and noteworthy attempt to relate the national epic of the Hindus, the *Mahābhārata*, to the land of Orissa, but to the new measure of blank verse which, like heady wine, appealed very strongly to the appreciative readers of poetry in Orissa. Sanskrit verse is quantitative. It does not depend for its measure upon the concurrence, or otherwise, of the final syllables at rhythmic and regular intervals; the caesura or *Yati* is regulated by definite rules but does not follow the sense, as in blank verse. So far as lyrics go, Sanskrit measure is an excellent medium. But in epics, which are works of some length, it is bound to pall upon the reader after a time. Hence the ancient law-makers in Sanskrit poetry, who were definite in their instructions on these matters, laid down that the different *Sargas* of an epic poem were to be written in different metres, and even in the same *Sarga* or canto or book, the final verses were to be written in a measure different from the body of the *Sarga*. When Madhusudan Dutt introduced blank verse to the Bengali language, he did it at first on the spur of the moment, half in jest and half in earnest, conscious of the power that burned in him. He tried the measure first in a dramatic work, then in a long poem, and at last in the immortal work, the *Meghnādbadh*. Even that was, to quote his own word, an 'epicling,' not a finished, complete epic. But he succeeded all the same in grafting his blank verse on Bengali language. He declared in answer to enquiries that he had caught the rhythm of the verse from Milton. No doubt he was indebted for the dignity and spiritual content of the poem to Homer but it is very probable that, for the mechanism of his verse, he turned to Milton as to a master.

When Radhanath wrote his *Mahāyātrā* he was probably thinking of Madhusudan's *Meghnādbadh* a poem written about 40 years before Radhanath thought of his blank verse venture. The similarity between the two is striking. Like Madhusudan, Radhanath's first exercises in verse were in a language which enjoyed more prestige than his own mother-tongue. As in Madhusudan's case, it was to an educationist to whom Radhanath looked for approbation and who advised him to a better course. As with Madhusudan so with Radhanath, the projected epic was not completed. The *Meghnādbadh* was only an experiment; an "epicling." In the introduction to the epic *Mahāyātrā*, contributed by Madhusudan Rao, Radhanath's friend and literary adviser, there is a gentle hint that so far as the medium of blank verse was concerned, the cue was taken from Madhusudan Dutt of Bengal.

The new measure owed its success not only to its freedom from rhyme, but also to the dignity of diction which resounds in close correspondence to the content of the poem. But we cannot say that Radhanath's work sustains always, as in the case of Madhusudan, the dignity of the epic, so far as diction goes. Something is no doubt due to the difference in the genius of the two languages. Both of course are deeply indebted to

Sanskritic diction, or *tatsama* words, for their vocabulary. But take the first few lines of the second *Sarga* of *Mahāyātrā*. The style is not so dignified, the syntax is not so closely knit, the harmony is not such as in the case of Madhusudan. Comparisons of particular lines are bound to be more or less misleading, and for the general estimate, the best thing is to depend upon an impressionist study, rather than a detailed examination of the two texts side by side; the latter has not been undertaken as yet, but it must ultimately decide the question at issue.

It may be convenient, however, to refer to certain passages in *Meghnādbadh* for examples of the sonorous and epic diction of Madhusudan. Let us look up the third Canto of the Bengali poem, where Pramila's companion reaches the western gate of Lanka:

Katakshane uttarilā paścima-duāre
Vidhumukhī ekebāre śata śaṅkha-dhārī
Dhvanilā, taṅkāri roshe śata bhima dhanu,
Stri-vrnda ! kānpila Laṅkā ātaṅke ; kānpila
Mātāṅge nishādī ; rathe rathī ; turaṅgame
Sādīvara ; simhāsane rājā ; avarodhe, etc.

The sound is not only an echo to the sense but is also helpful in elevating the temper of the audience, lifting it up to a higher level of life and the imagination. Or take a single line in the same Canto where Hanuman is sternly greeted by Pramila's companion. *Kodaṇḍa taṅkāri roshe kahilā huṅkāre*. It is a perfect line, resonant with epic energy and diction. Madhusudan's achievement is all the more wonderful when we remember and realise that Sanskrit, and for that matter Bengali, was a new language to him. The arrangement of words with a view to eliciting a deep musicality from them was thus a feat which only can be explained by attributing it to the poet's genius; we have to understand in a new sense that poets are born, and not made. It is not possible to find out from Radhanath's poem that rise and fall of words which one learns to associate with Madhusudan. Radhanath knew his Sanskrit and his Oriya all right, he had not the handicap under which Madhusudan might be imagined to labour; but at the same time he could not handle the bow of Ulysses to the same effect. In vain may we look into his verses for the harmony which comes from a march of words answering to some deep-seated tune which must come from the poet's heart. Madhusudan, it must be admitted, was a master at his craft of weaving his words into a *Murchchhanā*, the *Āroha* and *Abaroha* of words is so natural in his lines.

In the introduction to the *Mahāyātrā* contributed by the poet's friend Madhusudan Rao already referred to, and which should be read by all students of the Oriya epic, there are two statements which require some observation; one is his note that all the poems written in Sanskrit have been composed in various *Amṛitākshar* chhandas; this in our opinion is out of place so far as Sanskrit goes, because in Sanskrit verse there is no question of rhyme and its absence, the verse, (as we have said) being quantitative in nature. The other remark of Madhusudan Rao which may be taken exception to is regarding the unpoetic utterances that are possible in rhyme. This is later on corrected by the distinguished writer who affirms that poetry does not depend for its excellence either on rhyme or on blank verse. Certainly it is the "divine" right of poetasters to exhibit their "gifts" both in rhyme and blank verse.

Radhanath was the pioneer in introducing blank verse to Oriya language and it is therefore necessary to study the innovation and its nature in comparison to the great Bengali pioneer, Madhusudan, who was probably the model for Radhanath. Madhusudan Dutt's fame in this respect was fairly noised abroad ; Bhudeb Mukherji, who acted as a mentor to Radhanath at a critical period of his life, was an intimate friend of the Bengali poet, having been associated with him since their school days ; Madhusudan Rao in his introduction stresses the closeness of the two languages, Bengali and Oriya. These are the external factors, while the internal resemblances between the Bengali and the Oriya epic will go further to establish the case for Dutt's influence on the Oriya poet. It is to be hoped that the detailed biography of Radhanath which it is understood, is in the press, will contain positive indications for confirming this view.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Donation To Visva-Bharati

His Excellency Tai Chi Tao, President of the Examination Yuan and member of the State Council of the National Government of China, who headed the Chinese Goodwill Mission to India last year, has, it is understood, donated a sum of Rs. 10,000 to the Visva-Bharati, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's Institution at Santiniketan.

The donation is to be utilised for rural uplift work organised by the Visva-Bharati, for building dormitories as well as for the improvement of the *Cheena Bhawan*.

Physical Welfare of Students

It is understood that the Government of the Central Provinces have decided to abolish the scheme sponsored by the Congress Ministry to organise the physical welfare of the students.

Madras Technical Terms Committee

The Government of Madras have constituted special committees for Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Kannada and Urdu languages to implement the recommendations of the Technical Terms Committee, which the Government had already accepted. The Government desire that the committees should begin work as soon as possible so that final lists of technical terms in the languages may be ready before the beginning of the next school year.

Travancore University

The University of Travancore has recognized the degrees awarded by the University of Dacca, as equivalent to those of the Travancore University.

Indian Forest College

Of the sixteen students who have passed out of the Indian Forest College after completing their two years' course, two obtained the Honours Diploma and the remaining fourteen the Pass Diploma, according to the Progress Report of the Indian Forest College, Dehra Dun, for the year 1939-40. Four of the students were from the United Provinces, two each from Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Hyderabad (Deccan) and Kashmir and one each from Orissa and Kotah.

Only students with high educational qualifications and excellent health and moral character, who are assured gazetted appointments on their successfully completing the course, are admitted to the College and their training expenses are mostly borne by the Provincial Governments or the States concerned.

The course of studies, which extends over two years, comprises both theoretical and practical training. Tours, which occupy nearly one half of the available time, are arranged in selected areas in various parts of India. During these tours, the students not only study the forests and their silviculture and management but are also required to do cleanings and thinnings, nursery and plantation work with their own hands.

Exploitation Engineering and Utilisation are also studied on tour, including extraction by elephants, gravity and mechanical tramways, ropeways and skidders, floating and rafting. Large commercial saw-mills, railway carriage and wagon workshops and paper, resin and match factories are also visited and studied.

The Indian Forest College was opened in May, 1938, for the training of students in the Superior Forest Services of the various Provinces and States of India, and is housed in the Forest Research Institute building at Dehra Dun. The museums, laboratories, workshops, libraries, etc., of the Forest Research Institute form an important part of the College and are available for consultation and use by the students.

This College is quite distinct from the old Imperial Forest College at Dehra Dun, which continues under its new name of "Indian Forest Ranger College" to train ranger students. The Indian Forest College takes the place of the Forest Schools at Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh so far as the training of officers for the Indian superior services is concerned.

The first course ended in March, 1940, and for the second course (1940-42) which began in April, 1940, the number of students has increased to twenty.

Miscellany

AMERICA AND EAST ASIA

In trade alone the value of the imports and exports between the United States and the region including China, Indo-China, the Philippine Islands, the Netherlands East Indies and Malaya generally exceeds in the aggregate the trade between these countries and either Japan or Great Britain, says D. H. Cole.

Thus, in 1937 which was a comparatively normal year (in an area where little has been normal since 1931), the United States' imports from this region were valued at £120,000,000 and her exports to it £40,000,000. During the same year the Japanese imports were £36,000,000 and exports £41,000,000, while the comparable British figures were £30,000,000 and £24,000,000. Thus American trade was about twice the value of Japanese trade and three times that of British trade.

A great deal of the immense total of American imports from this area (which, in fact, amount to one-fifth of the value of all the imports of the United States) is made up of tin and rubber from the Netherlands East Indies and Malaya, but quite considerable parts of it are imports of hemp, copra and vegetable oils from Philippine Islands and tea, raw silk, oil seeds, metal and minerals (particularly antimony) from China.

Turning to the Netherlands East Indies itself, an area in which Japan is displaying an ominous degree of interest, it is found that Japanese imports from those islands only amount to £12,000,000 while the imports of the United States are about double that amount.

A similar situation exists as regards investments. The United States' investments in the Netherlands East Indies are estimated at £25,000,000; those of Japan at less than half that amount.

Japan wants the East Indies because of their resources of tin, rubber and petroleum. At present she can purchase these in an open market but she does not want an open market.

The only territorial interests which the United States possess in East Asia are the Philippine Islands and the island of Guam, both of which were obtained from Spain in 1899 after the Spanish-American War. The population of the Philippines, 14,000,000, about double that of all the British territories in East Asia, *viz*, Hon Kong, British Borneo and Sarawak and British Malaya; the area is only slightly less.

At present the Philippines enjoy "Dominion Status" and they are called "The Commonwealth of the Philippines" but American garrisons still occupy eight centres of military importance and there is an American naval base at Cavite. The Tydings McDuffie Act passed by Congress in 1934 provides for the withdrawal of the American garrison and the complete independence of these islands by 1946.

Now, the whole matter of independence has become less certain. The Filipinos, at one time enthusiastic supporters of it, now realize the perils which surround them and their helplessness to meet those dangers if the sheltering arm of the United States were to be withdrawn.

The islands are important producers of hemp, copra, cocoanut and sugar. There are considerable resources of iron ore, gold, manganese, chromite, coal and asbestos. Petroleum has been found in several localities. Many of the islands are thinly populated and less than one-quarter of the area suitable for cultivation is at present cultivated.

Add to these tempting incentives to a Great Power seeking to expand the facts that the most northerly island is only 65 miles from Formosa and that there are already many Japanese farm colonies in the islands, and the present lack of enthusiasm for independence on the part of the Filipinos is understandable.

It is clear that Japan might well feel it undesirable to pursue a drastic southwards policy leaving a great American possession with naval and air bases almost across her lines of communication.

The other American possession close to Eastern Asia is the small island of Guam 1,500 miles east of Manila and at the southern extremity of the Mariana Islands which were mandated to Japan at the end of the last war. Guam is an American naval station and potential naval and air base on the line of communication from the United States to the Philippines. It is also an air port on the Trans-Pacific air route operated by Pan-American Airways.

It lies in the centre of the Japanese archipelagoes and within 1,500 miles of the main Japanese islands. That the United States has no intention of relinquishing this possession is evident from the decision made in 1939 to strengthen its defences and also to establish a supporting air base at Wake Island 1,500 miles to the northeast.

But American interests in the Far East are far from being merely commercial and territorial. Particularly with China there are strong philanthropic, social and cultural bonds. American mission societies have for many years past been in the forefront of the medical and educational advancement of China.

Many of the hospitals, schools, colleges and universities in China owe their existence to the generosity of subscribers throughout the length and breadth of the United States. Every year there is a large movement of students from Chinese colleges to American universities. On completing their education there they return to their own country imbued with American ways of thought and values.

As Mr. Stimson has pointed out, "the interest which this missionary and philanthropic activity has evoked throughout the United States has the effect that American opinion follows with a peculiar interest and sympathy the attempt of the Chinese people to achieve national unity and economic progress." It has also, it might be added, increased that distrust of Japanese policy which has been evident in the United States since the violent occupation of Manchukuo in 1931.

The chief immediate strategic interest of the United States is, of course, the defence of the Commonwealth of the Philippines until such time as it receives independence. A Japanese southward thrust to the Netherlands East Indies past the Philippines could not leave the United States unaffected.

It would establish round that American possession a ring of Japanese controlled territory and Japanese naval bases and make it practically incapable of being defended. If Japan were to pursue the same policy with regard to French territory in the Pacific the danger would strike nearer home to the United States itself.

The French-owned Marquesas Group in the South Seas might be used as a naval base from which to harass Panama Canal traffic; the little French possession, Clipperton Island, lies less than 1000 miles from that Canal.

Finally, there is the important military obligation on the United States of defending the lives and property of her own citizens in the Far East. In the International Settlement of Shanghai (which is International and not British) there are many American citizens and investments to the tune of over £30,000,000; there are also American Marines as part of the defence of the Settlement and American members on its governing Municipal Council.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

HUMAN ECOLOGY AS A BRANCH OF SOCIOLOGY

Evidences that many sociologists accept human ecology as a division of sociological theory may be found in the following facts: (1) the American Sociological Society has instituted a Division of Human Ecology; (2) standard treatises on fields of sociology list human ecology as an important branch of sociological theory; (3) several sociological texts contain chapters or divisions on human ecology, (4) digests of current sociological literature and lists of research projects usually include human ecology as a major heading; (5) reputable sociologists offer courses under the title of human ecology; and (6) a few outstanding sociologists, notably McKenzie and Park, explicitly deny the identity of human ecology with other traditional academic subjects, and by implication at least, designate it as a branch of sociology.

Sociologists typically emphasize the study of human interrelations as the center of interest in their ecological studies. Park writes, for example, that "it is not man but the community, not man's relations to the earth he inhabits, but his relation to other men, that concerns . . . (sociological students of human ecology) most." McKenzie emphasizes this:

"Human ecology differs from demography and human geography in that its main object of attention is neither the population aggregate nor the physical-cultural habitat, but rather the relations of men."

This notion that human ecology centers in the study of human interrelations appears in many guises throughout sociological literature. Descriptions of human ecology as the study of community, of natural areas, or of the ecological concept of position, imply relationship either within a sustenance chain or within a complex web of spatially distributed men or institutions. Many authors emphasize human interrelations when they place the concepts of *competition*, *ecological interaction*, or *symbiosis* at the heart of ecological study. Other authors declare respectively that human ecology studies (1) patterns of spatial and temporal relations brought about through influences of the environment, (2) interrelated human being- and institutions, (3) effects of environment upon human groupings, and (4) the "communal organism." If, therefore, sociology is defined as the study of forms and processes of human interrelations, if human ecology centers in the study of human interrelations, some logical ground exists for regarding the latter as falling within the broader field of the former.

The present author cannot accept the point of view that human ecology falls exclusively within the field of sociology. This narrow limita-

tion of the field seems unwarranted in the light both of traditional definitions of ecology and of standard usage in other disciplines. An unprejudiced observer would probably conclude that human geography which unquestionably studies problems of man's relation to environment has greater justification for exclusive use of the term human ecology than does sociology. Unless, therefore, sociologists include (1) all of human geography, (2) a part of biology and (3) a part of economics within the ecological branch of their own discipline, they have no sound basis for declaring that human ecology belongs wholly to sociology as a subdivision of the latter.—J. A. Quinn in the *American Sociological Review*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

CULTURE AS WORLD-CONQUEST

Culture and civilization are identical or synonymous terms. The distinction is generally made in Germany where *Kultur* is taken to be more profound, more creative and more substantial than civilization. In France, as a rule, scientists and *les hommes des lettres* fight shy of the word "culture." To them the sweetest word is *la civilisation française*. Italians are like the French in this respect. Italy does not care for *la coltura* so much as for *la civilizzazione*. In English thought the custom continues to be more or less French although the German term and ideology were introduced by Matthew Arnold among others. American intellectuals have not gone in definitely for one way or the other. They use culture and civilization indifferently. Those contemporary Eur-American sociologists or philosophers who want to exhibit their uptodateness in German vocabulary, especially the ideologies propagated by Spengler, have to refer to the distinctions observed in Germany by way of preliminary observations. But they virtually ignore them as they proceed unless they happen to be exponents of the Spenglerian or some allied thesis.

Culture or civilization is really nothing but Sanskrit or virtually All-Indian *kṛṣṭī*, *saṃskṛti* or *sabhyatā*. It is a synonym for the creations of man, whatever they are, good, bad or indifferent. We do not have to attach any moral significance to the word. Culture or civilization is to be treated as entirely un-moral, carrying no appraisal of values, high or low. One may take it as a term describing the results of human creativity.

Any creation of man being culture, the most important item in it is the force behind culture, the culturemaking agency, the factor that produces or manufactures culture. The analysis of culture or civilization is nothing but the analysis of man's creative urges, energies or forces. It is the will that creates, it is the intelligence that creates, and perhaps likewise it is the emotion that creates. The first thing that counts in the human personality, in the individual or group *psyche* is the desire or ambition to create. And the second thing certainly is the power to create. In culture or world-culture we are interested in this desire or ambition of man and in this power of man to create.

It is the nature of human creativity to be endowed with interhuman impacts, good or bad. Social influence is to be postulated of creation as such. Every creation exerts automatically an influence upon the neighbourhood. The influence may be beneficial or harmful. The creation is perhaps only the production of a food plant, a cave-dwelling, an earthen pot, a song or a story. But the creator influences the neighbour as a matter

of course. His work evokes the sympathy or antipathy of the men and women at hand or far-off. It thus dominates the village, the country and the world, be the manner or effect of domination evil or good. Creation is essentially domination. To create is to conquer, to dominate. No domination, no creativity.

The desire and the power to dominate is then the fundamental feature in every creative activity, in every expression of culture. In every culture we encounter the desire to dominate and the power to dominate. The quality, quantity and variety of men and women who have the desire and the power to dominate set the limits of the culture-making force in a particular region or race. In order to be able to make a culture or possess an epoch in world-culture the region or race must have a large number of varied men and women effectively endowed with this desire and power to dominate.

The term "world" in world-culture is not to be taken too literally so as to encompass all the four quarters of the universe and all the two billions of human beings. The smallest environment of an individual is his world. As soon as he has created something his culture has influenced the neighbour. It may then be said already to have conquered the world and made or started an epoch. It is clear that the words, conquest and domination, are not being used in any terroristic, terrifying or tyrannical sense. There is nothing sinister in these words, nothing more sinister at any rate than in the words, influence or conversion.

Once in a while, or very often, it may so happen that while your creation or culture is influencing, converting, conquering or dominating your neighbour, his creation or culture is likewise at the same time influencing, converting, conquering and dominating you. This sort of mutual influence, mutual conversion, reciprocal conquest or reciprocal domination is a frequent, nay, an invariable phenomenon in inter-human contacts. Hardly any religious conversion of a large group in the world's history has been one-sided. It has as a rule led to a give-and-take between two systems of cult. "Acculturation" or the acceptance and assimilation of one culture by a region or race of another culture furnishes innumerable instances of this mutuality in domination or reciprocity in conquest. But that the essential item in culture is influence, conversion, conquest or domination is however never to be lost sight of.

The position is, then, very simple. Whenever this man over here or that man over there be in a position to influence another man, his neighbour, we have to say that the other man has been converted or conquered by this man. Whenever we find that one group of human beings has made an invention or a discovery and when that invention or that discovery has been accepted by another group as an invention or discovery that is likely to be useful we should say that the first group has made an epoch in world-culture.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books:

The Jaina Iconography (Vol. II of **Indian Images**).—By Lrindaban Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., F.R.C.S. (Edin.), F.A.R.U. (Vizianagram), Professor, Benares Hindu University, etc., etc. Pp. 3 + a, b + 4 + 192 + x; with 26 Plates. Printed in Lahore, and published by Motilal Banarsidas, Sanskrit Booksellers, Said Mitha Street, Lahore. 1939. Price Rs. 10.

While Indian iconography in its Brahmanical and Buddhistic forms has received its share of attention from scholars both Indian and European, and we are fortunate possessors of a number of important works on the subject like Gopinatha Rao's *Hindu Iconography*, H. Krishna Sastri's *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Nalini Kanta Bhattacharya's *Sculpture in East Bengal*, and Foucher, Getty, and Binaytosh Bhattacharyya's standard works, among others, Jaina iconography, representing the third great expression of the Hindu or Ancient and Medieval Indian spirit, in its imagining in terms of the human figure the seen and the unseen, and in its creative artistic skill, has not received adequate notice. The reason is not far to seek. Brahmanical and Buddhistic iconography deals with gods and goddesses who are very living figures;—they are endowed with the warmth of personality, and they actively take part in man's life in his joys and sorrows, his hopes and fears. Siva and Umā, Vishṇu and Śrī, Kumāra and Vallī, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya and the rest, and even the older gods like Indra and Varuṇa, Uśhas and Sachi, are not mere lifeless abstractions: with their myths and legends, their romance and their philosophy, they present facets as varied and as full of light and colour as life itself. The same may be said of the Buddhist deities—of the Mahāyāna in past days and the present. The Buddha is there—his story with its palpitating life; and the Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, the Mañjuśrī and the Maitreyas of later times, who still rule the hearts of the people of Tibet and Mongolia, of China, Korea, Japan and Annam, whether as Chen-re-shi or Dol-ma, as Kuan-yin or Pu-tai, as Kwannon or Miroku.

But the Jaina pantheon lacks the human side of godhead, which alone can make godhead a living thing and a power among men. The twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras dominate the field; and the sameness of their seated or standing position makes of them the embodiment of an idea rather than the representation of a person. Only Pārśva and Mahāvīra, with their great stories, seem to present a point of contact with the ordinary life of men. The gods and goddesses are subordinate to the Jinas. There was no active opposition to the gods as such, but there has been an attitude of neglect from the leaders of Jaina thought, who pinned their faith on the life of contemplation and austerity rather than on faith in some divinity. Yet the gods were too much in evidence—among the people, whether Brahmanical, Buddhist or Jaina—in both their philosophical outlook and their social life. The teaching of the Jaina ācāryas or masters and their example did not help to establish the cult of any divinity, male or female. Reduced to the position of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs or subordinate angels, or of mere Dikpālas or guardians of the various quarters or directions, or of Śruta-devīs and Vidyā-devīs, i.e., spirits of learning and wisdom, who had no help to offer in making man attain to salvation, a Gomukha-yakṣa or an Ambikā-yakṣiṇī, an Indra or a Brahmā, a Sūrya or a Gaurī could not

evoke the passionate homage of a devotee in the way that Siva, Durgā and Viṣṇu, and Avalokiteśvara and Tārā were able to do among Brahmanists and Buddhists. Very rarely does a Jaina layman feel attracted by the saving grace and the helping or comforting personality of the gods and goddesses who surround the central being, the Jina or Tirthaṅkara; his devotion goes out to some Tirthaṅkara rather than to a *Yakṣa* or *Yakṣiṇī*, and even then he appears to be less moved by a Tirthaṅkara than is a Hindu by the figure of Siva or Viṣṇu, or is a Buddhist by the figure of Avalokiteśvara or even by that of Sākya-muni himself.

Jainism, revelling in images of gods and goddesses almost as much as Brahmanism, presents a paradox: in the midst of gods, it is a religion without gods. One feels tempted to compare Jainism with Islam in this matter. The angels (*mal'aks*, or *firishtas*) are there in Islam, with their names, attributes and unctious, which would practically give them the status of gods in some other religion: thus there are the four Archangels, called *Karubiyūn* (or cherubim), whose names and functions are given—*Jabrā'il* who brings revelations, '*Azrā'il*' who is the angel of death, *Isrā'īl* who will sound the trumpet on the last day, and *Mikā'il*: there are the Recording Angels, and Examining Angels, and Chief Angel in charge of Hell. There are the *jīns* or giants and devils in Islam, also with other names, attributes and functions, and there are the saints, the *Shaikhs* or *Pīrs*, in practical life whose intervention is sought for by the faithful, particularly in Turkey, in Iran and in India. The *mal'aks* or angels, *jīns* or spirits good or evil, and *pīrs* or saints, all with their stories and legends, form a true mythology—although a very restricted one—even in monotheistic Islam; but this mythology (except for the saints) does not make a follower of Islam feel the exaltation of faith, although he does not question its existence in so far as it is admitted by the 'Holy Book.' It is almost like that in official Jainism—although some Jains might feel the devotional or spiritual appeal of the recognised gods. There is no Jain temple or chapel where a divinity other than a Jina forms the presiding image or central object of worship. Even in the Roman Catholic Church the various saints are more like real living gods than are the gods in Jaina mythology.

Owing to the above reason, mythology and the stories of the gods, and their attributes and poses with their meanings, are removed from the life of the people. They are found in books; the learned men can tell us a good deal from the old texts on the images and the deities. The scene that we see in a Hindu temple—the worshipper or the pilgrim eagerly following a legend of the gods or heroes in the sculptures or paintings on the walls, and narrating the story to those who are less informed, is not found in a Jaina sanctum. The gods are unnamed for the mass of the worshippers—rarely will a lay worshipper be able to tell you what a temple figure means, although he is alive about the Jina images; they are only decorative.

The Jain sculptors and painters, under the direction of the Jaina *ācāryas* who inspired the building of temples, the painting of pictures and the writing of MSS. illumined with miniatures, took fullest advantage of these gods and goddesses as decorative or iconographical figures. As the images of a faith in a different setting, they are well worth a study. Frequently, they are popular gods—the *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣiṇīs*—of ancient times who could not be excluded. They are also the Common Gods of ancient India, inherited equally by Brahmanist, Buddhist and Jaina. Sometimes they are due to the impact of later Brahmanical Hinduism on the Jains: we have in this way some Tantric deities recognised by Jaina

teachers. And they are also creations of later Jainism, sometimes recognised by one only of the two sects (Digambaras and Svetāmbaras), and ignored by the other.

I think Jaina iconography was neglected mainly because the Jaina gods are not endowed with the vitality of Brahmanical and Buddhist gods; they are not on the forefront in Jain religious life, they belong rather to Jaina art. The latter subject has attracted the notice of specialists in art. We may mention Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Dr. Norman Brown of Philadelphia University, and Mr. Sarabhai Manilal Nawab, whose sumptuous work in Gujarati, the *Jaina-Citra-Kalpadruma*, forms one of the best introductions to the subject. Jaina iconography is as old as Jaina art; it goes back to the centuries immediately before Christ. It is a subject most lavishly illustrated in medieval and modern sculpture: specially in the magnificent Jaina temples of Gujarat and Rajputana, and in Jaina MSS. from the same parts of India. It is a distinctive thing by itself.

We are now glad to obtain in Prof. Bhattacharyya's *Jaina Iconography* the first comprehensive work on the subject. It is a pioneer work filling a long-felt want, and as a pioneer work there may be mistakes, particularly of omission. Mr. Bhattacharyya has had to draw upon the texts, printed and in MSS, and to make personal investigations into the images, comparing them with the texts. Prof. Bhattacharyya's chapter-headings will indicate the scope of his work: Introduction, pp. 1-35; Chapter I—The Tirthaṅkaras, pp. 36-90; Chapter II and Chapter III, the Yakṣas and the Yakṣiṇīs, pp. 91-119 and 120-47; Chapter IV, the Dik-pālas, pp. 147-57; Chapter V, the Nava-grahas, pp. 157-62; Chapter VI, Śruta-devīs and Vidyā-devīs, pp. 163-77; Chapter VII, Miscellaneous Jaina Divinities (Nāgameśa, Kṣhetrapāla, Gaṇeśa, Śrī or Lakṣmī, the peculiar Svetāmbara conception of Śānti-devī, as well as the 64 Yoginīs), pp. 178-84; and Chapter VIII, Āsanas and Mudrās, pp. 185-89. There is a short Appendix explaining some Jaina symbols and technical terms, and an Index of Names. Prof. Bhattacharyya has done his work well. He has already proved his capacity by his previous books and papers on the subject of Indian iconography.

Jaina images in their static and essentially decorative quality appear a little lifeless beside Brahmanical and Buddhist images. No great creation comparable to the Mahābalipuram, Ajanta, Ellora and Elephanta masterpieces can be attributed to Jainism. Yet it has given a great figure like the Gomateśvara at Sravana Belgola in Mysore, and it has given a distinctive art of the miniature; and some of the medieval sculptures are beautiful, among which I may mention the Śruta-devī from Pullu in Bikaner (Plate XX in Prof. Bhattacharyya's book), and some small bronze figures I have seen in Nagpur Museum.

Jaina iconography, in order to be a fruitful subject of study both in art history and in the development of Indian religion, should be in comparison with the Brahmanical pantheon and images. Lack of space probably made Professor Bhattacharyya confine himself to what we get from Jaina sources alone. The well-illustrated and useful study of Ambikā-Devī by Mr. Umakant Premchand Shah of the Oriental Institute, Baroda (in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IX, Part 2, September, 1940) would have been more valuable if the Brahmanical affinities and connexions of such a popular deity as the Mother with the Child had been indicated. It may be hoped that in a subsequent edition or work Prof. Bhattacharyya will give some attention to this important aspect of the question.

On the whole, Prof. Bhattacharyya can be congratulated on giving us this very useful work. I hope the Jain community in India which

possesses both the culture necessary for appreciating the value of studies of this sort and the means to foster these studies will now help the preparation and publication of a properly documented work on the subject, comprehensive as well as comparative, which in both its text and its plates may be an authoritative work and corpus of Jaina iconographic art of importance for some time to come.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Pali-jatakavallh.—By Pandit Batuknath Sharma, M.A., Sāhityopādhyāya, Head of the Sanskrit Department, Benares Hindu University, Benares: forming No. 139 in the *Maṇimālā* series (Sāhitya, Section 6). Published by Master Khelarilal and Sons, Sanskrit Book Depot, Kachauri Gali, Benares City. 1940. Pp. 10+5+171. Price Re. 1.

This is a noteworthy book in some ways. A students' selection from the Pali *jātakas*, it is prescribed for the *Sāhitya-śāstrī* examination of the Government Sanskrit College, Benares, thus indicating the inclusion of Pali in the orthodox curriculum for Sanskrit. As it is meant primarily for those who confine themselves to Sanskrit and the Vernacular only and do not ordinarily take up English, the Introductions are in Sanskrit, and the Pali texts, printed in the Devanagari character, have their Sanskrit *chāyā* (Sanskrit translations rather than corresponding forms or equivalents have been given in some cases) on the page opposite. In the second Introduction Pandit Batuknathji has discussed the origin of Pali and that of the word *Pali*. He is content to call it 'Buddhist Magadhi,' and the word *Pali* he does not etymologise—the word meant *texts*, and then the language came to take up this epithet. He has given a sketch of the contents of the *Piṭakas* and the nature of the *Jātakas*. Sanskrit analysis of the stories selected occur, and after the texts (with the Sanskrit *chāyā*) are given selections from the Pali commentary *Jātakattha-vappanā*, a Hindi translation of the texts, a short Pali grammar and a vocabulary. The book will form a very helpful introduction to Pali for Sanskrit and Hindi readers, and is a welcome addition to the growing literature for Pali studies in India. Pandit Batuknath is a very sympathetic student of Buddhism and Pali, and his little book is the proper type of guide to Pali which can stimulate interest in Buddhist studies in our Pandits and Shastris.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Swapna-Sadh.—By Humayun Kabir. Published by D. M. Library, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-12.

Sathi.—By Humayun Kabir. Published by D. M. Library, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

The two volumes of poetry which are now going through their second edition were written by Mr. Humayun Kabir during 1924-1930 while he was still a student either at Calcutta or at Oxford. The "Swapna-Sadh" and "Sathi" contain between them nearly a hundred poems, some of which are translations from English poets like Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats and Browning.

In spirit and craftsmanship Mr. Kabir's poetry bears a close affinity to Tagore's work. He is, however, entirely original in his way of looking

at things. If he has no fresh ideas to communicate, he can be depended upon to tell us effectively what we know and feel without being able to express adequately. His language has an easy flow and he is often bright and distinguished in his phrasing. Mr. Kabir's primary theme is love and whatever may be the subject he chooses to write upon, it draws him on with tender despair to impart a strong personal element to his poems which become romantic and lyrical by his passion and sincerity. Mr. Kabir's ideas, so far as we can see them in his poems, appear to have been influenced by Shelley to whom he dedicates some beautiful verses. Mr. Kabir's poetry, containing as it does an undertone of sadness, reveals nevertheless a courageous spirit which believes in looking forward instead of luxuriating in sorrow which benumbs and robs one of the power to work.

Of the translations, a few have been done with great skill and success. Wordsworth's "To a Distant Friend," Shelley's "To the Night," and Keats's "La Belle Dame Sans Merci" are among the poems which Mr. Kabir has rendered in verses which preserve in a substantial measure the beauty of their originals. Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind" has also been offered in metrical garb in Bengali and the translator has shown his power in the swift passion of his verses which incarnate as it were the spirit of the famous poem.

Mr. Kabir's two volumes of poetry will be read with genuine pleasure by all lovers of literature. The clear unaffected language in which these poems have been written is an additional attraction for those of us who fail to enjoy the metaphysical tendencies of contemporary Bengali poetry.

S. C. S.

Ourselfes

[I. Tagore Law Professor for 1941.—II. A New D.Sc. (Public Health).—
III. Kalyankumar Mukherjee Scholarship for 1941.—IV National Academy of
Sciences.—V. Government Sanctions Re-appointment of Ramtanu Lahiri Professor
of Bengali.—VI. University Nominee on the Rampran Gupta Prize Committee.—
VII. Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for 1940.—VIII. Imperial Council of
Agricultural Research.—IX. Prabashi Banga Sahitya Sammilan, Allahabad.—
X. Garga Samhita, a work on Hindu Astronomy.]

I. TAGORE LAW PROFESSOR FOR 1941

Sir N. N. Sircar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, sometime Advocate-General of Bengal and Law Member to the Government of India, has been appointed Tagore Law Professor for the year 1941, to deliver a course of lectures on "The Law of Arbitration with special reference to British India."

* * *

II. A NEW D.SC. (PUBLIC HEALTH)

Mr. S. Raghavender Rao has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science (in Public Health) by a thesis entitled "Studies on the Epidemiology of Plague." Mr. Rao's written, oral and practical examination was conducted by Lt.-Col. S. S. Sokhey, M.A., B.Sc., M.D., D.T.M. & H., I.M.S., and Major C. L. Pasricha, M.A., M.B., B.Ch., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., I.M.S.

We congratulate Dr. Rao on his success.

* * *

III. KALYANKUMAR MUKHERJEE SCHOLARSHIP FOR 1941

The last date for submitting applications for the Kalyankumar Mukherjee Research Scholarship has been fixed to be the 30th June, 1941. The following subjects have been selected for investigation by candidates who wish to compete for the scholarship:—

- (i) Tuberculosis as a Community Disease.
- (ii) Nutritional Disease in Children up to the Age of Two.

The Scholarship was founded in 1936 for the promotion of medical research and is open only to graduates of the Calcutta University. The successful candidate will receive a non-recurring research grant of about Rs. 750 only.

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IV. NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the National Academy of Sciences was held at the University Hall, Delhi, on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th February, 1941. The good wishes of this University have been conveyed to the Academy.

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V. GOVERNMENT SANCTIONS RE-APPOINTMENT OF RAMTANU LAHIRI PROFESSOR OF BENGALI

The Government of Bengal has sanctioned the re-appointment of Rai Khagendranath Mitra, Bahadur, M.A., as Ramtanu Lahiri Professor of Bengali from 1st March, 1941 to 31st May, 1942.

Professor Mitra has held the Chair since 1932.

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VI. UNIVERSITY NOMINEE ON THE RAMPRAN GUPTA PRIZE COMMITTEE

At the request of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, the University has appointed Prof. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., as its representative to serve on the Committee which will proceed to the selection of a suitable person for the award of the Rampran Gupta Prize.

• • •

VII. DEBENDRANATH-HEMLATA GOLD MEDAL FOR 1940

The Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal, which is annually awarded to the Post-Graduate student who passes his final examination

(M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., M.D., D.L., M.L., M.O., or M.S.), with the best of health, has been awarded to Mr. Sunil Krishna Dutt, M.D. The award is for the year 1940.

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VIII. IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

At the request of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, to select a suitable Animal Geneticist for inclusion in its Animal Breeding Committee, our University has forwarded the name of Dr. S. P. Raychaudhuri, a Lecturer in the University College of Science.

Our University has given its consent to the appointment of Prof. S. P. Agharkar as a member of the Botanical Committee under the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi.

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IX. PRABASHI BANGA SAHITYA SAMMILAN, ALLAHABAD

Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A., has been nominated as the representative of this University on the Examination Board of the Prabashi Banga Sahitya Sammilan, Allahabad.

• • •

X. GARGA SAMHITA, A WORK ON HINDU ASTRONOMY

Our University is making arrangements for making copies of two manuscripts of "Garga Samhita," an unpublished work on Hindu Astronomy, one available in the Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta, and the other in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The work goes back to the period between 1400 B. C. and 500 A. D. and has great historical significance owing to the light which it will throw on the development of Hindu Astronomy independent of Babylonian and Greek influences.

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General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, Vol. I, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A. Demy 4to pp. 180 + vii.

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MARCH, 1941

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34. Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement 1937.
35. University Question Papers for the year 1933.
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43. Vedantadarsan-Advaitabad, by Dr. Asutosh Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.
44. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
45. Rasekharer Padavali, edited by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., and Dwareschandra Sarmacharyya.
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57. **Upanisader Alo (Revised Edition)**, by Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
58. **University Calendar for the year 1941**.
59. **Kamala Lectures**, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A., B.L.
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62. **Hegeler Darsanik Matabad**, by Prof. N. N. Sengupta, M.A.
63. **Poetry, Monads and Society**, by Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.), M.L.A.
64. **Dakshinatya**, by Mr. Lalitkumar Chatterjee.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

I. INDIAN CULTURE

A Study of the Vedānta, being a study at once critical, comparative and constructive, by Dr. Sarojkumar Das, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), with a Foreword by Prof. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, M.A., D.Litt. Second Edition. Demy 8vo pp. xiv+404. 1937. Rs. 4-0.

"The author insists upon a co-operation of the intellectual and the moral, and emphasises the practical attitude of the philosophy of life as incorporated in the Vedānta. His arguments are clear and precise, his descriptions vivid and full of meaning, his language fluent and expressive. His knowledge of Western philosophy is such as to make him fully competent for the task of giving a systematic and comparative historical study of the Vedānta. . . ."—*The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.

"A very clear analysis, by a leading Indian thinker, of the philosophical system known as the Vedānta. . . Dr. S. K. Das well sustains the pre-eminence of Indian thought in the world of philosophy."—*The Times Literary Supplement*.

"This book, made up of the twelve Sreegopal Basumallik Fellowship Lectures for 1929, gives a very clear analysis of the Vedānta. Dr. S. K. Das brings out the fact that the change from the R̥gvedic to the Upanishadic age had a momentous influence in the religious history of mankind. It meant 'a spiritual renaissance in ancient India that can be compared with the transition from the bondage of Leviticus to the freedom of the Gospels.'"
—*The Inquirer*.

"The Basumallik Fellowship Lectures for 1929 delivered by Dr. Das have been published in the form of the attractive volume before us. . . . A sound knowledge of European Philosophy in its most recent developments has been fully utilised for the purpose of comparative and critical exposition. The book will, without a doubt, be appreciated by all students of Advaita Vedānta."—*The Indian Review*.

"Your criticism and appreciation of Bertrand Russell's 'Free Man's Worship' seems to me exceptionally good. I hope it may have wide circulation as it deserves."—*Prof. J. H. Muirhead*.

"The learned author's attempt to assign to Systematic Vedānta its proper place in the history of human thought is characterised by great acumen and eloquent penetration, and it is sure to interest every serious student of General Philosophy."—*Prof. Sten Konow*.

"Such a just and perceptive guide as Dr. Das is . . . of great value and the more so to Western students because he is intimate with European philosophy . . . we could not wish for a more clarifying or enlightening guide from the valleys of the R̥gveda in which 'the Many' predominates over 'the One' to the ultimate heights of the Upanishads where 'the One' exists eternally unconditioned by 'the Many.'"
—*Hugh I. A. Fausset*.

The Aryan Trail in Iran and India, by Nagendranath Ghose, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 347. Rs. 3-8.

The matters investigated in this book formed the subject of a course of University Extension Lectures which the author delivered in the Department of Anthropology of this University. This is a naturalistic study of the Vedic hymns and the Avesta.

Pragaitihasik Mahenjo Daro (*in Bengali*), by Mr. Kunja-govinda Goswami, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 186. Rs. 2-8.

The book contains a detailed description of the antiquities and annals of the pre-historic Mahenjo Daro, a relic of Indian civilization, five thousand years before. A vivid commentary with illustration on the life of the people living in the Indus Valley at the time with minute analysis and exposition of their customs and rituals, their culture and civilization, their mode of living, etc., will be found in the book. *This is the first book written in Bengali about Mahenjo Daro.*

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca :
‘I have gone through your book on Mohenjo-Daro with great interest. You have given a very clear but critical account of the many interesting finds in Mohenjo-Daro. Your book conveys in a very clear language an interesting picture of the civilisation that flourished in the Indus Valley about five thousand years ago. I welcome the book as a very valuable addition to Bengali literature, and many people not sufficiently acquainted with English would, I am sure, derive great benefit from your book.’

Cultural Relations between India and Java (*Readership Lectures*), by A. J. Bernet Kempers, Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 35. As. 8.

Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, by Niharranjan Ray, M.A. (Cal.), Dr. Lett. et Phil. (Leiden), Dip. Lib. (Lond.). 1936. Rs. 2-0.

Attempts have been made in this book to explain one of the many aspects of the culture-complex of early Indo-Burmese history; at the same time it seeks to initiate another chapter in the history of the expansion of Indian religions and culture outside India's natural geographical boundaries.

The subject is but little known, and very little has so far been done to elucidate the vague general ideas that exist today amongst scholars about it. A large number of original sources and source-materials have here been brought to light for the first time; there will be found many instances where new interpretations of old materials have been put forward. Thus the

author has been able to infer the prevalence of the Śarvastivāda in Old Promo, the definite existence of Mahayanist and Tantrik texts in the monastic libraries of Upper Burma, and of hitherto unrecognised representations of gods and goddesses belonging to the Mahayana and its allied pantheons.

"... your work is far in advance of mine....."—G. E. Harvey, *I.C.S. (ret'd.), Professor of Burmese, Oxford University, and author of History of Burma.*

"... has by a thorough and reliable research laid a solid foundation for our knowledge of and insight into the position of Buddhism in Burma in relation to that in Indo-China and Indonesia....."—N. J. Krom, *Professor of Indo-Javanese History and Archaeology, Leiden University.*

"... a conscientious and well-informed scholar.....you have shown in it a marked ability for historical research.....above all you have shown a remarkable degree of judgment and caution in drawing your conclusions... your book may be regarded as an important contribution to our knowledge."—J. Ph. Vogel, *Prof. of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Leiden.*

Paniniya-Sikṣa or the Śikṣā-Vedāṅga ascribed to Pāṇini, edited by Mr. Manomohan Ghosh, M.A., Kavyatirtha, of the Calcutta University. Demy 8vo pp. lxvi + 90 (bound in cloth). 1938. Rs. 3-0.

This text being the most ancient work on Vedic (Indo-Aryan) phonetics (*Śikṣā*) has been critically edited in all its five recensions with an introduction, translation and notes together with its two commentaries. In the introduction the editor discusses among other things briefly the evolution of the six branches of auxiliary Vedic studies known as the six Vedāṅgas and has treated in full the origin and development of the study of Phonetics (*Śikṣā*) which has been considered one of the important branches of modern Linguistics. Besides this the editor discusses here the antiquity of Pāṇini and throws some fresh light on the date of this great grammarian who is supposed to be the author of the *Śikṣā*.

II. ANCIENT INDIAN TEXTS

* **Vedic Selections**, edited by a Board of eminent scholars. Royal 8vo pp. lvii + 449. 1938. Rs. 5-0.

Manu Smṛiti, by Mahamahopadhyay Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt.

The work is an English translation of the commentary of Medhatithi on the Institutes of Manu. The two editions that had already been published, *viz.*, one by V. N. Mandlik and the other by G. R. Gharpure, being considered avowedly defective on account of a hopeless muddling of the text, Dr. Jha collected manuscripts from various places; and, with the help of these manuscripts, made out an intelligible text, and then proceeded with the work of translation.

Vol. I, Part I—Comprising Discourse I and 28 verses of Discourse II. Royal 8vo pp. 266. 1920. Rs. 6.

Vol. I, Part II—Comprising verses XXIX to end of Discourse II. Royal 8vo pp. 290. 1921. Rs. 6.

Vol. II, Part I—Comprising the whole of Discourse III. Royal 8vo pp. 304. 1921. Rs. 6.

Vol. II, Part II—Comprising Discourse IV. Royal 8vo pp. 208. 1921. Rs. 6.

Index to Vols. I and II. Royal 8vo pp. 148. 1922. Re. 1-8.

Vol. III, Part I—Comprising Discourses V and VI. Royal 8vo pp. 278. 1922. Rs. 6.

Vol. III, Part II—Comprising Discourse VII and the Index to the whole of Vol. III. Royal 8vo pp. 206. 1924. Rs. 7.

Vol. IV, Part I—Comprising a portion of Discourse VIII. Royal 8vo pp. 252. 1925. Rs. 8.

Vol. IV, Part II—Comprising Discourse VIII and Index to Vol. IV. Royal 8vo pp. 238. 1926. Rs. 7-8.

Vol. V—Comprising Discourses IX to XII. Royal 8vo pp. 709. 1926. Rs. 12-8.

Manu Smriti, Notes, by the same author.

Besides printing the five volumes of Manu Smṛiti comprising translation of Medhatithi, it was decided to print separate volumes comprising *Notes* by the same author. The notes have been divided into three parts: Part I—*Textual*—dealing with the readings of the texts and allied matters; Part II—*Explanatory*—containing an account of the various explanations of Manu's text, provided not only by its several commentators, but also by the more important of the legal digests, such as the Mitakshara, the Mayukha, and the rest; Part III—*Comparative*—setting forth what the other Smṛitis—Apastamba, Bṛhadhāyana, etc.—have got to say on every one of the more important topics dealt with by Manu.

Part I—*Textual*. Royal 8vo pp. 569. 1924. Rs. 12-0.

Part II—*Explanatory*. Royal 8vo pp. 870. 1925. Rs. 15-0.

Part III—*Comparative*. Royal 8vo pp. 937. 1929. Rs. 15.

Whole Set (including Notes). Rs. 50.

Inscriptions of Asoka, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and S. N. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Asst. Professor of Indian History, Calcutta University. Crown 8vo pp. 104. 1920. Rs. 4-4.

The various texts of the rock, pillar, cave and other inscriptions are given in parallel lines to enable the student to compare the different readings at a glance.

Barhut Inscriptions, edited and translated with critical notes, by B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), and Kumar Gangananda Sinha, M.A. Crown 4to pp. 139. 1926. Rs. 3-0.

E. J. Thomas, Under-Librarian, Cambridge University Library: "I find the book an extremely useful one, both because it makes accessible an important collection of inscriptions, and also for the great amount of learning and research which the authors have embodied in it."

"The work constitutes a long step forward both as regards our actual knowledge of the inscriptions, as well as in the grammatical analysis and the palaeographical studies."

H. Ui, of the Tohoku Imperial University, Japan: ".....In the work the inscriptions are critically investigated, accurately explained and well arranged, so that the work is highly important for the study of the paleographical and linguistical development and specially the history of early Buddhism."

E. Washburn Hopkins, of the Yale University: "I have gone carefully through the volume of Dr. Benimadhab Barua and regard it as a most useful contribution well worthy of publication. The arrangement of the inscriptions in accord with their subject-matter is a great convenience and the explanatory notes are all that can be desired."

Prof. Dr. F. O. Schrader, of Kiel: ".....This is a useful publication full of interesting details on which both its authors and the University may be congratulated. The printing too is admirably done."

Prof. Hermann Jacobi: ".....many students will be thankful for the various information in Section III, partly reproduced from different sources and partly supplied by the Editors themselves."

L. D. Barnett: "The book shews great learning and industry, and will certainly be useful to students."

Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, by Prof. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D.Lit. Royal 8vo pp. 324. Rs. 7-8.

A critical edition of fourteen ancient Brahmi inscriptions and a table of Brahmi alphabet, the inscriptions including the well-known Hathigumpha inscription of King Kharavela. A comprehensive work which contains exhaustive references to all previous publications on the subject, and is calculated to create a real landmark for the new readings, and especially for the notes dealing with the personal history of Kharavela of Orissa, his place in history, and his imperishable works of art and architecture in the rough-hewn Orissan caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Hills.

III. ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

Vishnudharmottara, by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Ph.D. *Second and Revised Edition*. Royal 8vo pp. 130. 1928. Rs. 3-0.

It contains one of the oldest and most exhaustive treatises on ancient Indian painting, its technique, subject-matter and form.

Art and Archæology Abroad, by Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris). Demy 8vo pp. 132 + 20 illustrations. Rs. 2-0.

The author who had been invited by the International Educational Institute (under the Carnegie Foundation, New York) to deliver a course of lectures on Indian Art and Archaeology during 1930-31 visited the important centres of Europe and America and studied the special arrangements and provisions for the collection and co-ordination of the data of arts and archaeology as well as the methods of teaching of those subjects in some of those places. The outcome of these studies undertaken by him is this useful report which is of immense help to the students as well as the teachers of this branch of Indology.

Brahmanical Gods in Burma (A chapter of Indian Art and Iconography), by Niharranjan Ray, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 106, with 23 plates. 1932. Rs. 2-4.

This monograph is an outcome of the studies and researches made by the author in the domain of Burmese Art, Archaeology and History. The materials were collected by him during the archaeological tours that he had made throughout Burma in 1927 and 1929. He has made a detailed analytical study of the numerous Brahmanical images scattered all over the Peninsula and has tried to bring out fully their iconographic significance and their bearing upon early Indo-Burmese historical and cultural relations.

"... He describes images of Visnu, Siva, Brahma, Ganesa and Surya, and the well-reproduced photographs are all the more valuable through his descriptions being based upon the actual objects. In particular his chapter on the art and historical background is well worthy of study."—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London).

"Burma is professedly Buddhist, but in this monograph the author examines how far, in spite of its Buddhism, Burma has been affected by its contiguity with India, and to what extent it has submitted to the powerful pressure of Brahmanism. . . . Despite the scanty harvest gleaned with such industry in this field of study the work was well worth undertaking, and the author has dealt competently with his material and advances reasons why Brahmanism, which had success in Further India, failed to make itself felt nearer at hand. There is likely to be little disagreement with the general conclusions which are presented clearly and succinctly."—*Times Literary Supplement* (London).

"... The book is the first of its kind written by an Indian scholar, and we can well say that he has performed his task creditably. . . . is certainly a successful attempt at elucidating an important aspect of early cultural relations between India and Burma."—*The Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta).

"Ce petit volume est une première tentative pour rassembler les données dont on dispose sur l'iconographie brahmanique de la Birmanie. . . ."—*Bulletin L'École Française de Extrême Orient* (Hanoi, Fr. Indo-China).

"... Burma chapter of Hindu colonial history has long been neglected. We welcome the beginning made by Mr. Ray."—*K. P. Jayaswal in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (Patna).

"... He has collected an amount of important facts hitherto ignored and scattered, and dealt with them in a critical and thoughtful manner, which deserves the highest appreciation."—*M. Louis Finot* (Paris).

" . . . The book is not only a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Indian Art and Iconography, but it is also historically important as showing the influence of Hindu religion and Hindu culture in Burma in mediaeval times."—*E. J. Rapson (Cambridge)*.

" . . . It seems to me to be a very good and enlightening piece of original research which breaks new ground. . ."—*L. D. Barnett (British Museum, London)*.

" . . . I have found it to be a very creditable and useful work that adds a great deal to our knowledge of Indo-Burmese Art and Archaeology. . . I request you to convey to the learned author my sincere compliments on the scholar-like spirit exhibited in his study. . ."—*Sten Konow (Oslo, Norway) in a letter to the Registrar, Calcutta University*.

" . . . It is a very interesting and instructive book, and all the more valuable as it treats in a scholarly manner of a new subject of which hitherto very little has become known."—*M. Winternitz (Prague, Czechoslovakia)*.

" . . . I have read the work with real pleasure. It is clear and effectively written, and the main conclusions attained as to the position of Brahmanism in Burma seem to be successfully maintained. . ."—*A. Berriedale Keith (Edinburgh)*.

" . . . The book deals with an almost untrodden subject. . . . It deals not only with the images of gods and goddesses from iconographical point of view but also throws a great deal of light on the nature and spread of Brahmanism in that country. The author has gone into the subject very deeply and his treatment seems to be exhaustive and complete. It is a welcome addition to our knowledge about the progress of Brahmanical religion outside India proper. . ."—*R. C. Majumdar (Dacca University)*.

Prefaces (Lectures on Art subjects), by Prof. Shahid Suhrawardy. Demy 8vo pp. 273. Rs. 3-0.

Most of these papers are lectures read out by the author to students at various intervals at the Osmania University, the Visvabharati, the Lucknow Exhibition, 1936 (Fine Arts Pavilion) and at other places.

IV. HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY

I. ANCIENT INDIA

Chronology of Ancient India (From the times of the Rig-Vedic King Divodāsa to Chandragupta Maurya, with glimpses into the Political History of the period), by Sitanath Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D., Brihaspati. Royal 8vo pp. 291 + 30. 1927. Rs. 6-0.

In this extremely interesting and erudite work on the Chronology and Political History of Vedic and Buddhist India, enormous masses of evidence derived from Vedic, Epic, Puranic, Buddhistic, Jain, Epigraphic and other sources have been collected, compared and contrasted. The late Dr. Pradhan discovered the long-expected thread through the bewildering labyrinth of Vedic Chronology and handled the question of Nanda-Sisunāga-Pradyota-Bimbisārian Chronology and political history perhaps with the most accurate critical skill and precision. This pioneer work, completed in 1921, was submitted to the University of Calcutta as his Doctorate thesis and contains entirely new findings in almost every page of the book and the criticisms of the positions of Pargiter, Macdonell, Keith, Tilak, K. P. Jayaswal, Abinash Chandra Das, D. R. Bhandarkar, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Fleet, etc., reflect a high credit on the author. It is an invaluable and indispensable companion and guide to all students, professors and lovers of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee : "An erudite thesis," "of no small credit," "of much excellence," "of special excellence," "extremely gratifying to note," "such a learned thesis," "has thrown unexpected yet welcome light on the political history of the Pre-Asokan Period," "original research of unquestionable merit," "appraised by the investigators of the first rank," etc., etc.

MM. Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University : "It is refreshing to find that the writer has not.....been slow to strike out new lines for himself and examine theories which had hitherto been regarded as almost sacrosanct."

Dr. M. Winternitz, Ph.D., Prague, Czechoslovakia : "The ancient chronology of India is a thorny subject, and the book will, no doubt, evoke much criticism. But the author has brought together valuable data from a vast amount of literature which will remain useful, even if the chronology may not be accepted by scholars in many cases."

T. Jolly, Professor of Sanskrit, Würzburg, Germany : "This is a very learned work, abounding in new theories and discussions of old ones and in original Sanskrit quotations. The author has found that most of the Kings and Rishis of the Rigveda are mentioned in the Epics and the Puranas, etc., as well, and has based a new chronology of the Rigvedic Period on this observation. His genealogies of Indian dynasties are very interesting."

Dr. L. D. Barnett, Ph.D., London : "Mr. Pradhan's object is to correct and as far as possible to bring into synchronistic connection the ancient pedigrees of Kings and others which are handed down in Vedic, Epic and Puranic literature. . . . He deals accordingly with the Vedic Divodāsa, his contemporaries, the Aikṣvāka Daśaratha, etc., . . . and he then essays to determine the succession in Magadha from Bimbisāra to Chandragupta. On the basis of these conclusions and reckoning an average of 28 years for a generation he fixes the Mahābhārata war at c. 1162 B.C. confirming the result by astronomical calculations, and makes c. 1500 B.C. the starting point of the later Vedic period. . . . He moreover demolishes the Vedic Chronology of Dr. A. C. Das and even criticizes unfavourably the astronomical arguments set forth by the late Lokamanya Tilak in his *Orion*—which shows much courage and independence. His work shows immense industry and ingenuity and there is certainly 'something in it.' . . . The attempt to adjust and harmonise the traditional pedigrees is worth making and Mr. Pradhan's essay is an energetic step in that direction."

Dr. L. D. Barnett (again): "The book 'Chronology of Ancient India' seems to me to be a remarkably able work and its general conclusions are reasonable and probable, though, naturally there may be some difference of opinion on some points."

Prof. Vanamali Chakravarti, M.A.: "Your work would do credit to any European savant working in a first-class European university. . . The honour of writing the first scientific book on Vedo-Puranic Chronology belongs to you and not to Pargiter. . . I note with great pleasure your happy identification of the Rigvedic Rishi Mudgala (Rv. X, 102) with the husband of Indrasenā, the daughter of King Nala of Niṣadha; and of Divodāsa, King of Kāśi with Atithigva Divodāsa of the Vedas, who together with the Aikṣvaka Daśaratha, quelled the Dāsa King Sambara; your resolution of the Ikṣvaku dynasty from Daśaratha downwards, into two branches pointing out that kings mentioned just after Hiranyanābha Kausalya, were the descendants of the Śrāvastī King Lava is a masterpiece in the reconstruction of Ancient Indian History; your determination of the date of the great Bharata battle at about the middle of the twelfth century B.C. and of events of the Rāmāyaṇa as occurring about three hundred years earlier would provide the future historian with sources to build up ancient Indian Chronology. . . . Your assignment of Vedic Janaka and Yajñavalkya to five generations after Śrīkṛṣṇa and Arjuna seems beyond challenge. Your attempt to prove that a portion of the Deccan was occupied by the Rigvedic Aryans, and that Aṅga, Kōśala, Magadha, Videha, etc., were colonized by them rather early, your explanation of the mythology of Ahalya and Indra, your emendation of not a few individual errors in some of the names of Puranic kings, notably in the name 'Abhijit,' your bold and well-established finding that the Harivaṃśa does contain wrong synchronism about Brahmadaṭṭa and Pratapa, and that the Purāṇas are wrong in making Kṛta of Dvimiṣṭha's line the pupil of Hiranyanābha Kausalya—these and many other points will be of absorbing interest to scholars. I immensely enjoy your courageous refutation of 'the Orion' as well as of Mr. A. C. Das's geological antiquity of the Rigvedic period which might be based on N. B. Pavjee's book 'Aryavartīc Home.' In the post-Vedic period, your identification of Sisunāga with Nandivardhana and of Kākavarṇa with Mahā-Nandin is really difficult to reject. I am sure no honest historian will be able in future to pass by your great production."

Asoka (*Carmichael Lectures, 1923*), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Second Edition, *Revised and Enlarged*. Demy 8vo pp. 428. 1932. Rs. 5-0.

In this book the author has set forth his views about the Buddhist monarch after a careful and systematic study for a quarter of a century not only of the inscriptions of Asoka but also of the valuable translations and notes on these records by distinguished scholars in the field of Ancient Indian History.

Dr. Truman Michelson says in *Jour. Amer. Ori. Soc.*, Vol. 46, pp. 258-59:—

"In this connection it may be observed that the notes on the translations are ordinarily very full, so that even the publication of the new edition of C.I.I. will not render this part of Bhandarkar's work superfluous; and it cannot be denied that occasionally he has made real contributions in the interpretation (e.g., the sense of *samāja*)."

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar says in *As. Bhan. Ori. Res. Ins.*, Vol. VII, p. 169 :—

"A careful perusal of the book enables one to visualise the pious Monarch and his manifold religious and administrative activities to a much better extent than had been hitherto possible with the Aśokan literature already in the field."

Political History of Ancient India (From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty), by Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Fourth Edition, *Revised and Enlarged*. Royal 8vo pp. xxiii + 582, with maps and charts. 1938. Rs. 7-8.

Dr. Raychaudhuri's work in the domain of Indology is characterised by a rare sobriety of judgment and by a constant reference to original sources and this makes his contributions specially valuable. We have here probably the first attempt on scientific lines to sketch the political history of India including the pre-Buddhistic period from about the ninth century B.C., and the work is one of great importance to students of Indian history. The revised edition embodies the results of the most recent researches in the subject. An interesting feature of this work is the insertion in certain chapters of introductory verses from literature to show that poets and sages of Ancient India were not altogether unmindful of the political vicissitudes through which their country passed.

Professor W. Geiger, Munchen (Germany): "I highly appreciate Mr. Raychaudhuri's work as a most happy combination of sound scientific method and enormous knowledge of both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical literature. The work is written in lucid style in spite of its intricate subject and affords a mass of valuable evidence throwing much light on the whole period of Indian History dealt within it. I see with special pleasure and satisfaction that we are now enabled by the author's penetrating researches to start in Indian Chronology from the 9th instead of the 6th or 5th century B.C."

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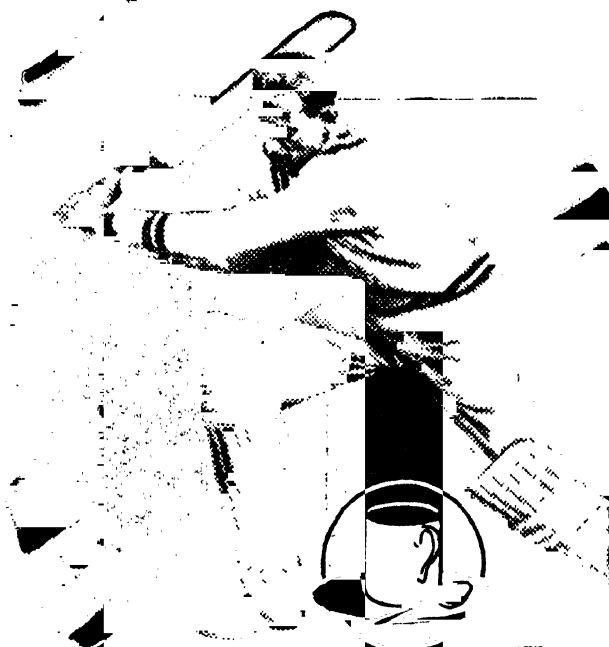
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1941

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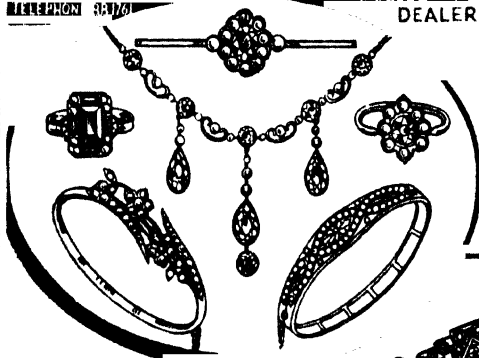
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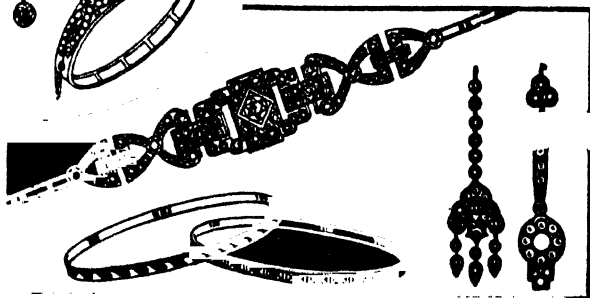
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I

THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU,
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YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,
MEMBERS OF THE SENATE, GRADUATES OF THE
YEAR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is in no conventional sense but with a very genuine feeling that I thank you for inviting me to address a Convocation meeting of the premier University of our country. The request of your Vice-Chancellor that I should come here was irresistible. Much as I should like to observe a discreet silence on some of the questions which are at present agitating the public mind, and thus refrain from adding to the volume of confusion and discord which unhappily is disfiguring our public life, I find myself at times compelled by circumstances to appear on the public platform which, I confess, has no attraction for me. I shall, therefore, appeal to your indulgence and forgiveness for a little while when I shall be intruding myself upon your attention.

I have just said that the Calcutta University is the premier University of India and when in the next few pages I shall tell you what I have all my life felt about Calcutta and this University, I shall beg you to give me some credit for sincerity and not to assume that I am saying all this to flatter your vanity or to repay your hospitality. As a young man reading at Agra more than fifty years

ago I came under the influence of that new school of thought in the social and political life of the country, the source and centre of which was Calcutta. Several of my professors and teachers were men from Bengal. Indeed, it is true to say that in those days the intellectual life of the United Provinces was not only moulded by Bengalis but was completely under the domination of Bengal. The youth of my province in those days derived their enthusiasm about social reform, in the limited sense in which that word is used in India, from Ram Mohun Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen, while their imagination in politics was fired by the never-to-be-forgotten oratory of Surendra Nath Banerjea, Lal Mohan Ghose, Ananda Mohan Bose and Kali Churn Banurji.

The period of formal separation commenced with the establishment of the Allahabad University in 1887. I say 'formal' because, although it was considered necessary for the growing needs of the United Provinces to establish a separate and independent University at Allahabad, yet it did not mean the termination of the influence of Calcutta, for it continued in full vigour for a considerable period after its establishment. Even today when the United Provinces can boast of five Universities, Bengal is fairly represented on the teaching staffs of several of them. The names of your distinguished Vice-Chancellors, professors, scientists, historians, doctors, judges, lawyers, politicians and journalists are held in respect and esteem all over the United Provinces. If you are proud of Rabindra Nath Tagore, so are we, for, though it may be our misfortune to miss the grace and charm of his language in original, yet we are by no means unfamiliar with the depth of his feeling, the purity of his thought and the spirituality

of his poetry. I do not wish to suggest or say that in the development of our intellectual and cultural life we had no heritage of our own to serve as a nucleus, for it is a fact that the indigenous culture of the United Provinces was already rich and varied—the result of a confluence of two streams, the source of one of which was at Benares and of the other at Delhi and Lucknow. I am, however, free to confess that the debt we owe to Bengal is by no means inconsiderable and it is certainly greater than that we owe to any other Province or any other University in India.

I am in no sense of the term an educationist. I should, therefore, be going beyond my depth if I were to undertake to advise you as to what changes and reforms you should bring about in the constitution of your University or in its internal working. I believe this task was entrusted more than once to two bodies of learned men, once in the time of Lord Curzon and again in the time of Lord Chelmsford. Much wisdom may lie buried in the tomes left to you by the Calcutta University Commission, which have, to a certain extent, influenced the decisions of other Universities. Among the 33 Vice-Chancellors whom you have had since 1857 when this University was established there are names of men like Henry Sumner Maine, William Markby, William Hunter, Arthur Hobhouse, Gooroo Dass Banerjee, which would shed lustre on any University in the world, but there is one other name also which, while no less illustrious than any one of the names I have just mentioned, means to this University a great deal more than any other name in the list of your Vice-Chancellors and that name is Asutosh Mookerjee, for, so long as he was connected with this University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was Calcutta University

and Calcutta University was Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. It was one of my rarest privileges in life to have come into contact with Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, both at Calcutta and at Allahabad. There were so many sides to his life, so varied were his interests, so profound was his learning and so towering was his personality, that it is difficult for me to say which I admired most, but there is no doubt that the master-passion of his life was the Calcutta University. It is literally true, therefore, to say that in its period of adolescence the Calcutta University perceptibly bore the impress of his personality. In human affairs a great personality cannot escape controversy and it was inevitable that Sir Asutosh's personality, translated in terms of his work at and for this University, should have raised some controversies. Controversies, however, arise and die ; the spirit of the worker lives. That, I believe, is true of Sir Asutosh's work in this University.

One of the remarkable features of this University, which distinguishes it from many others in India, is that from an early date it has worked for the establishment of a number of Professorships and has succeeded in a remarkable degree in getting them founded by generous donors. Among the founders of these Professorships the place of pride must be given to the honoured name of Prasunno Coomar Tagore, who, by his Will dated the 10th October, 1862, bequeathed to the University a monthly allowance of Rs. 1000/- for the purpose of founding a Professorship of Law to be called the Tagore Law Professorship. A cursory glance at the list of Tagore Law Professors will disclose the names of some of the greatest jurists and lawyers not merely of Calcutta but also of other parts of India, and not merely of India but also

of England and other countries, *e.g.*, Sir Frederick Pollock, Sir William Holdsworth, Dr. Garner and Professor Morgan ; and if I may venture to refer to some Calcutta names without making any invidious distinction and without referring to those among them who are happily with us, at the head of them stand the names of Dr. (afterwards Sir) Rash Behary Ghose, Dr. (afterwards Sir) Gooroo Dass Banerjee, the Right Honourable Ameer Ali and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee himself. These are honoured names in the annals of Indian legal history and their contributions to legal science will stand out as monuments of learning wherever legal scholarship is valued and respected. The Minto Professorship of Economics was founded in 1909 and the first incumbent of the Chair was one who had already won distinction at Cambridge under Professor Marshall. I refer to Professor Manohar Lal—now Sir Manohar Lal, Minister of Finance in the Punjab. This Professorship, after a chequered career, is now designated as the University Professorship of Economics and it may sincerely be hoped that it will substantially enrich the economic literature of the country. You have also a Carmichael Professorship of Indian History and Culture, a subject which until recently was woefully neglected by our Universities, and I am glad to note that to perpetuate the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee three Professorships—called the Asutosh Professorship of Sanskrit, the Asutosh Professorship of Islamic Culture and the Asutosh Professorship of Medieval and Modern Indian History—have been established. The princely benefactions of Sir Tarak Nath Palit in 1912 and of Sir Rash Behary Ghose—both of them, I am happy to say, leaders of the legal profession in their days—have enabled

the University to secure the services of some of the most distinguished scientists, such as Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Professor Meghnad Saha, Professor Ganesh Prasad, Professor Mitra, Dr. Guha and others. Your University, therefore, can, in my opinion, legitimately take pride that it has set an example to others in India in developing post-graduate studies and research ; but here again we must acknowledge that the inspiration came from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The list of University publications at the end of your Calendar constitutes, in my humble opinion, a solid contribution to the advancement of learning, which should, above all others, be the primary function of a seat of learning.

Ideals of education change from generation to generation and what may be at a particular time a good ideal for a country need not necessarily be the same for another country. Into a discussion of the theory of education as imparted by our Universities I do not propose to enter, nor do I feel myself competent to do so. In his celebrated inaugural address delivered at the University of St. Andrews more than 70 years ago John Stuart Mill referred to and discussed the two kinds of education which the systems of schools and universities in his day were intended to promote. He says :

“ Intellectual education, and moral education : knowledge and the training of the knowing faculty, conscience and that of the moral faculty—these are the two main ingredients of human culture ; but they do not exhaust the whole of it. There is a third division which, if subordinate, and owing allegiance to the two others, is barely in-

ferior to them, and not less needful to the completeness of the human being ; I mean, the æsthetic branch ; the culture which comes through poetry and art, and may be described as the education of the feelings, and the cultivation of the beautiful. . This department of things deserves to be regarded in a far more serious light than is the custom of these countries."

It is not perhaps fashionable in these days to quote John Stuart Mill but I have ventured to quote him because what he said in 1867 at the University of St. Andrews is to a very large extent true of the Universities in India today. Our Universities have been, ever since their establishment, promoting intellectual education and moral education, and I refuse to subscribe to the criticism that the result of the present system of education in British times has been to starve our intellectual or spiritual life. Most of our greatest thinkers, writers, poets and historians in our times have been either the direct products of our own Universities, or have come under their all-pervasive influence, or have been connected in some capacity or other with them. In the realm of Science I shall mention only two or three. Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose is an honoured name among you, so is Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, who is happily with us. You may also claim credit for having furnished to Sir C. V. Raman opportunities for that great work which has brought him fame in the world of Science. In the realm of Literature the name of Dr. Tagore is held in reverence all over the civilised world. Outside Bengal another University can take credit for having produced Sir Mohammad Iqbal—a thinker and a poet in Persian and Urdu, to whom,

I confess, I have felt irresistibly drawn ever since my youth. The Calcutta University may also take pride in having founded, under the leadership of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, a new school of Indian History. He has been the inspirer of many others in that field. It is the Madras University and your University which have given to the world an exponent of Hindu thought like Sir Radhakrishnan. In the spiritual field also you have produced in contemporary times a large number of thinkers and reformers, whose writings and speeches have profoundly influenced contemporary thought. It is, however, in what Mill called "the education of the feelings, and the cultivation of the beautiful" that Calcutta occupies a place of pre-eminence, for, if one Tagore has given us beautiful poetry, another Tagore will go down to history as the founder or promoter of a new school of painting. Let us, therefore, not succumb to political prejudices or bitterness and denounce the present system of education or our Universities as having been altogether barren of results, for while I strongly maintain that a whole nation cannot be educated in a foreign language—and I have always been a persistent advocate of the development of our own languages and culture—yet bare justice requires that we must not deny that the Universities have played a great and noble part in enriching our national life and stimulating altruistic and patriotic feelings.

I have often asked myself the question as to what it is that the Universities may be expected to do at this time in our onward march, for while no one is more anxious than I that the academic serenity of our Universities should not be rudely disturbed by what are at times called the baser mundane pursuits, I also maintain that from a

practical point of view no University in India can afford to live a sheltered life of isolation from the great stream of national life. It, therefore, seems to me that on two sides of their work the Universities can render lasting services to the country. On the scientific side I think our professors and post-graduate scholars can do a great deal to enrich the industrial and economic life of the country by the results of their researches. The field open to them is immense, the example of other countries whose economic and industrial prosperity is in no small measure due to the scientific work of their professors, teachers and graduates, should inspire them in this work, and in my opinion it should be the primary duty of every Provincial Government—and indeed of the Central Government—to help them in a generous measure with grants for the purpose of such useful pursuits. On the cultural side—and I use the word ‘culture’ in its largest sense as being something larger than mere book lore—the Universities can be a focus and centre for the synthesis of different cultures and for the evolution of that common culture which should be the highest aim of Indian nationalism to achieve, if that phrase is not merely an empty phrase or a deceptive slogan. I have just spoken of different cultures and also of a common culture but I would like, with your permission, to be a little more explicit, for while in a sense it is true that we have certain types of different cultures in this country, yet it is no less true that the process of the evolution of a common culture, which is neither wholly Hindu nor wholly Muslim, has been ceaselessly at work during the last four or five centuries, if not longer, and was never more in evidence than in the Mughal times. That a

common culture should have been the result of the impact of different communities, different religious ideals, and different outlooks on life, was inevitable. In the history of our country it was primarily the North of India which was the playground of different civilisations, different languages, different religions and different systems of morality. Bengal too did not altogether escape the operation of these forces and yet it is a fact which, in my opinion, cannot be legitimately contested that these differences led to an ever-increasing unity in thought, in language, in art, in music, in æsthetics, in architecture, in painting and in poetry. This process was not yet complete when new influences from the West began to make themselves felt. They have been in operation now certainly for over a century, if not longer, and we have been witnessing in our own times the growth of a culture—I use it again in its largest sense—which is neither wholly Hindu nor wholly Muslim nor wholly English. It is a mixture of all. I do not regret it. On the contrary I read in it the message and prophecy of a future in which, when the dust and din of the present-day controversies, which divide man from man and community from community, will have disappeared, each one of us will be able truthfully to say that India is neither my heritage nor yours, but a common heritage. The political problems which agitate our minds at the present moment are in all conscience very serious. It is not my purpose—and it would not be right for me on this occasion—to discuss them, but I venture to hope that whatever may be the noise in the market-place, the still small voice of reason may not be drowned altogether in Universities nor human feelings warped by mutual suspicions and hatreds. Do not let it, therefore,

be said of our Universities in the words of Yeats
that—

“ Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and every-
where
The ceremony of innocence is drowned ;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.”

I, therefore, respectfully suggest to University men that it is their duty to think coolly and calmly and to direct their energies to the working out of a synthesis of the common ideas of a nationhood, although the siren voices of discord may be forcing themselves upon our ears to allure us to stagnation, if not ruin. I am not ignoring the differences that divide us. I do not consider it just or wise to ignore them, and yet taking together the things that divide us and the things that unite us I say it is by no means unfair to hold that those who live in India, whatever their religion or philosophy of life and from whatever part of the world their ancestors may have come in the past, do constitute a nation. When some 28 years ago Mr. (afterwards Lord) Asquith introduced the Irish Home Rule Bill in Parliament, he said that—

“ In any relative sense Ireland is a nation. Not two nations but one nation. They say, What do you mean by a nation? I am not going to embarrass myself by any abstract definition, but these things are best argued by way of illustration, and I will take a most extreme and, I think, a most undeniable case.....I mean Scotland. Will any one have the hardihood to deny that the Scots are a nation ?

They are not all, be it remembered, of one race. They are both Celts and Saxons and various other strains of blood among them. They are not all of one religion, and they are not by any means of one way of thinking about the problems of life, spiritual, intellectual, or material; and yet no one will deny that the Scots are a nation. Judged by any test that you can apply, the Irish is as definite and as separate a nationality as the Scotch."

I venture to present this passage from the speech of a great English statesman in the hope that it may have some effect on the placid minds of University men, if not on the contentious minds of the politicians. Is it, therefore, altogether a vain hope that our Universities may come to our rescue when our politicians have failed us, and that, out of the chaos of ideas and aspirations, it may be given to the Universities to evolve a cosmos of clear thinking and generous feeling? Today the fundamental problem which we have to solve, is the freedom of India, that is to say, the achievement by her of a position and the attainment of powers which may enable her to mould her future according to her best judgment and give her a place of equality and honour in the comity of nations. It is easy enough to state this proposition, but difficult to rescue it from the chaos which surrounds it. It is somewhat significant that nearly all the doctrines, under the spell of which we find one section or another of the country at present, are of Western origin, and, if I may speak frankly, Europe at present should be a warning to us rather than an example to follow. This is not the time nor the occasion when I can discuss the specific issues raised in this

country by the different schools of thought, but I venture to suggest that the Universities, instead of being the sound-boards of these conflicting ideas, should function as clearing-houses. They cannot, in my opinion, perform their legitimate functions and discharge their duty to the country in our peculiar circumstances, if their professors or their youngmen become partisans or advocates of one school or another. From them we are entitled to expect light and not darkness, and let them give us some of that kindly light.

In the affairs of men common calamities and common aims and common aspirations are a great uniting force. Today we are witnessing in England the spectacle of a common calamity having united men and women of all creeds and all political parties, working together and shedding their blood together against a common calamity. Two years ago who could have thought that men like Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mr. Ernest Bevin and Mr. Herbert Morrison would work together as members of a team against a common enemy—and yet this has happened. A nation which can so combine in the hour of common danger deserves to live and live with honour. Remember if June was the darkest hour in the life of England, today it can look forward with confidence to the dawn of a bright day, if it has not already opened. How has it come about? Assuredly by that spirit of unity and singlemindedness which today characterise the people of England—from the King to the poorest of his subjects. Differences, social, political and economic, have yielded to the united will of the Nation. Is it, therefore, altogether impossible for us to combine and to unite for the achievement of common aims? Let the Universities—I say

in all sincerity—rise superior to the tyranny of slogans and let them take stock of the situation as it is and of the forces working round them and let them gaze upon the future steadily and advise the country accordingly. Let them be the seed-beds of a fertile unity and not the breeding places of a desolating disunity.

It is customary for the speaker on an occasion of this character to address the young graduates who are the recipients of degrees. I shall not waste much time in a long appeal to them. If they are leaving this University today, they are entering the bigger University of Life, and in that University the struggle is much keener and the disappointments perhaps more numerous. That struggle will make large calls on such reserves of knowledge as they have laid by here and above all on character which is far more necessary for real and lasting success than mere knowledge. The best wishes of every one will accompany them and I have no doubt that if the University can legitimately help them in setting them on their feet, it will do so—as indeed it seems to me to be its duty to do so. I know how the fear of unemployment—a problem in which I have been very much interested—eats into the minds of our youth and I also know how in their despondency some of them at any rate lose faith in the system of society in which they were born and how in their impatience with the inequalities and injustices of life they are tempted to curse that system and even to tear it by the roots. It is for this reason in particular that I have been most anxious that the Universities should definitely recognise their responsibility not for actually finding them jobs but for bringing them into touch with those who by reason of their situation in life may be in a position to

help them. To the youngmen themselves I shall repeat the advice of John Stuart Mill given to the youngmen whom he was addressing in his speech at St. Andrews :—

“ Nor let any one be discouraged by what may seem, in moments of despondency, the lack of time and of opportunity. Those who know how to employ opportunities will often find that they can create them : and what we achieve depends less on the amount of time we possess than on the use we make of our time. You and your like are the hopes and resources of your country in the coming generation. All great things which that generation is destined to do have to be done by some like you ; several will assuredly be done by persons for whom society has done much less, to whom it has given far less preparation, than those whom I am now addressing. I do not attempt to instigate you by the prospect of direct rewards, either earthly or heavenly ; the less we think about being rewarded in either way, the better for us. But there is one reward which will not fail you, and which may be called disinterested, because it is not a consequence, but is inherent in the very fact of deserving it ; the deeper and more varied interest you will feel in life : which will give it tenfold its value, and a value which will last to the end. All merely personal objects grow less valuable as we advance in life : this not only endures but increases.”

The 8th March, 1941

II

THE HON'BLE SIR MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE, C.I.E.
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University

YOUR EXCELLENCY, SIR TEJ BAHADUR, MEMBERS
OF THE SENATE, GRADUATES OF THE UNIVER-
SITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

In accordance with the established convention it is my duty and privilege to address the Senate and the graduates of this University. But before I do so, it is my mournful duty to pay my tribute and respect to the memory of those who have departed from our midst since the last Convocation. Rev. J. N. Rawson, Principal of the Serampore College and a Fellow of this University, Mr. Jotindramohan Ray, for some time a member of the Syndicate and a Fellow of the University, and Dr. Susilkumar Mukherjee, who had so recently been re-elected to the Syndicate, breathed their last in course of the last year. Their services to the University and to the cause of education are well-known and I only wish to remember their services again to the cause of advancement of learning in this province and record our great loss at their sad and untimely death.

The Chancellor

May I take this opportunity of welcoming Your Excellency once again in our midst. The year just passed has been a momentous one in the

history of this University. As the Chancellor of this University, Your Excellency has always been kind enough to hear our view-points with patience and to help us in every possible way and I wish to convey our deep gratitude to you for Your Excellency's sympathetic interest in our affairs.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

We are fortunate enough to have in our midst the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, P.C., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D., to deliver the Convocation address of this year. A scholar and a jurist of international reputation, a statesman who has given his best thoughts to the political, constitutional and educational problems of India, a politician with vision and judgment, Sir Tej Bahadur requires no introduction from me. He stands to-day in the political world of India as the symbol of unity and better understanding between the different communities and the varying political views in this country. May I, on behalf of this University, welcome Sir Tej Bahadur in our midst and I hope he will give us his blessings and benedictions to our future works.

The War

We are now in the midst of a great international conflict and almost a crisis in the affairs of mankind. I am not sure whether the history of mankind records any other graver conflict, conflict of arms and ideologies, as we are faced to-day in the modern world. We are face to face to-day with an emergency such as has hitherto been never known in history. India has so far escaped from being the scene of any direct conflict and we have

so far escaped the agonies of the war-front or the devastations of an air-raid. But those who are better able to judge of the military situation are genuinely anxious that we should as soon as possible be fully prepared to face all possible contingencies in the future.

The present war is not only a great military struggle but an upheaval in the affairs of mankind in all its spheres and we are also along with others involved in grave social and political problems with all the consequential emotional outbursts. The resulting disturbances to the intellectual life of every nation have also been very great. Centres of learning have been abandoned, sanctuaries of scholars have been rendered desolate, while intellectual treasures of centuries past have been subject to ruthless vandalism from the air. What the future will be, nobody can even venture to surmise to-day. Let us hope that the Almighty Providence in His infinite mercy and grace will soon bring in amity, peace and concord in the affairs of mankind.

University Training Corps—Need of Expansion

Whilst speaking of the military conflict, may I draw the attention of the Government and the military authorities to the urgent necessity of expanding the University Training Corps. At present we have only two such units in Calcutta and another in Dacca under the auspices of the Dacca University. There is no reason why the youngmen of our province in important centres of education, such as Chittagong, Comilla, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Barisal, Rangpur, Rajshahi, Krishnagar, Berhampur, Hooghly and Burdwan, should not have opportunities to get military training. I feel that a time is coming, probably much

sooner than one expects, when we will be faced directly with the problem of defence and safety of our motherland. It will not be to the credit of any one concerned, if at that stage we find that, in spite of the anxiety of our youngmen to get themselves trained and equipped for the army services of all ranks, there had not been opportunities for them to do so. I, therefore, strongly plead for the necessity of organising more training units in the mufassil centres of education, so that the youngmen of to-day may be fully trained for purposes of safety and defence of this country.

*Recruitment of Army Officers from the
University Training Units*

It is also a paramount necessity for the success of these training units that men of Officers' rank in the military services should be recruited from the University units, if necessary, with such adjustment as may be desirable in the present system of training. We have such a vast reservoir of man-power available in this province that there is no reason why the youths of our province should not be allowed fullest opportunities to be trained for the army and the defence services. I am sure, our educated youths will be the best material, if properly trained, for military services of all ranks. If Noakhali, Chittagong and other bordering districts have still to supply the bulk of the sailors and *Lascars*, why can we not have opportunities for nautical and naval training in our province? I do not wish to enter into the complicated army controversies, but any scheme of provincial autonomy must necessarily mean that the military services and recruitment for the army and the navy must be the concern of

all the provinces. We have an equal right to defend our province and our country and be equal participants in all military services along with every other province in India. We trust, the question will receive the sympathetic consideration of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief who has already given expression to his deep concern about the defence problems of this country.

National Defence and Scientific Research

There is another aspect of the question to which I want to draw the special attention of all in this connection. The Universities of the world have always been in the forefront of carrying on a vast amount of scientific researches for the varying purposes of national development and national defence. Time has come when we must think ahead and take every step so that in the event of any international conflict we may not stand isolated and may not be vulnerable to any economic or military attacks from outside. A large amount of work is no doubt being done in this respect, but what I strongly plead is that this is a work which should also to a large degree be entrusted to the Universities of India and in doing so I am not here merely referring to the military requirements. Modern warfare has to depend for its success not merely on military strength but also on varying social, economic and political factors. Every country has to fall back upon its own resources in the event of a war and particularly in modern times when international trade stands almost paralysed in the event of a war. The development of all the resources of the country is, therefore, a very important factor in the military defence of a country and intensive researches in

applied sciences are necessary with a view to explore every possible avenue to utilise its economic resources. It is not necessary for me to give many instances, but one can very well ask himself as to whether at the present moment we can produce all the steel and iron, machinery railway wagons and engines, electric goods, telephone and radio parts, printing requirements, etc., that we require for this country. Do we produce all our medicinal and food requirements? Do we manufacture all the varying requirements of modern social and economic life? What are the basic requirements of the country and to what extent we can produce them? Has every man power and power of nature available in the country been or is being utilised to further the economic development of the country? Have we done anything to foster researches in these practical aspects? This is a problem that I want to place before you for your consideration.

Expansion of University Researches

It would be no use in the long run to condemn the University unless the Government and the public are prepared to foster these works and find adequate funds for these purposes. The University cannot raise a tax from the public. It has limited sources of income which cannot often expand and even where the available means do expand, they invariably do so with considerable volume of consequential expenditure concomitant on such expansion. I can assure you on behalf of the University that we will be only too glad to take up such work provided we get facilities for the purpose and adequate funds are placed at our disposal. I ask you to seriously

consider whether the available raw materials in the province of Bengal or in India have been explored in full and if so, to what extent they have been utilised. We have still to draw from outside suppliers a very large quantity of commodities which can no doubt be produced or manufactured in this country.

India has enormous resources. Have these resources been fully explored and if not what we should do with a view to develop our resources to the highest possible extent? I am not impatient and I do not think that the ultimate result can be achieved in a day or even in a year—it will take many years before we can achieve the desired result, but there is no reason why we should not make a start at an early date. I hope and trust that the public and the Government will realise soon the importance of this aspect of the question and before long Government may initiate a scheme in which the public, the University and the Government will meet together to explore means of developing the country.

Islamic Studies

It is not necessary for me to refer to the many important events in the life of our University in course of the last year, full details of which are available from the published report of this University. I have only to mention the fact that we have at last succeeded in organising the department of Islamic Studies from July last and Post-Graduate M.A. class in the 5th-year has begun with more than 20 students. Regulations were finally sanctioned by Government for the teaching of the subject in the M.A. course and the regulations for the study of Islamic History in the B.A.

and Intermediate courses were also sanctioned in course of the year. I am sure, at a time when the present atmosphere in this country is so full of distrust and conflict among the different communities of India, the study of the great culture of Islam will open up a new vista of thoughts in this country and I pray to the Almighty that this may bring in a better understanding among the two major communities and may bring in peace and amity in this unfortunate land of ours. We have approached Government for sanction of an additional grant for properly organising the Post-Graduate Department in Islamic Studies but no decision has yet been arrived at. In the mean time we are carrying on our work with honorary staff, but I hope and trust that Government will soon come to a decision in the matter, thereby giving us an opportunity in this department to usher in a new chapter in the intellectual thought of the country.

Need of Co-ordinated Expansion

Once again I wish to emphasise the need of a co-ordinated expansion in our University. Our buildings are now isolated from one another. The Senate House, the Law College, the Asutosh Building, the Post-Graduate Teaching Departments in Arts with Library and offices are centralised in the College Square, our Science laboratories are partly located in Ballygunge and partly here where we are having our Convocation, our Press Building is in Hazra Road, and our Agricultural Institute is in Barrackpur. Yet we are in need of more space with a view to properly organise post-graduate teaching in all the departments. People outside can hardly realise the extent of

expansion of this University. This University has now taken up a large amount of work in the training of teachers in Science, Geography, English and other subjects. Take alone the subject of Geography. Every one admits that the present system of teaching of Geography in Bengal schools require considerable improvement and orientation. We have taken up the work, but we require considerable space to organise suitable class rooms and laboratories for the teaching of Geography. The Controller's department has expanded beyond measure and we have today to deal with many thousands of candidates in hundreds of centres embracing numerous University examinations. It is also well-known that certain types of higher scientific researches cannot be done in the town of Calcutta with its smoke, dust and constant vibration of the soil due to the movement of heavy transport vehicles. As I said before it is also necessary that our science departments should give more attention to the application of science in the utilisation of the resources of the country particularly in view of the present war situation and future contingencies. If we have to utilise our resources for the economic, political and military self-sufficiency of our country, we in the University have also to play a great part and a vast amount of research on the economic, political and other factors on scientific lines is necessary not only for the purpose of national defence but also for our self preservation. This can only be taken up by the University if we have sufficient space and enough funds.

To the Graduates

Graduates of this University, I wish you God speed in your life and career. Life is not an easy

proposition. Oftentimes you will find yourself in unison with the poet who said :

Merrily they live and call life pleasure,
To me that cup has been dealt in another
measure.

In the conflict of life, go forth with the strength of your individual character and the good wishes of your University. Be always considerate and respectful to others' convictions even when you stolidly maintain your individual views in any matter. Try to understand others and remember whatever may be the issues, there is something in human nature which may baffle your efforts and oftentimes may not easily be comprehended by you. Make allowance for these factors and you will in the long run succeed much better than what you would do if you merely think of yourself and not of others. Remember this University sends you out with hope and confidence. Be true to its traditions and its past and in your life's work, remember that inspite of India being a vast country with numerous creeds, races and cultures, we have to keep up a unity of aim and purpose in all our works and on behalf of this University of yours and ours, I ask you to keep before you the map of India, this gloried land of ours, as the ultimate end of your life-work and life-activities.

The 8th March, 1941

III

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JOHN ARTHUR HERBERT, G.C.I.E.

Governor of Bengal, Chancellor, Calcutta University

Let me first acknowledge with gratitude the words of welcome which the Vice-Chancellor has spoken on my behalf. I appreciate them for their own sake and also because they have been spoken by a man, who will long be remembered as having filled with distinction two high public offices simultaneously—a service which has within recent months earned him an honour of the Crown both richly deserved and widely acclaimed.

In his address he has rightly referred to the direct contribution which the University could make to the economic, political and military self-sufficiency of this country. I do not wish to add to the observations he has made except to say that, as one who has at heart the development of Bengal and of India, I feel that we should give serious thought to the problems he has outlined and consider how best they can be met.

It is not and I feel should not be the custom for the Chancellor to address you at length. I should in any case feel some hesitation in doing so after listening to the profound and searching address which our distinguished visitor, the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, has given us.

He spoke, in terms which should move our pride, of the great pioneer influence of this University in India, and his tribute to what I may call the Bengali genius was that of a man of the world whose experience and understanding have taught him to give praise where it is due.

I think I can speak on behalf of this Convocation in saying that we in our turn are all deeply conscious of the honour which we enjoy today in being addressed by one who has earned fame and respect second to none in present day India, and has established a name in those parts of Europe also where breadth of mind, vision and humanity are still prized.

Today I speak to you in Convocation as Chancellor. It is 4 years since Sir John Anderson spoke of the easy access to the Governor which is enjoyed by the Chancellor of this University. That state of things still exists, with the difference that the Governor is no longer at the mercy of the Chancellor to the extent that he used to be. Today the Governor is not directly concerned in the relation between the State and the University, and thus, in a sense, the Chancellor has joined the Bar as an Advocate instead of continuing to sit on the Bench with his learned brother. This development does not, I trust, lay the Chancellor open to the charge of partisanship, but it does give him cause to feel more closely his association with the University and its problems, and for me personally it enhances the value which I attach to meeting you in Convocation today.

I do not wish to seize this occasion to dwell upon the events which are clouding the world today. There are other public occasions which offer themselves, and indeed call, for a consideration of the war and its great problems. The present occasion justifies, I think, a reflection on more permanent things and on the lasting human values, and Sir Tej Bahadur has done well to give us material for such reflection. The gains of the past are solid and will not melt away, and I for one am confident that the present troubles are transitory and do not for a moment mean the extinction of civilised culture. But our visitor has touched also on the present, and he has set our minds on the path of questioning. Present day conditions are a severe test of present day values and qualities. Are the Universities of today capable of withstanding the strain to which established institutions and established traditions are being subjected? Or are they doomed to rest on their past laurels and to content themselves with saying that, whatever may come, they were, once upon a time, the pioneering centres of culture and of intellectual and moral progress? If they cannot withstand the present, then what of the future? We have witnessed in the past few years a tragic collapse of moral and intellectual values in many countries of Europe—a collapse accompanied by, and perhaps resulting from, the oppression upon Universities which have themselves played a great part in human progress. The present is the time to prepare for the future. Are we strong enough to meet any challenge to our vitality and our soundness? Are we concentrating sufficiently on consolidating the

gains which generations of brilliant men have given us and on enriching them for posterity? Are we satisfied that the standards at which we are aiming are worthy of the past and are a firm enough foundation on which the future can be built? Do we weigh carefully enough the relative importance of quality and quantity?

These are some of the questions which, I think, we must ask ourselves. Those of you who are students preparing to go out into the world may feel that they are of academic interest only, and that the young generation of today is prepared to look after itself in its own way. If that is your feeling, it means that you have confidence, and that is a gain from the beginning. But the questions I have put should not be brushed too lightly aside. They are questions which have exercised previous generations and in your turn you will be called upon for an answer. Much of the confusion existing in the world today has arisen because people have been too ready to cast aside accepted values and to follow false ideas, false aims and false hopes. Accepted values are sometimes wrong, but that is not because they are accepted, but because changed conditions alter them. It is for you to test and weigh carefully the value of accepted ideas. If you reject them out of hand, you run great risks. But if you give them respect and attention and only reject them when after mature experience and careful thought you have something good to put in their place, then what you have learned and taken in at the University will not have been wasted.

The function of a University is not only to provide book-learning but also to develop a sense of values and a faculty for selection, without which the man of the world is ill equipped for the tasks he has to face. As men of the world, it will be your duty to distinguish the important from the unimportant and the broad universal issues from those which affect only certain groups for a certain time. Turn again to the words of John Stuart Mill, which our distinguished visitor has quoted. We look for a better world after this struggle is over. If you learn to select what is good and to discard only after careful thought what seems unworthy, you will have earned the right to be called "the hope and resources of your country."*

* His Excellency's Address at the Calcutta University Convocation, on the 8th March, 1941.



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APRIL, 1941

SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RAY, KT. AND BHABES CHANDRA RAY, M.Sc.

XVII

SHAKESPEARE AS A REVISER OF PLAYS WRITTEN BY OTHERS—
TRILOGY OF *Henry VI* AND *Titus Andronicus*

[ET us now read through the play of *Titus Andronicus*. Those who do not regard the play as Shakespearean and attach so much importance to the stage tradition of Ravenscroft go straight to the question of versification, style and diction and dismiss point-blank the question of Shakespearean authorship. Malone observes in the preliminary remarks to his edition of *Titus Andronicus* (Variorum Edition) that "To enter into a long disquisition to prove this piece not to have been written by Shakespeare, would be an idle waste of time" and so says Mason, "I agree with such commentators as think that Shakespeare had no hand in this abominable tragedy; and consider the correctness with which it is printed as a kind of collateral proof that he had not."

The original Quarto of the play bearing a date 1594 is printed with the remark that it was played by the 'Earl of Essex, his

servants.' Sir E. K. Chambers, in his *Elizabethan Stage*, suggests that **Essex** is an obvious misprint for **Sussex**. This view is perhaps correct, for no mention of an Essex Company of stage players is recorded in any early annals. The First Quarto publication records the playing companies, most probably in order of transference from one to the other, *viz.*, Derby's, Pembroke's and last of all, Sussex's. This is a valuable piece of external evidence which the sponsors of 'non-Shakespearean theory' have dilated upon. They have built up an ingenious theory of transference of this play from Company and Company. The 1600 edition of *Titus Andronicus* mentions that the play was acted by Lord Chamberlain's men but gives no name of the author. Henslowe's *Titus and Vespacia* was staged by the Company who wore the badge of Lord Strange and transformed themselves into Lord Derby's servants in September, 1593.

The life of Lord Derby's Company was but very short and its title had to be changed within the course of six months (April, 1594). Lord Derby's servants subsequently became Lord Chamberlain's and finally the King's men. However, one must not forget the theory that Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* came to the hands of the Chamberlain's men through purchase, and there are critics who believe that what is true of the *Spanish Tragedy* is as well materially true of *Titus Andronicus*. They would hold that the Pembroke men produced a play entitled *Titus Andronicus* which was based on a source-play, *viz.*, on *Titus and Vespacia* mentioned by Henslowe, and this came to Shakespeare's Company through the Sussex's men.

It may here be found very interesting to know what Halliwell-Phillipps and Fleay hold regarding the authorship of the play, and thus incidentally come to the relation of our poet with the existing theatrical companies of his time. The former could not doubt the Shakespearean authorship of the piece and maintained that Shakespeare was the author of the play which had been presented by the **Sussex men**. To quote Halliwell-Phillipps:

"He (Shakespeare) left Lord Strange's men, who in 1593 enjoyed the highest position of any then existing, and after having been a member successively of two of the obscurest companies, returned to his former position within a few months."

¹ Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*.

² Fleay, *Life of Shakespeare*.

This, indeed, is a colossal assumption and Fleay dismisses this as 'utterly untenable.' According to him "there is no vestige of evidence that Shakespeare ever wrote for any company but one," this one being the Lord Chamberlain's Company. It is not very easy to support Halliwell-Phillipps, and in the absence of any record to that effect it would be unwise to think like that.

The next basis for a denial of the authorship of the play to Shakespeare is the absence of his name in the three Quarto editions of it appearing in 1594, 1600 and 1611. From a reference to the table embodying the list of the Quartos of Shakespearean plays with the dates of their publication it may be ascertained, at a glance, that the year 1594 saw the publication of the single play of *Titus Andronicus*. The year 1600 saw the (anonymous) publication of the Second Quarto of this and the First Quartos of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Merchant of Venice* and *Much Ado About Nothing* (with Shakespeare's name as author in every case). It may be argued that Shakespeare's name was purposely omitted only in the Quarto published in 1594. So far so good. But why should the Second Quarto of the same play appearing in 1600 be an anonymous publication, more especially when three other plays appear with Shakespeare's name? Likewise, in 1611 the Third Quarto of *Hamlet* and that of *Titus Andronicus* were published and only the former was in Shakespeare's name. It is not an explanation that publications which appeared as anonyms were never to contain the name of the author in subsequent issues. *Henry IV* was first published anonymously in 1598 but was subsequently published with the name of the author in 1599 and again in 1604, 1608, 1613 as also in 1623. J. M. Robertson has well discussed this point with positive assertion and attaches much value to this subject. His views are worth quoting here, "But in the case of *Titus* we have three careful prints, clearly authorised, the first being evidently from the theatre copy, in Shakespeare's life time, without his name, though as early as 1600 that name had so much selling power as to induce the authorship to him of published plays that he certainly had not written. On the view that he wrote *Titus*, the absence of his name from the three Quartos is utterly inexplicable; and the negative force of such a fact countervails *pro tanto* the statement of Meres. It warrants caution to accept this view without any safeguard; we shall just see why so. *Henry V* and *Romeo and Juliet* saw three and two anonymous Quarto publications respectively during the life time of our poet. They are

acknowledged writings of Shakespeare though modern disintegrators would scent alien hands in them. Let us quote here Theobald who maintains that "Ben Jonson, in the introduction to his *Bartholomew Fair*, which made its first appearance in the year 1614, couples *Jeronymo* and *Andronicus* together in reputation, and speaks of them as plays of twenty-five or thirty years' standing. Consequently *Andronicus* must have been on the stage before Shakespeare left Warwickshire, to come and reside in London." The fate of these last-named plays hangs in the same balance with *Titus Andronicus*, and Robertson's remark that "Had it really been Shakespeare's recast, it would have been assigned to him on the quartos" seem to be altogether non-convincing.

Denvers, on Shakespeare's authorship of *Titus*, adduces another very strong argument as to the date of its composition. The play was, as has already been stated, published in 1594 and in all probability was written sometime in 1593 at the latest. In Jonson's preface to *Bertholomew Fair* (1614) the words "these five and twenty or thirty years" give a clue that the date would fall between 1584 and 1589. The play referred to by Ben Jonson is too early to be that of Shakespeare's. This may allude to one which was by all means a play written by some other or others. Boas gives a pen picture of Shakespeare's early years in London in the following fine lines, "His literary career, beginning about 1588, extended over a period of rather more than twenty years. Of those the first five or six (1588-94) were years of dramatic apprenticeship. He started with theatrical hackwork, touching up old plays, and collaborating with writers of established repute in stagecraft."

Greene's invective and Chettle's apology have been interpreted by many as pointing to the fact that Shakespeare was an author even before 1592. Yes, he might have been such but what were then the plays, of which Shakespeare was the author? It has been conjectured by some critics—among whom one may find the name of so eminent a critic as Elze—that Shakespeare began to write *Titus Andronicus* while he was still at Stratford and Boas is inclined to believe that Shakespeare lost no time in setting himself down to the composition of this play after he reached the metropolis in search of a career. The present authors are slow to accept this view for obvious reasons.

¹ *Shakespeare and his Predecessors*, p. 134.

It has been pointed out quite clearly that the acceptance of a playwright's career was no honour in the eighties of the sixteenth century and the son of a village-Mayor, though in a tottering financial position, would not very easily come to such a condemnable profession, more specially when he himself is found to repent in the following language:

“ When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes
I all alone beweepe my outcast state ” etc.

It is probable, one would retort, that the son of a Lord Mayor and that of a Justice accepted this very mode of livelihood, but it is not advisable to forget that they were recipients of liberal University education which might have taught them that there is nothing to be despised of in being a playwright. This is, it must be admitted, highly speculating but it cannot be helped. In the absence of any positive evidence everybody is free to conjecture and all possibilities and probabilities have to be accurately weighed before arriving at any final conclusion. It is, to some extent, the most probable hypothesis that as a result of his father's diplorable finances Shakespeare was induced to leave his parental abode in search of something which could give him a pittance for his future life and simultaneously a relief to his bankrupt father. Nobody knows whether he entered the theatrical world just the moment he reached London or he had waited to try his luck in other professions and, failing in other fields, finally came over to the stage. Though a hypothesis, this seems to have been the actual state of things.

(To be continued)

BENGALI CULTURE AS A SYSTEM OF MUTUAL ACCULTURATIONS

DR. BENGOY KUMAR SARKAR

CULTURE and civilisation are synonymous and both imply nothing but creation. The creativities of men are born of the desire and the power to influence, command and dominate. Culture is, therefore, essentially a system of influences, conversions, conquests and dominations. Like every other culture Bengali culture is manifest, first, in military and political enterprises, and secondly, in the arts and sciences, religions, morals, economic activities, social organisations, etc.

Bengalis of the pre-Vedic and pre-Buddhist times were known to the writers of the *Mahabharata* as a powerful military race. Bengal was during that period of three thousand years politically independent of Northern India.

From the Mohenjodaro times to the epoch of Buddha, Bengali culture was the institutions, ideas and ideals of all sorts created, invented or discovered by what in modern times would be regarded as the pariahs of varied denominations. The Bengalis were treated by the so-called Indo-Aryans as mere *vayansi* (birds), "crows and pigeons" in the Sanskrit literature from the *Atareya Brahmana* to the *Satapatha Brahmana*. The aboriginals living in hills, forests and river valleys, as well as the untouchable and depressed classes and some of the so-called lower castes of today, nay, many of those castes which have in subsequent ages somehow got admitted into the alleged higher castes may be regarded as the descendants, kith and kin, or cognates and agnates of those pre-Vedic and pre-Buddhist Bengalis. Anthropometric affiliations and affinities are of course not yet easy to establish. Miscegenation, *varna-samkara*, blood-fusion or somatic intermixture is, besides, being ignored in the present discussion.

During fifteen hundred years from Chandragupta Maurya to the Sena Dynasty, Bengal was equally independent of Northern India except perhaps for short periods under the Mauryas and the Guptas. It is not definitely known exactly when the Vedic religion and culture of the Punjab and the U. P. invaded the land of the "birds," i.e.,

the races and tribes of Eastern India who could not speak or understand the Sanskrit language; the language of world-conquering Hinduism. The process of bringing the peoples speaking the Bengali dialect or dialects within the empire of aggressive Vedic culture, Indo-Aryanism or Hinduism was lengthy and difficult.

Evidently the "acculturation" of the Bengali "birds" to the Vedic,—the so-called "Indo-Aryan"—conditions was not smooth-sailing. The pariahs of Bengal did not fall an easy victim to the conversions consummated by the foreigners. The "Hindu" religion propagated by the Punjabis and Kanauijyas and the Buddhist religion preached by the Biharis encountered resistance at the hands of the Bengalis. And indeed the Bengalis succeeded in conquering, pariahizing or Bengalicizing both those non-Bengali and foreign faiths, with local gods, rites and ceremonies. In Bengal it was no "*veni vidi vici*" for either Hinduism (Vedic) or Buddhism. Both had to submit to compromises with and concessions to Bengalicism, the religion of the Bengali pariahs, or "crows and pigeons." If Indo-Aryanism converted or conquered Bengal, Bengalicism also converted or conquered Indo-Aryanism. The conversion or acculturation was mutual. Besides, not more than fringes of the Bengali population could be effectively Indo-Aryanized, *i.e.*, Hinduized in accordance with the Vedas or with the Buddhist system.

The hindrances to speedy and uniform Aryanization were not few in Bengal. The country was thinly populated. The distances between the settled areas were long. Forests lay between the tiny villages of hamlets. Dangerous rivers offered no small obstruction to intercourse between valley and valley. The absence of roads was a natural handicap to the promotion of inter-human relations. The *digvijaya* or world-conquest of Aryanism must therefore have had a chequered career. The propaganda machinery at the disposal of the Aryan, Vedic or Hindu Missions of those days was not powerful enough to cope adequately with the hindrances. Indeed, the proselytizing was very often the work not of organized institutions but of individual *Rishis*, preachers, *Sadhus*, scholars and saints. The propaganda was almost exclusively oral and could hardly utilize manuscripts since the number of literates was exceedingly small.

The regional and social conditions of Bengal remained pretty nearly the same down to the sixteenth century, the age of Akbar, nay, down to the middle of the nineteenth century. Population was

growing, settlements were expanding, communications were improving, and the number of literates increasing during these two thousand years and a half. The facilities for inter-human, inter-rural or inter-urban intercourse were therefore undoubtedly improving from century to century. But all the same, the propagation of ideas and ideals as consummated in the earlier centuries of these two millennia or so must not in any way be understood in terms of nineteenth and twentieth century consummations.

The Bengali genius for conquering and dominating new cultural institutions and ideologies and establishing the empire of Bengalicism on all and sundry was in perpetual evidence likewise in the medieval times for five centuries and a half from Bakhtiyar Khilji to Sirajdaula. Politically speaking, it is worth while to observe that during this period Bengal was directly connected with Delhi, *i.e.*, Northern India for not more than eighty-five years.

Large sections of the Bengali people had remained non-Hindu and non-Buddhist down to 1200, especially in East Bengal. The missionizing activities of the aggressive Indo-Aryan culture (Hinduism and Buddhism) carried on during the previous fifteen hundred years cannot be taken to have converted the entire Bengali people or peoples to that system modified although with varying doses of Bengalicism. In any case, the conversion or acculturation of the Bengalis to Hinduism could not be anything more than merely formal or nominal in numerous instances. Mass-conversions in India to Hinduism or Buddhism were not by any means more profound than mass-conversions to Christianity or Islam in Europe, Africa or Asia. About the beginnings of the thirteenth century the room for fresh propaganda, proselytizing, missionizing, conversion and acculturation was therefore quite extensive in Bengal both for Hinduism or Buddhism as well as for any other new-comer from East or West. Considerable slices of the Bengalis,—the “crows and pigeons” of old,—whether living in hills and forests or in the plains,—were in need of “more intensive” Aryanization or remained yet to be conquered by the Aryanizing processes. Scientifically speaking, one cannot accept the postulate of the entire or the majority of Bengali people towards the close of the Sena regime as having been factually Hindu or Buddhist. Positive historic evidences are lacking one way or the other. The question of the extent or degree of Bengali acculturation to Hinduism or Buddhism in the early years of the thirteenth century is therefore

open. The existence of many groups of non-Hindus and non-Buddhists in the diverse regions of Bengal may be taken as a social reality of those days.

It was mainly some of these non-Hindu and non-Buddhist Bengalis that accepted the Muslim faith from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. Converts from Hindus and Buddhists to Islam cannot be historically demonstrated to have been many. It remains yet to be proven that Islam was accepted by large masses of low-caste Hindus as a refuge from the persecution alleged to have been perpetrated by the higher castes. The story of the ill-treatment meted out in those days by the Brahmanocracy to the non-Brahmans, although a reality perhaps in certain cases, is in many instances a myth. Hinduism was perhaps in those days confined in the main to the small circle of rulers, military aristocracy, administrative hierarchy, and commercial oligarchy. The conquests of the Brahmanocracy among the broad masses of the population may have been rather halting, superficial and inconsiderable. Most of the folk lived to all intents and purposes beyond the pale of Aryanization or Hinduization. The work of Islam is likely to have flourished chiefly beyond this pale. In all these discussions we should have to go by numerical considerations, *i.e.*, the number of individuals, families, groups or villages that had accepted Hinduization or that were to accept Islam. But this numerical, *i.e.*, statistical question is not easy to solve. It has therefore become the convention to treat every Bengali of the Sena times as having been a Hindu or Buddhist. This is a very questionable attitude from the standpoint of acculturation as a social process.

Be this as it may, Islam was conquered by Bengali creativity and became Bengalicized just like Hinduism and Buddhism. Chaitanya's Vaishnava-cult was one of the "Aryan" rivals to Islam in the matter of making converts from non-Hindus and non-Buddhists in medieval Bengal. *Shaikh Shubhodaya*, *Kavi-Kankana-Chandi* and the Radha-Krishna songs represented certain phases of mutual "acculturation" between the original pariah culture of Bengal and the non-Bengali Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim faiths. In each the atmosphere is profoundly Bengali, *i.e.*, pariah. The non-pariah, *i.e.*, the foreign Aryan or Islamic elements are seen as intruders struggling for assimilation in the milieu of "birds, crows and pigeons," the low-castes, untouchables and aboriginals.

The manners and customs of the Bengali Mussalmans and Bengali Hindus are very often found to be identical, similar or allied. This identity, commonness or affinity is not invariably to be accounted for by the circumstance that Mussalmans are converts from Hinduism. In numerous instances the explanation is to be sought in the fact that the Mussalmans like the Hindus have derived the manners and customs from a common source, namely, the pre-Hindu and pre-Muslim Bengali "birds, crows and pigeons," or pariahs of all denominations. It is Bengalicism, the original culture and religion of the Bengali pariahs, that has conquered both Hinduism and Islam and has compelled both to get acculturated to the millennium-long mores of the Bengali people.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the cultural *milieu* of the Bengali people was furnished, in the main (excluding Christianity for the time being), by three factors. The first was the original Bengalicism, which remained unaffected by alien forces. The second was the Aryanism of diverse forms, old and new. The third factor was Islam. During the period of Islamization large sections of the Bengali people were continuing to be converted to the ever-conquering and aggressive Aryanism under the auspices of Vedic Hinduism, Vaishnavism, Shakticism, Tantricism, etc. Islamization ran parallel to and synchronous with Hinduization. Very often the alleged Hindu and the alleged Mussalman of Bengal during this period was in psycho-social *Gestalt* perhaps semi-Hindu and semi-Muslim at the same time within the larger pattern or frame work of the original Bengalicism of parianism. Exactly how these different groups called themselves or described one another from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, say, in the days of Akbar, Raghunandan and Chaitnya is not very clear. But it is self-evident that the anthropological, economic, political, religious or legal terms that have become popular in the twentieth century discussions in order to demarcate the tribes, castes, religions, sects, etc., would have been unintelligible to the Hindus, Muslims, semi-Hindus and semi-Muslims as well as the non-Hindus and non-Muslims of the Bengali population (excluding, again, the Christians) in the eighteenth century.

The basic religion of the Bengali people for thousands of years has remained Bengalicism. Among the Hindus of Bengal,—both masses and classes,—the fundamental religion is Bengalicism and not the so-called Hinduism. If at all, it may be described as Bengalized

Hinduism which is profoundly different from the Punjabi, Kanaujiya, Maratha, Tamil and other Hinduisms. Durga, Lakshmi, Jagaddhatri, Kali, Chandi, Saraswati, Radha, Manasa, Sitala, and other goddesses worshipped by the Bengali men and women of the diverse castes are virtually unknown in the rest of India except as mere names or metaphors. These goddesses are the Bengali women,—mothers, sisters, wives and daughters,—anthropomorphically and perhaps romantically and idealistically elevated to the dignity of divinities by the Bengali realistic imagination and creative spirit. So are Krishna, Kartik, Ganesh, Dakshin Roy and other gods of the Bengali people nothing but Bengali men,—fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons. It is the boys and girls, the men and women of Bengal, who are adored, lionized, loved and worshipped by the Bengalis in the aesthetic atmosphere of a few songs, chants or hymns in alien Sanskrit, the meaning of which is understood by hardly anybody, very often not even by the priest, in any case, not by more than a few handfuls of the *intelligentsia*. Bengalis worship their own creations, their own sentiments, emotions and activities. Bengalicism is a profoundly secular, materialistic, humane and energistic faith. It creates its ideals and idols in order to serve the men and women with the ideas of vigour, health, wealth and efficiency. The gods and goddesses of the Bengali Hindus have been invented, discovered or manufactured by the creative genius of the Bengali masses and classes in every age in order to help forward the expansion of Bengali life. Bengali Hinduism is a child's play to the men and women of Bengal.

It was while Islam was getting Bengalicized in certain regions of Bengal and among certain groups of the Bengali people that Hinduism was being acculturated to Bengali conditions by accepting Bengali ideas about the gods and goddesses. The Doms, Hadis, Chamars, Bagdis, fowlers and other castes of the Bengali population have substantially contributed to the inventory of the Bengali gods and goddesses. The contribution of the so called untouchables, depressed, aboriginals and so forth of Bengal to Bengali Hinduism is of extraordinary importance. Bengali Hinduism is not so much Indo-Aryanism or All-Indian Hinduism modified by Bengali conditions as Bengali folk-religion establishing the might of Bengalicism on the few slender items or homœopathic doses of Sanskrit culture and overpowering them with the Bengali paraphernalia. In the songs or poems about Chandi, Kali, Radha, Behula, *Holi*, *Gajan*, *Gambhira*, etc., is to be

seen not so much the Aryanization of the pariah as the parianization of the so-called Aryan. *

The ideology and the *mores* of the Bengali Mussalman represent likewise more the parianization of Islam than the Islamization of the pariah. The command of Arabic or Persian slogans over the Bengali Mussalmans is not even as profound as that of Sanskrit over the Bengali Hindus. It is the Bengali words and phrases that embody in the main the devotion and energism of the Bengali Hindus and Mussalmans.

In the twentieth century Bengalicism, the culture and religion of the "birds, crows and pigeons", i.e., of the Bengali pariahs, continues to hold the ground in no unmistakable manner. In the first place, it is the cult of all those Bengalis who, whatever be their number, are neither Hindus, nor Mussalmans nor Christians. In the second place, it is serving to Bengalicize Hinduism, Islam as well as Christianity. Last but not least, it is embodied in the *mores* and institutions of those persons who are seemingly Hindus and yet seemingly Mussalmans, who indeed may be indifferently described as either Hindus or Mussalmans in socio-religious *Gestalt*.

In modern times from Clive down to 1911 Bengal was independent of Northern India in administration but contained the political capital of entire India. This gave the Bengalis a special position in Indian public life.

The Bengali capacity for withstanding the foreign cultural influences and finally converting, dominating or Bengalicizing them is manifest with equal force from Rammohun and the greatest authors and publicists of Bengal down to the latest contributors to the weekly editions of the Bengali dailies of today. Christianity, Western culture and English education have all submitted to Bengali influences, conquests or dominations. Rammohun Bengalicised the rationalism of the eighteenth century, Madhusudan the world-embracing virility of Dante and Milton, Rangalal, Bihari, Hem and Nabin the democracy, socialism and feminism of the Victorian epoch; Bankim the positivism of Comte and Mill; Vivekananda the idealism of Fichte and Carlyle; Aurobindo the mystical duty-sense and youth-cult of Mazzini and Kant; Ambika Ukil the capitalism and industrialism of modern economy; Rabindranath the sturdy individualism of Browning and

* See B. K. Sarkar : *The Folk Element in Hindu Culture* (London, 1917), *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937, Chapter on "The Positivism of Bengali Poetry").

Whitman ; Sarat the humanistic anarchism of Dostoyevski. The literary, scientific and economic writers, thinkers and speakers of the last two decades, i.e., since c. 1918-20 (the age of Lenin) have been struggling, among other things, to give an effective shape to the ideologies of socialism. In all these conquests or assimilations of Eur-American culture by the Bengali intelligentsia the Bengali creativity is so prominent that it is extremely difficult to detect the foreign influences unless one is adequately equipped in Western thought and determined to discern them.

Pan-Indian reputation was not obtained by the Bengali poets, philosophers, scientists and religious preachers down to the eighteenth century except to a certain extent by Emperor Dharmapal, Chaitanya, and the *Navya Nyaya* system of philosophy. It is in the nineteenth century and in recent years that Bengali thinkers, scholars and politicians have succeeded in winning a recognition on the All-Indian plane like the great Indians of antiquity and the Middle Ages.

This is an important subject awaiting intensive historical researches with the object of investigating, province by province, if, when and to what extent Bengali creativities in politics, warfare, literature, sciences, arts, etc., succeeded in influencing the masses and the classes of non-Bengali men and women in ancient and medieval times.

Among the creations of the Bengali Muslims in politics, literature, arts and sciences down to the end of the eighteenth century *Seiyur Mutaqherin* is perhaps the only work that may be regarded as having had some sort of an All-Indian importance. This is another topic that deserves careful investigation, especially as to whether the author, Gholam Hussein, is to be taken at all as a Bengali.

By the "world-standard" Bengali creativities hardly rose to the level of non-Bengali Indian creativities down to the end of the nineteenth century. The propagation of Indian culture in eastern, northern and western Asia by which a "Greater India" was established in foreign countries was in the main the work of non-Bengali Hindus and Buddhists. The contributions of ancient and medieval Bengalis to this Greater India of old cannot yet be historically demonstrated to any mentionable extent except perhaps in the influences exerted by the architecture and sculpture of Paharpur (Rajshahi) in Java, Burma, Siam and Cambodia. The Buddhist missionizing activities of Dipankar, the Bengali of Vikrampur (Dacca), in Tibet must however be mentioned in this connection.

It is since 1893, with the first contact of Vivekananda with America, that the Bengali people has been winning recognition as a power in world-culture. The *Swadeshi* revolution of young Bengal in 1905 is an important force in the international politics and culture of modern times. During the last 35 years Bengali men and women in the different walks of life, in arts and industries, in sciences and philosophies have been accepted, along with other Indians, as mentionable colleagues by the world's creative intellectuals and statesmen on account of contributions to the journals of learned societies and participation in international congresses holding their sessions in the two hemispheres.

A second period of India's ideological imperialism or influences in world-culture,—corresponding to the Greater India of old,—may be taken to have commenced on a small scale. And in this Greater India of the twentieth century Bengali creativities in politics and culture occupy a prominent status. Today in 1941 Bengalis are not to be treated as falling from a higher to a lower position but as rising steadily although slowly from a lower to a higher level.

“ We have climbed a height indeed,
But, alas, the highest is yet to come.”

HOW EGYPT IS GOVERNED

PROF. RAMESH CHANDRA GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

THE Egyptian Constitution of 1923 was drawn up by a Committee of thirty Liberals chosen by King Fuad. After an extensive study of the world's constitutions, the Committee presented a draft "which was mainly inspired by the Belgian Constitution, without regard for different social and other conditions obtaining in Egypt" (*vide*—Arthur Merton, in *Contemporary Review*, Jan., 1931, p. 32). The project of this Committee was revised by a Government Commission, and promulgated by the King on 19th April, 1923. The Egyptian Electoral Law was promulgated ten days later. The Constitution and the Electoral Law, were not, therefore, drawn up or sanctioned by any National Constituent Assembly, as in France or U.S.A. But an American authority, Dr. O'Rourke says: "The Constitution was not imposed upon the country by a parliamentary decree of Great Britain, but found its origin in the actions of the existing functionaries of the Egyptian Government. It is impossible to argue that it finds its ultimate authority in the Declaration of February 28, 1922, for one seeks in vain for a mention of it there" (*vide*—"The Juristic Status of Egypt and the Sudan," 1935, pp. 65-66). I cannot agree with Dr. O'Rourke. The Constitution was drawn up under the dominant influence of Great Britain. Notwithstanding the letter of Lord Allenby to King Fuad, accompanying the Declaration of 1922, it remains a fact that the Constitution was framed when Egypt was occupied by the British Army (the Army is still there, and it has not been removed from Egypt, even for a single day, between 1882 and 1940). It is also well known that the Constitution was drawn up subject to the reservations contained in the Declaration of 1922. The British High Commissioner threatened to review the Declaration and to throw the Constitution overboard if it referred to the Sudan, or the British Army in Egypt or the Capitulations, etc., and he actually intervened twelve times, even in such purely domestic matters as the Public Assemblies Bill of 1927. The Egyptian Constitution, was not, therefore, drawn up freely ; and on strictly legal grounds, Egypt is not

even now a sovereign State. For, the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 was also drawn up at a time when Egypt was still occupied by British Forces; the treaty itself merely legalises the reservations of the Declaration of 1922, with certain amendments. But even assuming that it was signed and ratified quite freely by Egypt, still, following the accepted definition of sovereignty, we cannot but regard Egypt as a Client State (in the words of Mr. Lawrence); for, she has agreed to the "stationing of British forces" on her soil, and tied herself for all time to the foreign policy of Great Britain—a restraint which even the Dominions like South Africa and Australia, do not suffer. The reservations in the Declaration of 1922, legalised in the Treaty of 1936, are verily like the reservations contained in the Government of India Act, 1935, giving special powers to the Governor-General, and the Provincial Governors to intervene and even to suspend the constitution, if necessary, to discharge their special responsibilities for peace, minorities, native states, public services, etc. Neither can it be said that the people had any share in the framing of this constitution. It is true that the first Parliament of 1924 accepted and worked on the basis of this constitution. But it must be remembered that it was composed on the basis of an electoral law formed not by any Constituent Assembly, but by a Committee appointed by the King. Secondly, it should not be forgotten that, had the first Parliament refused to work the Constitution, the King in his turn might have refused to give the people any constitution at all. And certainly the Egyptians had no means, due to the presence of the British Army in Egypt, to force the King to give a more democratic constitution. Indeed, when it was found that parliamentary sovereignty was making its headway in Egypt, the King did not hesitate to nip it in the bud, even before the very eyes of the British who would neither tolerate any government by the majority party, i.e., the Wafd, nor allow the people to take such measures as holding public demonstrations, meetings, etc., for compelling the King to yield to popular demands. The result was that the King became autocratic, dismissing popular ministers, suspending the constitution, changing electoral laws and carrying on government by decrees and with the help of self-constituted leaders like Yehia Pasha, Sidky Pasha, Ali Maher Pasha, etc.,—some of whom were palace officials, and almost all without any following in the country. A liberal interpretation of the constitution of 1923

might have helped the growth of parliamentary government in Egypt; but, by putting his own interpretations, by jealously exercising all his prerogatives, and even by introducing a new constitution in 1930, which increased his already excessive powers, the King ceaselessly tried to carry on a personal government. As Hans Kohn says: "The Egyptians had to carry on a two-fold struggle, against Great Britain and against their own king. It was a struggle not only for independence and sovereignty but also for parliamentary democracy, for assertion of the popular will as the source and director of political life" ("Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East," p. 79).

However, let us now proceed to give a brief description of the Constitution of Egypt, as it is at present. The Constitution of 1923 was suspended from July 19, 1928, to October 31, 1929, and was replaced by another Constitution on October 22, 1930, which was in force up to November 30, 1934. From December, 1934, to December, 1935, Egypt was governed by the King without a Constitution. In January, 1936, the Constitution of 1923 was restored by the King, and is now in force, together with the Electoral Law of 1923. It has a short preamble and 170 Articles, divided into seven topics, *viz.*, (1) Nature and Government of the State, (2) Rights and Duties of Egyptians, (3) Concerning Power, (4) Finances, (5) Armed Forces, (6) General Dispositions, and (7) Final and Temporary Provisions. Topic 3 is sub-divided into five chapters, *viz.* (1) General Methods, (2) Concerning King and His Ministers, (3) Concerning Parliament, (4) Judiciary, and (5) Provincial and Municipal Councils. Chapter 3 of Topic 3 is again divided into several sections, dealing with the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies, etc. (For the Text of the Constitution of 1923, see *Brit. and For. State Paps.*, Vol. CXVIII of 1923; also, *Current History*, Vol. XXV, Jan., 1927).

RIGHTS OF EGYPTIANS

The Constitution declares Egypt to be a sovereign state, free and independent, having a hereditary monarch at the head and a system of representative government. Following the traditions of the written constitutions of America and Europe, Articles 2-22 mention the fundamental rights and duties of the Egyptian people. All Egyptians are equal before law and "enjoy equally civil and political rights, and are equally subservient to public responsibilities and obligations,

without distinctions of race, tongue or religion (Art. 3). The Constitution guarantees the freedom of person, property, opinion, religion, press, communication and association within the limits set by law. The domicile is declared to be inviolable. Elementary education is obligatory for the younger Egyptians of both sexes. It is free in the public Maktabas (Art. 19). The right of petition is guaranteed to every Egyptian of good repute. But in practice these rights have not proved to be very real. Thus, the Wafd leaders were arrested and their papers suppressed by the government of Sidky Pasha in 1930, when they protested against Sidky's measures to modify the Constitution and the Electoral Law of 1924. Again in May, 1931, just before the General Election, pacific demonstrations were prevented and even the holding of the Wafd National Congress was prohibited by executive actions. Lastly, it cannot be forgotten that the petition of Nabas Pasha, submitted on January 23, 1938, before the Procurator General, for an enquiry into the attempt on his life made in November, 1937, in which he believed such prominent politicians like Mahmud Pasha (then Premier), and Ali Maher Pasha (then Chief of the Royal Cabinet) were involved, was simply rejected.

SOURCES OF GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY

Articles 23-31 deal with the sources of governmental authority. All power emanates from the nation (in *Current History*, instead of the word "nation," we have "government"), and "is exercised in the manner established by the present constitution" (Art. 23). A very interesting question arises as to who was the sovereign authority that granted the constitution. Is he the King or is it the Parliament or the Nation? An Egyptian authority, Shoukri Nagib, says that as the preamble begins with these words: "Nous Roi d'Egypt, considerant.....ordonons", etc., the King is the source of the sovereign power. But another Egyptian authority El Sayed Sabrey is of opinion that "En pretant serment devant le Parlement lors de sa premiere reunion, le Roi a perdu tous droit sur la constitution" (see his "Le pouvoir Legislatif et le pouvoir Executif en Egypt," 1930, p. 35). That is also the opinion of Dr. O'Rourke (*Ibid.*, p. 69). But considering the constitutional practices of Egypt from 1923 to 1940, especially the suspension of the constitution by the King, and the government by Royal Decrees, it seems that whatever might be the

letters of the constitution, the King was its grantor and even now continues to be the real sovereign authority in the State.

Article 24 vests the Legislative Power in the King concurrently with the Senate and the Chamber. The Executive Power belongs to the King "under conditions established by the present Constitution." The Judicial Power is exercised by the Courts whose decrees and sentences "are issued and executed in conformity with the law and in the name of the King" (Arts. 24-31).

THE KING

The Chief Executive in Egypt is the King. The throne was declared hereditary in the male line by primogeniture in the dynasty of Mohamed Ali. Failing such direct line, the Law of Succession of April 13, 1922, provides that the throne is to pass first to the King's brothers and their direct descendants by right of age, each King establishing a new House, and the succession being vested in his direct line. Ex-Khedive Abbas Hilmi is expressly excluded from the throne of Egypt; but his direct and legitimate descendants are not. One who is not a Moslem, or the son of Moslem parents or who is a female or a descendant of a female member of the Royal Family, is excluded from the throne. In case there is no heir to the throne, the King may name his successor with the consent of two-thirds of the members of the two Houses of Legislature, each of which must have at least three-fourths of its members present for this purpose. In case the King fails to name his successor, the two Houses must meet within eight days (in any case, on the ninth day) from the death of the king and elect his successor by a majority of two-thirds. At least three-fourths of the members must be present on such an occasion, if the election be held within eight days but if it is held afterwards, any number of the present and a simple majority of vote, will be sufficient.

The powers of the King are numerous and real. His body is inviolable. He sanctions and promulgates the laws and makes provisions for their execution. He summons, prorogues and dissolves the Parliament. He creates and confers titles, honours, civil and military rank and decorations. He has the right to pardon. He organises the public services. He can proclaim a state of siege. He is the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Navy and the Air Forces. He

declares war, concludes peace and makes treaties of all sorts. He appoints and dismisses his ministers and ambassadors, etc. But in the letters of the constitution, there are certain limitations and conditions imposed upon the King. He must take an oath of loyalty to the Constitution (Art. 50); he "exercises his powers through the medium of his ministers" (Art. 48); he cannot be the chief of another state without the consent of the parliament; he cannot make any treaties of peace or alliance or commerce or navigation or those which affect the territories or public treasuries of Egypt, or which are prejudicial to the fundamental rights of the Egyptian citizens, without the assent of Parliament. The proclamation of a state of siege and the decrees made by the King to meet urgent needs, must be presented before the Parliament, which, if not in session, must be convoked in extra-session; otherwise they will cease to have power as laws. The King's power to adjourn the session of Parliament is subject to the limitation that "the adjournment may not exceed a month's time, nor be renewed in the same session without the consent of both Chambers" (Art. 39). The King's right to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies is subject to two limitations; first, the act of dissolving the Chamber must contain the date of new election, which must be held within two months from the date of dissolution, and the new Chamber must meet within ten days following the elections. Secondly, the new Chamber cannot be dissolved "before settling the same question" for which the old one was dissolved (Art. 88-89). The King is empowered by Art. 40 to convoke Parliament for extra-sessions and to adjourn it. But this Article contains the following important provision, which was violated by King Fuad in 1930 under the instigation of Sidky Pasha, when the Wafd majority in the Chamber petitioned the King to convene the Parliament in extraordinary session: "This convocation (in extra-session) can take place also by petition signed by an absolute majority of the members composing one or the other of the two Chambers." Article 48, which says that the King exercises his powers through the medium of his ministers, is again clarified by Art. 65 which enjoins ministerial responsibility in these words: "When the Chamber of Deputies declares that it has no confidence in the Cabinet, the Ministry *must resign*. If the vote does not endorse, a minister should resign." This Article has again been violated by the King, on many occasions, assisted as he has been always by self-constituted leaders with no

following in the country. Out of seventeen ministries the King had only three popular Wafd ministries, who were also driven out of office on account of their insistence upon a democratic interpretation of the Constitution. All the rest were the King's creatures. Lastly, the King's power to sanction and promulgate laws is subject to this condition that such laws must be approved by Parliament, while his vetoing power is restricted to returning a Bill, approved by Parliament, within a month for revision.

If the King does not return a bill within this period or if the bill returned in the aforesaid way, is passed again by a two-thirds majority of the members composing both Chambers, it becomes a Law and shall be promulgated. But if the Bill is not passed by this majority, then it cannot be discussed again in the same session. If in the following session the Bill is passed by the Parliament, "with the same majority," then it becomes a Law and shall be promulgated. But this article was rendered ineffective by the King who suspended the Parliament itself, for several times and years. The Constitution allows the King (and the Regents, during his minority) an allowance, known as the Civil List, to be fixed at each accession to the throne, for the duration of the reign. By Law No. 58 of 1938, the Civil List of King Farouk has been fixed at £E. 100,000 and the allowance for the Royal Family at £E. 100,000.

During the minority of the present King, a Council of Regency was appointed. The persons named by the late King Fuad in his sealed envelope, to be appointed Regents to his son, being dead and gone, the Parliament after discussion, accepted the three names proposed by Nahas Pasha, the leader of the majority party in the Chamber, on May 8, 1936. The Regency expired on July 29, 1937, when King Farouk reached his majority (18 years), according to lunar calender. By Article 55, however, the Council of Ministers is empowered to exercise the constitutional powers of the King, under its responsibility, during the period intervening between the date of the death of the King and the taking of oath by his successor or Regents. The King of Egypt has also a Royal Cabinet, presided over by a Chief who is appointed by the King and who exercises considerable influence over state-affairs. Sometimes, the Chief of the Royal Cabinet becomes the Premier of Egypt, when the King does not find any other individual to rely on (*e.g.*, Ali Maher Pasha was twice Chief and twice Premier, after the King had dismissed Nahas Pasha).

THE MINISTERS

The Council of Ministers is at the head of the State Department. Only Egyptians can be ministers ; no member of the ruling dynasty can be a minister under Article 59, which thereby secures ministerial independence. A practice has gradually grown up of including a Christian Egyptian as a minister. There were two Coptic Premiers, viz., Burtos Pasha Ghali (1910) and Youssef Pasha Wahaba (1919), while under the Wafdist administration, there were two Copts in the Cabinet. As Merton says: " There is an unwritten law that every Cabinet should include at least one Christian Minister. It is consequently possible that the Premier may not in future be a Muslim " (*Ibid.*, p. 38).

Every decision of the King, in order to be effective, must be countersigned by the President of the Council of Ministers and the ministers concerned (Art. 60). Ministers are jointly and severally responsible to the Chamber of Deputies and " in no case can a verbal or written order from the King relieve a Minister of his responsibility " a provision which reminds one of Danby (Art. 61-62). Ministers have free access to both Houses, can answer questions put to them by the members of the Parliament, cannot accept any post or have any interest in commercial or financial enterprises, and must resign when they lose the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber by a two-thirds majority, can put ministers on trial for all infractions committed by them in the exercise of their functions. A Committee of the Chamber will conduct the accusation, while a special Court composed of seventeen judges, of whom eight are Senators elected by lot, eight Egyptian magistrates of the highest Court, taken by order of seniority, and one, the president of this highest court, who will be the Chairman of this Special Court, shall try the accused. In cases that are provided for, the Penal Code is to be applied ; in other cases, Special Law. Convictions are rendered by a majority of twelve votes. When a minister is accused, he must resign ; and when condemned, he cannot be pardoned except with the assent of the Chamber of Deputies. The principle of homogeneity has not developed in the Egyptian Cabinet system due to the King's persistent endeavour to establish coalition cabinets (all cabinets excepting the three Wafd Cabinets were coalition cabinets). Ministerial responsibility has been rendered a farce by the suspension of Parliaments, alterations of the Constitution, and by the resolute refusal of the

Cabinet, backed by the King, to resign even when it has been actually defeated in the Chamber. There are at present twelve departments, viz., (1) Foreign Affairs ; (2) Interior ; (3) Finance ; (4) Agriculture ; (5) Justice ; (6) Defence ; (7) Health ; (8) Communications ; (9) Education ; (10) Commerce and Industry ; (11) Wakfs ; (12) Public Works. A new Department was created in 1939, that of Social Services. Sometimes, two departments are taken charge of by the same minister, *e.g.*, the Premier Ali Maher Pasha was the Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Interior ; while in this Cabinet (1939), besides the ministers in charge of the above-mentioned departments, there were two ministers without portfolios.

THE SENATE

The Egyptian Parliament (Balrman) is composed of two Houses, the Senate (Majlis ash Shuyukh) and the Chamber of Deputies (Majlis ash Nnuwab). The number of Senators fluctuates, for it is based on the ratio of one Senator for every 1,80,000 inhabitants or fraction thereof, not lower than 90,000. The country is divided into equal electoral districts for the return of one Senator from each. Besides these elected Senators, the Constitution provides for two-fifths of the total number of Senators to be nominated by the King, *i.e.*, after determining the number of elected Senators on the aforesaid basis, the number of nominated Senators is settled at two-thirds of the former. The tenure of a Senator is ten years, but half of the Senators, elected or appointed are removed every five years. The President of the Senate is chosen by the King, and the two Vice-Presidents are elected by the Senators from amongst themselves, each for a period of two years. When the Chamber is dissolved, the session of the Senate also becomes automatically suspended. To be a Senator one must be a male Egyptian of 40 years, possessing sound mind and belonging to one of the following categories: Princes ; high state officers like Ministers, Diplomatic Representatives, etc.; Presidents of the Chamber of Deputies ; Under-Secretaries of State ; Presidents and Judges of the Court of Appeal ; Attorney-Generals ; Presidents of the Lawyers' Associations ; Officials of the State of the rank of Director-General past or present ; high representatives of the Corps of Turkish Doctors of Law and of the Clergy ; retired general officers of the rank of Lewa ; members of the Chamber of

Deputies during two legislatures; landowners paying annual taxes of £E. 50 ; and persons of annual income of £E. 1,500 and taking part in business or belonging to a learned profession. The Egyptian Senate is thus a very important body representing, as it does, national wealth, wisdom and experience. At present there are 147 members (after the election of May 17, 1936), distributed amongst the various parties as follows: Wafd—69 ; Saadist—15 ; Liberal Constitutional Party—13 ; Ittibad Es Shaabi—6 ; Wattani—1 ; Independents—33 ; Undecided—10.

THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

The members of the Chamber are all elected under the Law of 1923 on the basis of one Deputy for every 60,000 inhabitants or fractions thereof, but not less than 30,000. The Country is divided into single-member electoral districts. The Deputy must be 30 years of age or over. For the election of both the Senators and Deputies each group of thirty electors nominates one Delegate, and these Delegates again elect the Senators and the Deputies. Therefore, in Egypt election is by two-degrees under the Electoral Law of 1923. This system was replaced in 1924 by that of direct election—a measure introduced by Zaglul Pasha ; but at present, the indirect system prevails since the restoration of the Constitution in 1936. The primary voters must be male Egyptian subjects of 21 years of age or over, not suffering from any physical, mental or legal disqualifications. The life of the Chamber is five years, but it can be dissolved earlier by the King subject to the conditions noted above. The President and two Vice-Presidents of the Chamber are elected from among its members at the beginning of each ordinary session.

Both the Senators and the Deputies represent the whole nation. They must take an oath of loyalty to the King and to the Constitution. They are not bound by pledges. The Parliament is convoked by the King every year in ordinary session before the third Saturday of November, and “ in default of being summoned, it meets automatically at this date ” (Art. 96). But, as we have seen, this categorical provision was flagrantly violated by King Fuad, thrice within thirteen years. The sessions of the two Houses are to be simultaneous and to last ordinarily six months. Neither of the two Houses can take resolutions if the majority of its members are not

present (Art. 99). Every Bill must be referred to a Committee for examination and report. When it is adopted by one House, it will be sent by its President to the President of the other House. But if it is rejected, it cannot be brought up again in the same session (Art. 106). Every member is entitled to ask questions to the ministers, after giving a notice of at least eight days, except in case of urgency. He also enjoys all the privileges usually enjoyed by the legislators of western democracies, *i.e.*, freedom of discussion, freedom from arrest, etc., during the continuance of the session. Members of Parliament cannot accept any title or decoration unless it be military, during their term of office, and they are liable to be deprived of their commission by an adverse vote of the members of a House. After a delay of two months from the date of its vacancy, a seat must be filled up. The re-election of the Chamber and the renewal of half of the Senators are to take place during the sixty days that precede the expiration of their term; otherwise, the terms are prolonged until the elections or the renewal. Each House makes its internal regulations for keeping order and prosecuting its business. The Ministers always have the right to demand an adjournment of the Chamber of Deputies for eight days after every vote of no-confidence. The King pronounces the close of the session. On important occasions the two Houses, convoked by the King, might meet jointly in Congress under the Presidency of the President of the Senate, and yet at the same time each might continue its separate constitutional functions.

But, in order to pass a resolution, there must be an absolute majority in each House, excepting in matters dealing with the budget, when an absolute majority of the total votes of the Congress will be sufficient (Art. 120-123).

The Parliament has full control over the revenues and expenditure of the state. No tax can be imposed except by right of law. No public loan or any financial liability can be contracted without the consent of Parliament, while monopolies and concessions can be granted only for a limited period and with its consent. Every year, at least three months before the financial year, the budget must be presented before it and voted topic by topic. The Chamber of Deputies has the special right of discussing and voting the budget, first. Article 140 definitely says that "the Parliamentary session cannot be closed before voting the budget"—a provision which King Faud violated so

often; while Article 141 guarantees the observance of the pledges given by Egypt for the security of her public and foreign debts—which again reminds us that the Constitution of 1923 was drawn up subject to the reservations contained in the Declaration of 1922. The Constitution also provides that the quota of the army, its organisation, the rights and duties of the soldiers as well as those of the police forces are to be determined by law (Articles 146-148). In Topic VI there are some general provisions which declare Islam as the State religion, Arabic as the official language, and forbid extradition of political refugees “without prejudice to international agreements for the protection of the social order.” Article 154 prohibits the application of this constitution in any way that might affect the vested interests of the foreigners in Egypt, acquired “by virtue of laws, treaties or acknowledged customs” (Articles 149-54). The most important Article in the whole Constitution is 155. It declares categorically that “no disposition of the present constitution can *on any pretext whatever*, be suspended, except temporarily in times of war or state of siege, and *in a manner determined by the law. In any case, the assembling of Parliament, under conditions established by the present constitution, cannot be stopped.*” This most explicit provision of the constitution was violated by the King on more occasions than one. For the revision, alteration or amendment of the constitution, a resolution declaring the necessity for such revision must be passed by an absolute majority of all the members of each House and receive the King’s sanction. Then, after deliberation, the necessary amendments must be passed by a majority of two-thirds of the voters present. But on such an occasion, two-thirds of the total number of the members must be present to make the deliberations and voting valid. The King as well as each of the two Houses may propose amendments; but provisions relating to representation in Parliament, the order of succession to the throne and principles of liberty and equality, cannot be made subject to any revision whatsoever.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Articles 132 and 133 provide for the establishment of Provincial and Municipal Governments, with their local Councils, where members are elected or nominated according to law. Egypt has been divided into 5 Governorships (Muhafzas) of principal towns and 14 Mudirs or

Provinces subdivided into districts or Markazas. These districts, ninety in number, are again subdivided into 3,000 circumscriptions, each under an "Omda," assisted by a "Sarraf," i.e., a treasurer. Due to the existence of large number of foreigners in the following 14 towns, they are governed by Mixed Commissions composed of equal number of Europeans and Egyptians: -Alexandria, Beni Suef, Benha, Damanhur, Kafr-el-Zayat, Mahalla-el-Kubra, Mansura, Medinet-el-Faiyum, Minya, Mit Ghamr, Port Said, Tanta, Zagazig, Zifta. The Mixed Commissions in these towns, excepting that of Alexandria, cannot impose any new tax upon the non-Egyptian residents without their previous consent. Besides these, there are 56 towns having local commissions composed of only four elected members and two others nominated by the Central Government, for the protection of foreign interest. There are also 39 towns whose administrations are carried on by village councils composed of only four members, the Central Government having no power to nominate any foreigner in these councils. The Provincial Councils consist of two elected representatives from each Markaz, and are presided over by the Mudirs who are appointed by the Central Government. Among the functions of these Councils, the following are the most important: Elementary Education, Public Markets, Local Police, creation of new hamlets, etc. The Central Government has complete veto power over the actions of these provincial and local bodies of every description, especially when they overstep their power or injure the general good.

THE EGYPTIAN JUDICIARY

Pre-British judicial administration was the most rotten thing in Egypt. The first attempt to introduce reforms was made by Nubar Pasha and Lord Cromer. Matters relating to the personal status of the Egyptians were decided in the Cadi's Courts, while other civil and criminal matters were transferred to Tribunals of three classes, viz., (1) the Courts of First Instance (Medjlis Ibtadieh), (2) three Courts of Appeals (Medjlis Estinaf), (3) a Superior Court of Cairo (Medjlis el Akham). The International Agreement, signed in 1875, transferred some civil and criminal cases in which foreigners were involved to the Mixed Tribunals; while all criminal cases in which only foreigners were involved, were tried by Consular Courts. In 1880 the Egyptian Government appointed a Commission for framing the necessary Codes

for the Native Courts as a result whereof the "Reglement Organique" was promulgated by a Khedival Decree on 17th November, 1881. There was a Court of First Instance in each Mudirieh with three judges, one of them being a European, forming the quorum. Above them were two Courts of Appeal, one for Upper and the other for Lower Egypt, each having five judges, two of them being Europeans. The French system of Administrative Courts was purposely omitted, while in the Corpus Juris a number of equitable provisions to meet the conditions of the poor *fellaheen* was incorporated. In 1905 Markaz Tribunals were established to expedite the administration of justice. In 1912 Cantonal Courts (two in each Markaz) superseded the former, while the latter were also abolished in 1930, their jurisdiction being transferred to the Summary Tribunals (for details, *vide* Cmd. 6875, Egypt, No. 3 (1913); also W. Fraser Rae—"Egypt To-day" (1892), Chapter XI; and A. Milner—"England in Egypt," Chapter X).

Due to capitulatory rights, Egyptian judicial system has become very cumbrous and complex. It is summarily described in Articles 30 and 124-131 of the Constitution of 1923. The jurisdictions of the Courts are determined by the law of Egypt; the judges are appointed and dismissed "according to conditions determined by law," and they are independent. "No power of the State can interfere in their proceedings" (Art. 124). The Courts of Egypt can be divided into four groups, (1) National Courts, (2) the Courts of Personal Status, (3) the Consular Courts and (4) the Mixed Tribunals. The National Courts are absolutely under the control of the Egyptian Government. They exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction in all matters concerning Egyptian subjects only, excepting cases of domestic relations or personal status. The substantive and procedural laws enforced in these Courts are of independent Egyptian origin and have no connection with the other judicial structures in the country. These Courts are divided into three classes, *viz.*, Summary, District and Appeal Courts. There are 98 Summary Courts and 9 Judicial Delegations, each presided over by a single judge, having civil jurisdiction in cases up to £E 250 in value, and criminal jurisdiction in cases punishable with fine or by imprisonment for not more than three years. Of the District or Central Courts, there are 11, each of the Chambers of which consists of three judges. These Courts have both original jurisdiction in Civil cases of higher values and appellate jurisdiction, hearing appeals from the Summary Tribunals. Serious crimes and all press offences are tried

by special monthly Assizes formed by three judges of the Court of Appeal. There are only two such Courts of Appeal, one at Cairo and the other at Assiout, hearing appeals from the District Courts. In 1931 a Court of Cassation was set up at Cairo, composed of ten judges divided into two Chambers of five judges each, one for Civil Appeal and the other for finally reviewing criminal cases on questions of law. These national courts established all over Egypt, have separate bars of their own and employ Arabic language.

The second class of Courts in Egypt are those that deal exclusively with questions of personal status, *i.e.*, marriage, divorce, probate, guardianship of minors and lunatics, appointments of tutors and mandatories. They have no jurisdiction over foreigners who were subject to their Consular Courts in those matters, before the Montreux Convention, and are now subject to the Mixed Tribunals. All religious communities have the right to be tried in these matters in Courts of their religious heads or Patriarchs.

The third class of Courts in Egypt was the Consular Courts which had originated as a result of the treaties entered into by Turkey with the Christian States, granting their nationals special commercial privileges, immunity from direct taxation, inviolability of domicile, protection from arbitrary arrest and exemption from the jurisdiction of the Native Courts. The Consular Courts, up till 1937, had exclusive jurisdiction over (1) all civil litigations between foreigners of the same nationality; (2) all crimes and misdemeanours committed by foreigners, excepting those that came before the Mixed Courts; and (3) all questions of personal status affecting their nationals. But the Montreux Convention of May 9, 1937, abolished these Courts and transferred their jurisdiction to the Mixed Tribunals for a period of twelve years.

The fourth and the last class of Courts in Egypt is the Mixed Tribunals (for the Texts of the various Portocols with France, Germany and Great Britain, of 1874-75, establishing the Mixed Tribunals see Lord Lloyd—"Egypt since Cromer," Appendix "A", pp. 363-75). The jurisdiction of these Mixed Courts covers all civil and criminal cases arising between Egyptians (including the Egyptian Government) and foreigners; between foreigners of different nationalities; and since the Montreux Convention, all cases between foreigners of even the same nationality. But it does not cover cases which involve "acts of Sovereignty" of the Egyptian States. In case of

conflict of jurisdiction between the Mixed Courts and the National Courts the former's view-point is upheld. The Codes which these Mixed Courts apply are determined by treaties, statutes and judicial decisions of these Courts. Modifications of these Mixed Codes can be made only by the International Legislative Assembly composed of the judges of the Mixed Courts of Appeals and a few additional members. But even this Assembly cannot pass any law imposing direct taxes upon the Capitulatory Powers.

The Mixed Courts consist of a Court of Appeal sitting at Alexandria and three District Courts sitting at Cairo, Alexandria and Monsorah. The judges of these Courts are chosen by the Egyptian Government from among the Egyptians and the foreigners in a certain fixed proportion. But though the Egyptian Government, while choosing the foreign judges, consults unofficially with the Ministers of Justice of the Capitulatory Powers, yet its choice is not strictly confined to their nationals (see Jasper Y. Brinton—"The Mixed Courts of Egypt," p. 79). The Judges of the Mixed Tribunals are strictly Egyptian Officials appointed by the Egyptian King and paid out of the Egyptian Treasury. Their writs run in the name of the Egyptian King, while their judgments are enforced by Egyptian authorities. But, under the Montreux Convention, the Egyptian Parliament cannot alter the Mixed Codes at least for a period of twelve years from 1937. (For some other provisions as to the appointment of the Attorney-General and the two Advocates-General, see the Montreux Convention of 1937.)

POLITICAL PARTIES IN EGYPT

The origin of the Egyptian political parties may be traced back to the days of the revolt of Arabi Pasha, the great nationalist leader who demanded constitutional Government in Egypt as early as 1861. The introduction of the British element in Egyptian politics complicated the political issues, as it was no longer a question of merely internal distribution of powers. Most of the older parties were common in their hostility to British occupation of the country, while there were some who were marked by their loyalty to the King as against the popular agitators. But since the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance of 1936, which was signed on the Egyptian side by the representatives of all political parties in the country, excepting the

Wattani, these parties are now "faced with a redefinition of their programmes in which national defence, finance and social reform are receiving careful attention" ("Political Handbook of the World—1939," p. 56).

Of the existing Political Parties, the Wattani or the National Party is the oldest, founded as it was on October 22, 1907, by Mustafa Kemal Pasha. It is an extreme wing of the public opinion led by Fikry Abaza Bey, and demanding nothing less than complete and immediate withdrawal of all British forces from Egypt, absolute independence of the country, recall of the dethroned Khedive, Abbas Hilmi, and neutralisation of the Suez Canal under Egyptian protection. It demands the assertion of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan and the cession of such regions as Berber and Zeila on the Red Sea. At present the party has few followers.

The Liberal Constitutional Party was established on October 29, 1922, under the presidency of Adli Yeghen Pasha who subsequently left it. It is now led by Mahmud Pasha and is supported by the aristocrats, monied class and the intellectuals. Its programme is a gradual improvement of the social and economic conditions of the country and moderation in the political relation with Great Britain. But it also wants complete independence for Egypt, her sovereignty over the Sudan and internally a limited monarchy.

The Wafd was formally formed in April, 1924, under the leadership of the great nationalist, Saad Zaglul Pasha, after the first election under the constitution of 1923. But as early as 1919, it was the only party in Egypt which commanded the unstinted allegiance of the people. It has set up district and local committees throughout the country, and had such a complete organisation that Lord Milner was compelled to acknowledge it in 1920 as the only representative body of the people. Its leaders and followers have sacrificed their lives and suffered long terms of imprisonment to free the country from foreign yoke and internal autocracy. After Zaglul's death in 1927, the party is now under the leadership of Nahas Pasha. Like other parties, it demands the complete independence of the country, the withdrawal of British Forces from Egyptian soil, and recognition of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan. At present, its most characteristic programme consists of calling a National Assembly, complete Parliamentary government with nominal powers for the King and direct suffrage for the people.

The fourth Party in Egypt is the Ittihad-es-Shaabi or the Popular Union Party. It is popular only in name and has very few followers. It is made up of the union of the Ittihad with the Shaabi Party of Ismail Sidky Pasha. The Ittihad is a Palace Party, founded on January 10, 1925, by Yehia Ibrahim Pasha, with the support of the King and the Court. Its object is specially to preserve, consolidate and even increase the powers of the King. Its present leader is Hilmi Issa Pasha. The Shaabi Party of Sidky Pasha was formed in 1930 just before the introduction of the reactionary constitution of that year. Its object was also to preserve the Royal prerogatives and to suppress the influence of the popular element in the Chamber, by introducing amendments to the constitution and holding elections under two-degree schemes.

The fifth and the last party in Egypt, also the latest, is the Saadist Party. It was formed in 1938 by Dr. Ahmed Maher, the leader of the dissident Wafdists, as a result of disagreement with the policy of Nahas Pasha. The Saadists profess to follow strictly the political principles of Saad Zaglul Pasha, and, it is said, that there is no fundamental difference between their ideologies and those of the Wafdists.

The strength of the various political parties of Egypt in the Chamber of Deputies, after the election of April, 1938, stood as follows:—Liberal Constitutional—93 ; Saadist—89 ; Ittihad-es-Shaabi—19 ; Wafd—13 ; Wattani—3 ; Independents—47.

TRANSCENDENTALISM IN THE POETICAL WRITINGS OF SAMUAL TAYLOR COLERIDGE

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II

IN the company of Wordsworth, Coleridge left for Germany in September, 1798, and though his friend returned earlier, he stayed in the country of the metaphysicians till the end of November, 1799, learning its language, literature and philosophy. "For Wordsworth," Muirhead rightly points out, "it was merely the 'change of sky,' wandering 'among unknown men' and writing 'home thoughts from abroad.' To Coleridge it was a pilgrimage of the spirit—an opportunity 'to finish his education'." ¹ Coleridge hoped to gain by it a deeper insight into his own heart, and looked upon "the realisation of the German scheme as of great importance to my intellectual activity, and, of course, to my moral happiness," as he wrote to Poole in August, 1798.

It has often been remarked that Coleridge learnt his transcendental philosophy in the school of Kant. There could not be any thing farther from the truth than such a view. We have the reiterated statement of the poet himself denying such a servile indebtedness. To make Coleridge an imitator is not only to minimise unjustly the greatness and depth of the poet's mind, but to deny that law of continuity of thought according to which the English philosophy of the 18th century was gradually assuming that spiritual mantle to which Kant in Germany gave the name of "Transcendentalism." It was not a purely exotic doctrine which Coleridge learned in a foreign land and brought with him to be planted in English soil. "Not only was his philosophic education very far advanced when he came into contact with German thinkers," says Charpentier, "but that contact itself is only a further step upon the road he had been travelling for four years at the least." ² If

¹ J. H. Muirhead : "Coleridge as Philosopher," p. 49.

² J. Charpentier : "Coleridge the Sublime Somnambulist," p. 171.

he assimilated it "deeply and rapidly" it was because he found in it a confirmation of the thought which he had reached, to a very great extent, by his own independent thinking after he had found that the problems of the shaping power of imagination, his attitude towards Nature, and the "moral and practical elevation of the soul,"¹ could not be explained by any of the current theories, not even by the idealism of Berkeley and the "soulless pantheism of Spinoza."² There was little "acquisition of new truths,"³ but a strength of confidence was gained when Coleridge found his own earlier convictions systematically and scientifically stated by the German philosophers. Thenceforward he became their great exponent, a detailed account of which is given in a chapter on "Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Kant" by Mr. Wellek in his admirable book "*Immanuel Kant in England*." There Mr. Wellek has clearly pointed out the fragmentary nature of the Coleridgean system which very often contradicts itself. It is not our purpose to recount all that has been said on the subject of Coleridge the philosopher. We are concerned only with those thoughts and beliefs which Coleridge has expressed in his poems, and which are not paradoxical, unlike his metaphysical exposition of the German philosophy, compared by Mr. Wellek to structure that "has here a storey from Kant, there a part of a room from Schelling, there a roof from Anglican theology and so on."⁴

The influence of Kant on the intellectual progress of Coleridge thus came late, but came with a determining force. He "took possession of me as with a giant's hand,"—is the grateful confession of Coleridge recorded by him in his "*Biographia Literaria*." Kant supplied him with the date he was looking for. In the philosopher's recognition of the "categorical imperative of the conscience" and Reason, the poet found a justification of his own conception of a supersensible reality which he had formed after his study of Plotinus and the mystics. From Kant he accepted the definition of understanding, by which he meant "the faculty of thinking and forming judgments on the notices furnished by the senses, according to certain rules existing in itself."⁵ He differed, however, from Kant in his conception of reason that denied to the human mind the power of

¹ A Brandl : *Op. Cit.*, p. 227.

² J. Shawcross : *Op. Cit.*, xli.

³ J. H. Muirhead : "*Coleridge as Philosopher*," p. 48.

⁴ Rene Wellek : *Op. Cit.*, p. 67.

⁵ "The Friend."

knowing "in experience a super-sensible reality as the ultimate source of phenomena." Kant could not conceive of reason as passing "beyond the distinction of the understanding to the unity that underlies them and gives to them such reality as they possess." He "did human reason an injustice in placing that truth in a noumenal reality which was wholly beyond its grasp." Here Coleridge took the aid of the Platonic theory of Ideas as the real objects of knowledge, and found in the existence of a common Mind a ground of unity. He also spoke of the existence of an innate power in man to which the ideas of God, freedom, and immorality existed as regulative hypotheses. Their haunting presence he had himself felt at times of deep intuition which, according to him, was the highest form of Reason. The definition of this faculty in man receives its noblest form in the following lines written by Coleridge in the conclusion of his paper "*On the Constitution of the Church and State*." He says:

"When'er the mist, that stands 'twixt God and thee,
Deflects to a pure transparency,
That intercepts no light and adds no stain—
There Reason is, and then begins her reign!"

We may characterise these years as the period of fruition of the intellectual genius of Coleridge just as the Stowey days had been that of his poetic art. In the first period he had experienced with the various systems of thought, but none could give him that spiritual satisfaction which he was hankering after. In the second period, he had laid himself open to the influences of Nature which interacting with his own mind had made his heart experience an exaltation. They stimulated his feelings and imagination, and his poetry passed without any effort from picturesque description to higher meditation. His "genial spirit" poured forth songs of delight and spiritual ecstasy as a passive instrument over which the breeze of inspiration played and brought forth sweet music. Those were the days when he believed in the active influence of the pleasures of the senses on the mind of the observer. But now he had reached a point of view that revolted against the idea of the passiveness of mind. The change was definitely pronounced by Coleridge in his letter to Poole, written in

¹ A. E. Powell: "Romantic Theory of Poetry," p. 98.

² J. H. Muirhead: "Coleridge as Philosopher," p. 98.

³ *Ibid.*

1801: "Newton," he wrote, "was a mere materialist. Mind, in his system, is always passive, a lazy Looker-on on an external world. If the mind be not passive, if it be indeed made in God's Image, and that, too, in the sublimest sense, the Image of the Creator, there is ground for suspicion that any system built on the passiveness of the mind must be false as system." He reverts to this charge of passiveness of the mind in the philosophic systems of the eighteenth century, in his later writings, and calls the doctrine of Necessity "the irreligious metaphysics of modern infidels." He has become a believer in the "existence of a free active energy in the mind of men." "How flat, how wretched," he wrote to Southey in 1803, "is Hartley's solution of the phenomena (of memory).I almost think that ideas never recall ideas, as far as they are ideas, any more than leaves in a forest create each other's motion—the breeze it is that runs through them—it is the soul, the state of feeling." Thus fell the last stronghold of "the sophistry of the Hartlean system of association" before the triumphant force of transcendental idealism, Coleridge enthusiastically announced his deliverance in a letter to Poulton in 1804 in the following words: "All praise to the Great Being, who has graciously enabled me to find my way out of that labyrinth den of sophistry (the pernicious doctrine of Necessity.)"

There are not many poems written by Coleridge during this period of his life which ran to a little over three decades. A perusal of the chronological list of poems of this time shows that the number of poetic composition of worth during these days does not exceed a dozen. In the words of Traill, "the blossoming time of his poetic genius was over. We now pass from the green wealth of summer foliage into the well-nigh naked wood of later autumn,"¹ which still bears marks of its past richness and splendour. It cannot be denied that most of the poems are steeped in sadness, but they are by no means "eccentric" as some critics like to call them. They acquaint us with the depth and grandeur of sorrow, not only in "resignation and calm" but also in the bitterest moods of self-reproach. Their real importance, however, lies in the fact that they give us the final stage in the evolution of that philosophic conviction which he has been endeavouring to reach so long. In his dismay and vexation of mind he finds refuge from them in abandonment to his pet theories of philosophy.

¹ H. D. Traill: "Coleridge," p. 89.

They explained to him how the sights of external Nature, which he once used to gild with "heavenly alchemy," could no more bring to him relief and "lift the smothering weight from off" his heart. That the mind is not an automaton but an active, creative force, we have seen Coleridge asserting much earlier, but now he declares the complete supremacy of the human mind over Nature. It is the creative energy of the human mind alone that invests external Nature with life, freshness, and glory, with a "wedding garment" or a "shroud" according to its own mood. It is the soul of the watcher that projects itself outside, fills the world with life and makes Nature stand before it as a living presence. Hence the subjective idealism of Berkeley and Fichte poetically expressed by Coleridge in the following words:

"O Lady! we receive but what we give,
And in our life alone does Nature live."¹

Nature receives all her "colour, warmth, beauty and life" from the "inward energy of the soul," to the extent to which that energy is active. In the psychology of Coleridge, however, it is not the intellect alone that determines the relationship, but it is the function of the "soul," which the poet defines as the power that "within the mind

"By vital breathings secret as the soul
Of vernal growth, oft quickens in the heart
Thoughts all too deep for words!"²

It is a combination of the intellectual and emotional in man that forms the golden key to the spiritual in Nature. So the poet sings:

"Ah! from the soul itself must issue forth,
A light, a glory, a fair luminous cloud
Enveloping the Earth—
And from the soul itself must there be sent
A sweet, a potent voice, of its own birth,
Of all sweet sounds the life and element."³

¹ "Dejection: An Ode."

² "To William Wordsworth."

³ "Dejection: An Ode."

The same philosophy dealing with the mysteries of the human soul is once more expressed in the lines "*To William Wordsworth.*" He tells us how Wordsworth was the first to sing :

"Of tides obedient to external force,
And currents self-determined, as might seem,
Or by some inner power; of moments awful,
Now in thy inner life, and now abroad,
When power streamed from thee, and thy soul received
The light reflected as a light bestowed."¹

Nature could not act independently or determine the reflections of man. She only mirrored his emotions, and so when the heart was not affected she too remained mute. "This strong music in the soul,.....this beautiful and beauty-making power"² of the mind, therefore, is Joy or the emotional life experienced in the "purest hour" of deep thought. "Joy," exclaims the poet,

".....is the spirit and the power,
Which wedding Nature to us gives in dower,
A new Earth and new Heaven,
Undreamt of by the sensual and the proud—
Joy is the sweet voice, Joy the luminous cloud—
We in ourselves rejoice!
And thence flows all that charms our ear or sight,
All melodies the echoes of that voice,
All colours a suffusion from that light."³

"Joy" that has been celebrated here with much rapture is not "to be confounded," as Shawcross has pointed out, "with the gaiety of transient moods.....The "joy" which Coleridge speaks of is rather the permanent serenity underlying the changing affections of a soul which has either resolved, or has never known, the strife of opposing elements."⁴ It is born of mystic communings with the Supreme Reality which exalts the soul above the pettiness of transitory things. Participating in the Common Mind of the universe, it enables the human mind, concentrated within itself, to behold in the objects before it a reflex of its own idea which is no other than the one God intended them to reveal. It is the attitude of a contemplative

¹ "*To William Wordsworth.*"

² "*Dejection : An Ode.*"

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ J. Shawcross : *Op. Cit.*, xxix.

mystic who has realised God within, and cares no more to search for His foot-prints in Nature.

Coleridge, however, could not entirely discard reality. His love for the beauty of Nature was too deep to fail him for long. In the "*Biographia Literaria*" he deplores Fichte's "hostility to Nature as lifeless, godless, and altogether unholy." So, side by side with his pessimistic attitude towards her, we have nature-poems that speak to us of the deep spiritual experiences in her companionship. They also reveal to us the fact that genuine inspiration in him had not completely died out, though its visitation had become less frequent. But when it did come, he was capable of exercising his poetic faculties with the same ease and power as of old. Nature, then, was a symbol to be correctly understood only by those who brought to her a loving heart and an expanded soul. It was for him a haven of rest from the tumult of the soul within and yielded to him peace, joy, and divine thoughts. He wrote in 1803: "I never find myself alone within the embracements of rocks and hills..... The further I ascend from animated nature.....the greater in me becomes the intensity of the feeling of life. Life seems to me then a universal spirit, that neither has nor can have an opposite! God is everywhere, and where is there room for death?" In the ocean he finds an emblem of eternity which conjures up the entire panorama of human existence, where time is transcended, and the past and the future are displayed to the mental vision of the poet. In that mood of "silent adorations" the soul forsakes its fleshly habitation, makes a "blessed shadow of this earth," and derives all its health-giving hopes and aspirations from above. A similar attitude of mind, we find in the "*Hymn before Sunrise in the Vale of Chamouni*" (1802). The subject he borrowed from German poetess, Fredrike Brun, but, in the words of De Quincey, he "created the dry bones of the German outlines into fullness of life." While gazing upon the mountain his imagination soars high into spiritual regions, oblivious of its immediate surroundings, and makes him feel as if he is standing in the very presence of the Deity, paying due adoration. He exclaims:

"O dread and silent Mount! I gazed upon thee,
Till thou still present to the bodily sense,
Didst vanish from my thought; entranced in prayer
I worshipped the Invisible alone."

The happy ecstasy gradually grows in intensity, and the poet begins to soar upwards into an atmosphere that gradually brings about an "attempering of his body and spirit, till his total being vibrated with one pulse alone, and thought became merged in contemplation."¹ He perceives a deep and essentially divine reality beneath the shows of earthly things, and the consciousness of his own kinship to it gives him secret joy. He says:

"Yet, like some beguiling melody,
So sweet, we know not we are listening to it,
Thou, the meanwhile, wast blending with my thought,
Yea, with my life and life's own secret joy:
Till the dilating Soul, enwrapt, transfused,
Into the mighty vision—there
As in her natural form, swelled vast to Heaven!"

The Divine Presence he feels interfused not only around him, but also manifested within him, conferring upon him the highest bliss of immortality.

"God is with me, God is in me!
I cannot die if Life be Love,"²

is the triumphant conclusion of the poet as a result of his edifying experience. In connection with all these utterances, we must note a few important points which would summarise the attitude of the poet during these years. He believed in the independent and unrestricted activity of the mind but could not, like Berkeley and Fichte, discard Nature altogether. He was with Schelling, whose disciple he became in the second decade of the century, in his avowal of the reality of Nature and the important part it played in the spiritual advancement of man. The human mind could not act in a vacuum. It would, in that case, be following an illusion, an *ignis fatuus*. Its ambition could only be achieved if it took the aid of the objective word, projected its inner self into it, and comprehended the "One life within us and abroad." The human heart, thus speaking to Nature, and she, made alive by the human heart, would exchange a spiritual language which an unsympathetic and impotent intellect, shut up in the domain of the actual, could never understand. The spiritual journey, however lies through the stages of pantheism and mysticism, but the poet takes

¹ Morley's Introduction in *Table Talk*.

² "On Revisiting the Sea-Shore,"

particular care never to make any of these stages his destination. The divine is perceptible in and through Nature, he admits, but he avoids the pitfall of pantheism by refusing to succumb to the creed of its nature-worship. It is at best a symbol and nothing more. It would be lowering the dignity of the human soul to make it bow down to Nature, which, though it has the same divine origin, is yet subservient to man. The danger of a mystic idealism which turns its back upon the world and its beauty, is also avoided by frequent insistence on their reality. Even in the perfect state of contemplation when his thought is lifted above individual consciousness into a mood of divine transport, the object fades away from his thought but remains present to the bodily senses, feeding the flame of his soul through its "lessons of love and earnest piety."¹ When both are, in this manner, welded together, the destination of transcendentalism is reached. The consciousness of an ever-present but transcendental reality is enjoyed by the intelligence of man that perceives in Nature, without and within, one Universal Reason. Everything finds a proper place in the plan as worked out by that Reason which is their life and being. The silent and unconscious processes of Nature reveal the common and vital unity of life in divine wisdom and love, and proclaim that if the complicated and complex universe is a mystery God is its only solution. This philosophical faith of Coleridge took a deep tinge of orthodoxy during his later years. He not only believed in a personal God, but also asserted the doctrines of the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ. He celebrates this with full Christian zeal in his last poem, "*My Baptismal Birthday*."

The doctrine of immortality has been based by Coleridge, as far as his poetical works are concerned, partly upon the Platonic conception of a pre-natal existence which makes immortal life a logical necessity, and partly upon faith in the existence of God and the foundations of rational ethics. The Platonic creed that

"We lived, ere yet this robe of flesh we wore,"²

he voiced in his child-poems of his first period. Long before Wordsworth spoke of "trailing clouds of glory do we come," the imaginative mind of Coleridge had discovered the "lambent glories

"That play around a sainted infant's head,"³

¹ "To Nature."

² "Sonnet Composed on a Journey Homeward."

³ "To a Friend."

and had hailed the child as "untaught, yet wise" ! It was to him

"Of the kingdom of the Blest
Possessor, not inheritor,"¹

because it was neither blasted by sin, nor faded by "doubt, or Fear, or Woe," which mars "God's light within."² But growing up in a world of temptations, he feels conflicting impulses within of which the one impels him to higher things while the other chains him down. It is a choice between being what God desires him to be and seeking the end within himself. The former is conformity with the Divine Will and leads to Goodness, the latter is an act of self-determination and leads to ignorance and vice. It is the high calling of the human reason to determine its own course and to utilise the opportunity of this life to gain greater nearness to God in the next by rendering a good account of its trust. This seems to be the main current of thought in "*The Suicide's Argument*." To weak-minded people who would fain lay the hand of violence upon them themselves, the poet says that what they consider to be the end is not really so. He asks them to "think first what you are ! Call to mind what you were !" and then to remember what explanation they can give if Great Nature asks them :

"I gave you innocence, I gave you hope,
Gay health, and genius, and an ample scope.
Return you me guilt, lethargy, despair?"

They should not conceive for a moment, as he says in the poem, "*Human Life*," that "dead, we cease to be," and "total gloom" swallows up "life's brief flash for aye." Such a conception would reduce man to a "vessel, purposeless, unmeant," a "surplus of nature's dread activity," created merely by a "blank accident." It would divest him of all feelings and emotions, all springs of action, and make life dreary, with no joy in the present nor hope for the future. It would make his "being's being a contradiction," for intuitively the human soul looks forward to infinity of existence, and to the spiritual region beyond as the home from which it came and as its ultimate destination. If life is a great trial beset with afflictions and despair, it is equally a great opportunity to work out God's purpose and make oneself fit for the inheritance of Heaven. The

¹ "On an Infant Which Died Before Baptism."

² "On Berkeley and Florence Coleridge."

consciousness of this end is a perennial source of strength, and enables man, "with leedful heart" to "know and find" the preence of God¹ within him and around. Drawing "the breath of the true life"² in Him:

"Joy's bosom-spring shall steady flow;
For though 'tis Heaven Thyself to see,
Where but Thy Shadow falls Grief cannot be."³

It will end man's misery and woe, and will make him feel that immortality is his birth-right, which cannot be snatched away by death. Such was the glorious consummation of human existence and the grandeur of its doom which Coleridge pictured to himself. It was not an act of simple faith (and faith had become very strong in him during his later life) but it was a personal experience, incommunicable in words, and yet attested by all those who have gone through similar moods of divine rapture.

In Coleridge, accordingly, we have a spirit hankering after the Infinite and the Absolute. In a search for the ideal he investigated every branch of speculative thought. He tried to read the riddle of life and solve the mystery of the universe by seeking an answer from the various schools of thought, both old and new. While Plato, Plotinus, and Boehme succeeded to a great extent in satisfying his mystical tendencies, and helped him in achieving a glimpse of the Godhead, he found a better explanation of the processes of the workings of the human mind in the doctrines upheld by Berkeley, Hartley, and Godwin. To the conclusions which he reached through the aid of all these divergent schools of thought, he added his own transcendental outlook which he later found systematised and scientifically expressed by Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. His struggling spirit feasted on the ambrosia of transcendental mysteries, beyond the narrowness of creeds, but could not remain long with the gods. His deep-rooted Anglicanism asserted itself more and more as he pursued his speculative studies. In the end it made him its devotee and prompted him to the effort of fitting the elements of German thought into the frame-work of Christian orthodoxy. The result was "a philosophy of the dualism of the head and heart."⁴ In the

¹ "A Hymn."

² "My Baptismal Birthday."

³ "A Hymn."

⁴ Rene Wellek: "Immanuel Kant in England," p. 184.

region of pure intellect he blundered and failed, but in the outpourings in verse of the philosophy of his heart we have the true light of his genius. Their flames mount high,—steady, bright, and luminous—before the sacred altar of the Muse. He thereby fulfilled his own dictum that “no man was ever yet a great poet, without being, at the same time, a profound philosopher.” His great contribution to the history of English thought lies in the fact that he revived in his countrymen that “inward longing, inward chastening, inward joy”¹ which they had long forgotten. This he has done not dogmatically, but through his melodious verses where he speaks of his own experiences of complete absorption in the vision of the Divine, his longing to live in intimate relation with the Supreme Being by conceiving moral and spiritual values as originating from the eternal laws of Divine Mind and Will.

¹ W. Pater : “Coleridge's Writings.

AN ENQUIRY INTO IDEALISM IN HINDU MARRIAGE

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THE pattern for ultimate good in the life of the Hindus is determined in terms of spirituality. It is *Dharma* which is believed to 'uphold' and 'sustain' the phenomena and relations of life.¹ Here spirituality takes its origin in life, develops in and through the course of life and attains realisation also out of life. Mr. Havell makes a true observation that "religion in India is hardly a dogma but a working hypothesis of human conduct adapted to different stages of spiritual developments and different conditions of life." The entire fabric of society as is based upon the scheme of *Varṇāśrama* discloses nothing but the characteristics of spiritual and psycho-ethical discipline. It is in this respect that *Dharma* may be said to possess abundant values of real interest for Hindu India.

The Hindu marriage is primarily based upon spirituality—it being deemed altogether as a creation of the spirit. In its entire significance it represents neither a phenomenon of subjective arbitrariness nor a product of so-called natural law. On the other hand, like other phenomena of order, its origin is traced to some 'divine essence,'² which embodies transcendental perfection of consciousness and therefore competent to account for the supreme idealities that are associated with it. This theory of divine origin bears the implication that marriage as an ideal institution must be the creation of a divine mind or of a mind having the gift of divine insight and reason. The spiritual import of marriage is looked up to have been founded on some supra-sensuous experience, which man, as he is constituted, can hardly discover for himself. And it is from this belief that marriage as a religious institution is supposed to have been introduced by the Law of a Divine Being, who regulates and conducts the destiny of the world.

¹ Cf. The *Mahābhārata*, Karpapārva, LXIX. 59, 'Dhārenāddharmamityaśubh.'

² See for discussion the present writer's article, "The Hindu Conception of Law," published in the *Calcutta Review*, November, 1938, pp. 194-202.

According to the Brahmanic doctrine, marriage is a religious sacrament. With this ceremony is associated the starting point of the household order of life, which brings in its wake newer phases of duties to be jointly discharged by man and wife. The Hindu ethics of the householder regards man not only as a member of race and society but also as one forming a part and parcel of the cosmic or universal life with which he is related in a way either explicit or implicit. The ceremony of marriage which binds the two souls together as if to form one component whole paves the way for the realisation of a kind of metaphysical unity. The common share of duties by two persons in wedlock, and the joint destiny that leads them onward, tend to actuate the feelings of unity, in which glimmers the consciousness of universal unity. The code of duties laid down by the *Sāstrakāras* with regard to the Hindu householder bears on its face an evidence that the life of marriage is one of spiritual discipline where union attests to a super-individual state of realisation.

The fulfilment of religious obligation of life constitutes an all-important element of the status of the householder. Wedding is an induction of wife into the new house of her husband, where both *he* and *she* are installed to the estate of householder to jointly discharge the obligation, which extends from gods to every living creature of the world. Man as a cosmic being is integrally bound up in an indissoluble tie of relation with others, be that relation direct or not. The Hindu conception that a man is born indebted to every grade of beings, from gods to the lower animals,³ seeks to establish this view that no part of the householder's duty is to be accounted in terms of his selfish efficiency. '*To give*' and '*not to ask for any thing*' is the chief concern of his life. And it is to be noticed with interest that the discharge of so-called obligations forms a daily routine of absolute duties to be attended to by the householder. Some of these are the great *yajñas* (sacrifices), in the daily observance of which, the personal ego merges itself into a universal ego or the greater self of the universe. The five great sacrifices which a married couple is called upon to perform, are held to be *nityakarma* or absolute duty. The omission of these duties entails dereliction or sin, although their observance confers no tangible advantage. It means that the duties are done not by courtesy or favour but by obligation which is absolute

³ See the present writer's article, "Philosophy of the Pañca Yajñas," in the *Calcutta Review*, November, 1937, pp. 208-10.

in kind. The insistence here is on the renunciation of selfish consideration. Or, in other words, we are to realise the rights of others on any and every occasion, and in exertion of these practices, supra-personal objects of life will be given the requisite focuss to merge our identity into the greater whole. The celebrated law-giver Manu observes that these *yajñas* are necessary propaedeutic discipline to lead one to the realisation of the highest truth, Brahman.⁴

These *yajñas* are sacrifices to gods, seers, fathers, men and lower beings. In other words, everything of the cosmic existence looks up to the householder for nourishment or service, and it is the bounden duty of the latter to answer the demand. The home of a Hindu has never been a place where one enjoys property as its master, but is recognised as a means of living the fullest universal life through which is secured the supreme liberation. The obligation of life for its effective realisation must be viewed to extend over the whole sphere of beings. Although man is primarily indebted to gods—the regulator of cosmic destiny, yet secondarily and surely, to the thinkers of humanity's good, the seers to the propagators of human race—the fathers, to his fellow-beings, men and to other beings, who are perchance and for the time-being inferior to man.

It is not to be wondered that procreation, which is evidently a biological instinct and forms an essential characteristic of sex-union, has been clothed with religious vesture by the *Śāstrakāras*. It is obviously an instinctive desire to procreate, multiply and to outlive in the progeny. But with the Hindus, it is a duty assuming the nature of religious observance for the salvation of one's soul and is designed to liberate the ancestral spirits from the rigours of hell or damnation. It is not merely the policy of population that underlies the dictum. The significance is something higher and more philosophic in ideals. In order to understand it we should first remember that the family according to the Brahmanic standpoint is regarded not as a unit in space but as one indissolubly connected with the generations of the past. This notion finds its pronounced expression in the cult of *pitryajña* or ancestral worship. A son is bound to offer oblations to the departed spirits of his past generations. And it is very interesting to note that whenever an article of food or water is offered to the fathers, invariably though not directly, all the cosmic beings from

⁴ *Manusmṛti*, II. 8.

high to low participate in it. The relations of a particular man lie scattered round him in his subsequent births. On account of the operation of the law of '*karman*' transmigrating souls from one abode to another, the circle of relations goes on broadening and broadening in respect of every birth of an individual. So ultimately the spirits of the forefathers may be presumed to be here, there and everywhere. The *tarpana* hymn "आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्यन्तं जगत्सृज्यते" rightly sums up the doctrine.

Secondly, the progeny in the Hindu ethics is looked upon as a religious asset, because the rites of ancestral worship, which is undoubtedly solemn in its purpose and significance, are in turn observed by the sons. 'A father pays his debt in the birth of a son and attains immortality'—says the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka*. The *Dharma Śāstras* echo the same view with all their emphasis. And it is an avowed aim of the marital union to discharge this religious obligation which one owes to the ancestors. The offsprings are surely the representatives of the specific aims and ideals of the race. The spiritual ethos of the Hindu life ceases to exist if it does not flow on along the course of generations of the future. Propagative instinct is thus made subservient to the higher end where perpetuation of the line means the upkeep of the vital continuity of *Dharma* by creating the types in the progeny. These are the conscious Hindu ideals associated with the duty of procreation. Marriage does not rest upon one's aspiration to become merely the father of a family but to attain the ethos of his definite culture which he should perpetuate by the raising of the stock to a standard of the same spiritual ethos. 'Ideals alone preserve Nature.' It is therefore a splendid theory which adjusts the sexual and the procreative impulses to the acquisition of the ideals of life. And whenever one mingles his life-blood with his partner of the same class-ethos, he must do it consciously only to uphold the tradition which his children will inherit, grow up in and in turn pass on to outlive him. In this lies the consummation of the purpose of marriage, which according to the Hindu view, is predominantly a religious institution.

LENIN AND TROTSKY

KAMALESH BANERJEE

A CROSS the corridors of time will trill forth the ringing rhythm of the new gospel of humanity which has ushered into this world, in our own day, an order of society, leading to revaluation of values. If Marx and Engels were the path-finders of this new order, Lenin and Trotsky were its chief architects in the land, comprising one-fifth of the earth's inhabited surface. Those stirring times and those eventful days of the October Revolution of 1917 brought to the very foreground of world's attention the two authentic revolutionists—Lenin and Trotsky, who, inspite of their occasional disagreements and differences, sometimes acute and pronounced, had nevertheless been ardent collaborators, in an era of socialist reconstruction of society. Contemporary history of revolutionary socialism is bound up with the lives of Lenin and Trotsky and it is only in a spirit of scientific detachment and studious objectivity that a correct appraisal of the revolutionary movement, culminating in the October Revolution, is possible. Against the hurricane of interested and partisan controversies historical science must do its part and chronicle the broad facts and unvarnished truths which have come to light.

The ideological struggle between Lenin and Trotsky before 1917, despite its political character, has a significance, which superficial students of Marxism are apt to ignore. Neither Lenin nor Trotsky was an automaton of infallibility and without exaggerating the rôle of individuals in history, it is still possible to assert that if Trotsky had not accepted in 1917, the revolutionary strategy and tactics of Lenin and Lenin the prognosis of Trotsky, the revolution would have certainly met with the fate of the Paris Commune of 1870. Revolutionary realism of both prompted them to co-operate with each other at a very crucial period in history and the unity once achieved became so very complete that death alone separated them.

It is necessary to trace in detail the fissiparous tendencies in the Russian Social Democracy which finally split the party at the London Conference in 1903. It was on the organisational question that the breach had occurred. Lenin from some time past had been advocating a strong, rigid, centralised organisation of professional revolutionaries,

which would act as the revolutionary vanguard. "The stronger our party organisations, made up of *genuine* social democrats," said Lenin, "and the less the waverings and instability within the party, the broader and more varied, the richer and more fertile will be the influence of the party on the working-class masses who environ it and whom it leads." Lenin opined that the party is the vanguard of the working-class, which should not be confused with the whole working-class. He, further, urged the adoption of the principle of democratic centralism. "*Our task is to form a clandestine group of leaders and to set the largest possible mass in motion.*" The London Conference of 1903 sharply divided the Social Democracy into hostile camps. At one of the first meetings Trotsky, then only a young man made a very remarkable speech, supporting the editorial policy of the *Iskra* although not the general line of Lenin. The faction headed by Martov contended: "The more people there are called party members, the better it will be. We shall have reason for rejoicing if every striker and every demonstrator pleading his case can call himself a member of the party." Trotsky argued that the dictatorship of the proletariat must not be "a case of the seizure of power by conspirators, but the political reign of the organised working-class, forming the majority of the nation." Lenin won by a narrow majority. The Russian Social Democracy split into two—'Bolsheviki' or the 'majoritarians' in contrast to the 'minoritarians', the 'Mensheviks.'

None but fools and nincompoops can doubt to-day that on the question of party organisation, Lenin was indubitably right. Without centralisation the party would have been a ramshackle organisation of opportunists and place-hunters. A revolutionary party would have been doomed to sterility and ineffectiveness without the rigorous discipline that it entails upon its members. But it should be clearly borne in mind that these differences were wholly tactical and organisational rather than ideological and fundamental. On such questions differences of opinion were certainly permissible. Even Rosa Luxemburg, to whose revolutionary passion Lenin freely testifies, severely condemned Lenin for what she treats as authoritarianism.

It is this controversy which for the first time separated Trotsky from Lenin—a controversy which continued to rage with unmitigated fury long after 1903, fought on both sides with rancour and bitterness and carried far beyond the borders of Russia. Rosa Luxemburg, with all her sturdy intellectual integrity bitterly assailed the formula of

Lenin. She declared, "Social Democracy is itself the working-class movement... ..Nothing so surely and easily puts a workers' movement in its early stages at the mercy of the intellectuals as its imprisonment in the strait-jacket of bureaucratic centralisation." It is necessary to hark back to these days of bitter factional fight, precisely because Marxism developed in the course of such struggles and lapse of time has not destroyed their pointed appositeness to the very many vital problems of our own day. By far the most virulent condemnation of Leninist strategy was made by Trotsky about this time in his pamphlet, entitled *Our Political Tasks*, in which Lenin was described as "head of the reactionary wing of our party" and the "dull caricature of the tragic intransigence of Jacobinism." In the Leninist scheme, Trotsky opines, *the organisation of the party takes the place of the party itself, the central committee takes the place of the organisation, and finally the dictator takes the place of the central committee.* " "Rigour of organisation," Trotsky proceeds, "as opposed to our opportunism is simply another form of political stupidity. Under Jacobin-Bolshevik tactics, the whole international proletarian movement would be accused of moderatism before the revolutionary tribunal, and the lion head of Marx would be the first to fall under the knife of the guillotine," and finally he decries the Leninist conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a "*dictatorship over the proletariat.*" Plekhanov then held in highest esteem by Lenin himself expressed himself in the same strain. He was still far from being a degenerate social patriot that he was to become much later. He predicted the evolution of Leninism to the "*final end, when everything would revolve around one man who will ex-providentia, unite all power in himself.*" In these acrimonious polemics not even Lenin erred on the side of moderation, instances of which would be excerpted in another context. Trotsky's criticisms were misplaced so far as Lenin was concerned, which at the best foreshadowed coming events. In his youthful exuberance and indiscretion, Trotsky neglected the most obvious precaution of guarding a revolutionary party against deviations of an opportunistic character, although he it said in fairness to Trotsky that he acknowledged his error with a candour which his dialectical mind alone could do.

It must never be forgotten for a moment that differences between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks at this period related only to organisational and tactical problems, in which Trotsky had been at one with the

former. But he differed from both on a more fundamental question. It was the theory of Permanent Revolution which separated him both from the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, all of whom agreed on the bourgeois-democratic character of the coming revolution in Russia. In 1905 Trotsky formulated his famous doctrine of Permanent Revolution. He contended that the proletariat alone could assume the leadership of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the Russian bourgeois having exhausted its revolutionary rôle. But then the Russian proletariat would not be content with the overthrow of the Tsar, but would be driven to expropriate the landlords and capitalists and proceed to the socialist reconstruction of society. The bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions would coincide and the struggle beginning with bourgeois-democratic would end in the establishment as of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the revolution, breaking out in any of the advanced capitalistic countries in Europe, can alone save the dictatorship in a backward country like Russia from extinction, Russian proletariat being too weak to maintain itself in power against enemies at home. A revolution for the bourgeois forms of property would be transformed into a socialist revolution, which in its turn would give a mighty impetus to a world-wide proletarian revolution. Lenin agreed with the Mensheviks that the impending revolution in Russia would lead to the establishment of the capitalist republic. He advocated a 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry' for the purpose of carrying the revolution through and dissented from the Menshevik theory that the leadership of such a revolution would be provided by the bourgeoisie. Such was the unsatisfactory lack of agreement amongst the parties when the revolution of 1905 broke out in Russia, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks differing on the organisational question and Trotsky on theory of Permanent Revolution, incurring the hostility of both.

The 1905 Revolution brought both Lenin and Trotsky to Russia. Trotsky became President of the Petersburg Soviet. Lenin arrived too late to influence decisively the course of events. The Bolshevik party in his absence bungled by pursuing a vicious and fumbling strategy, which drew upon it the severest censure of Lenin. The party succeeded in isolating itself completely from the Soviet and Lenin's arrival alone led it to join the mass organisations. Trotsky and Lenin collaborated in the Soviet. But the Revolution miscarried. It was drowned in blood.

Trotsky and Lenin parted again. Lenin still refused to subscribe to his theory of permanent revolution, though it acquired a notable adherent in Rosa Luxemburg. Trotsky still outside the ranks of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was striving for unity between the two. He persevered in his mistakes in refusing to see eye to eye with Lenin in the matter of party organisation. His last attempt at rapprochement met with dismal failure in 1912, which served very much to embitter the relations of them both. Lenin condemned Trotsky in this regard in rabid and lurid phrases. "People like Trotsky," Lenin said, "with their resounding phrases about Russian social democracy are the plague of our time. Trotsky to-day plagiarises the ideology of one faction, to-morrow of another and then declares himself above all the factions. It is impossible to discuss principles with Trotsky, for he has no definite conceptions. Not all is gold that glitters. Trotsky's phrases are full of glitter and noise but they lack content." Trotsky had been no less drastic. He denounced Lenin as the "professional exploiter of all the backward elements in the Russian workers' movement and declared that Lenin's idea is 'incompatible with the organisation of workers into a political party but flourishes on the dung-heap of sectionalism' and that 'the whole edifice of Leninism to-day is founded on lies and falsifications and carries within itself the poison germ of its own decomposition.'

But the outbreak of the world-war of 1914 swiftly changed the perspectives of both Lenin and Trotsky. Under the pressure of mighty events disagreements and differences between the two thinking minds quickly melted into the thin air. Not long after Lenin abandoned the formula of Democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. In his *Letters From Afar*, Lenin declares in 1917: "We need revolutionary power, we need the state. We need the state but not the kind needed by the bourgeoisie, with organs of power in the form of police, army, bureaucracy, distinct from and opposed to the people. All bourgeois revolutions have merely perfected this Government apparatus, have merely transferred it from one party to another." In these crisp and pointed words Lenin as a revolutionary, as a realist, recognises the validity of the theory of permanent revolution, when the Bolshevik party as a whole was thinking in terms of bourgeois-democratic revolution, in terms of sharing the power with the bourgeoisie. His hopes and expectations exceeded his fondest dreams. His prognosis had been wrong,

but tactics correct beyond dispute. He changed fast with the times. He would no longer conform to a formula the moment it proved out of date. He was glad that the socialist revolution was on the order of the day.

Lenin was last of all a doctrinaire. He had been an accomplished social scientist. He realised with Marx and Engels that communism was 'not a dogma but a guide to action.' Or to borrow the aphorism of Goethe, which Lenin frequently quoted in regard to these controversies: "Theory is grey, my friend; green is the immortal tree of life." Only a month before he adhered wholly to the formula of democratic-dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, having bourgeois democratic revolution as its objective. On March 20 Lenin writes: "*Our revolution is a bourgeois revolution, say we Marxists, therefore the workers must open the eyes of the people to the deceptive practices of the bourgeois politicians, must teach the people not to believe in words, but to depend wholly on their own strength, on their own organisation, on their own unity and on their own arms.*" Lenin still stood on the observations he made in 1914: "*We desire at all costs a Great Russia proud, republican, democratic, independent and free, which in her relations with her neighbours, will apply the human principle of equality, not the feudal principle of privilege.*" But remarkable had been his bold and courageous strategical and theoretical change. He had revolutionary vision and perspicacity. He was drawing himself closer and closer to Trotsky, who as an exile in America continued to propagate his theory of permanent revolution, which alone he held could enable Russia to skip over the intermediate stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Lenin arrived in Russia through Germany in 'the sealed train.' He submitted his "April Theses" to the party, urging the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Bolsheviks were flabbergasted. They believed inertly and clung tenaciously to the old formula. In Lenin's absence they were lending support to the provisional government of Kerensky. They opposed 'April Theses' tooth and nail, and advocated co-operation and unity with the Mensheviks for the purpose of fulfilling the bourgeois tasks of the February Revolution. Stalin suggested a common line of agreement with the Mensheviks. He was firmly of opinion that differences existing between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were not

insuperable. He lent the entire weight of his support to the Menshevik revolution in favour of unity between two groups. Stalin declared: "We ought to accept it. It is indispensable to settle the line of agreement. Unity is possible on the Zimmerwald-Kienthal principles." To the objections of Molotov, he replied, "We have neither to anticipate nor to prevent differences. Without differences there is no life in the party. Within the party we shall overcome our minor disagreements." Lenin had felt that the hour had come to carry the revolution further and set up a republic of Soviet after the overthrow of capitalism. Zinoviev and Kamenev strongly dissented from the Leninist line and Stalin, even long before the party conference upheld the necessity of a democratic republic for all the inhabitants of Russia. "April Theses" were carried through the party in the teeth of the most violent opposition of the Bolshevik leaders and the road to October Revolution was chalked out.

It might sound incredible to-day that the majority of the 'Old Bolsheviks' were wholly opposed to the idea of an insurrection in October, to the establishment of a socialist regime, to the very order of society with which to-day they are linked. Lenin's break with the party at one time had been feared. His whole being rebelled against the idea of co-operating with the provisional Government of Kerensky. He made it abundantly clear at the party conference: "*Even our own Bolsheviks show confidence in the Government.....It is the death of socialism. You, comrades, have faith in the Government. In that case our ways must part. I would rather be in the minority.*" The Bolsheviks had become rigid. Lenin gave them a lesson in applied Marxism. Revolutionary socialism would have wandered in the wilderness, if 'April Theses' were not there to correct the radical errors of the 'Old Bolsheviks. Without mental reservation Lenin assailed "*these 'Old Bolsheviks,' who more than once have played a sorry part in the History of our party, stupidly repeating a formula learned by heart, instead of studying the peculiarities of a new living reality.*"

It is permissible to think that differences which centred round 'April Theses' were fundamental and ideological. As the success of the October Revolution proved, the opponents of the Theses ill-served the cause of socialism. Long after the proletarian insurrection, but not before swelling the opposition to the revolutionary programme, envisaged by Lenin, Stalin admitted his error. In his pamphlet,

On the Road to October Stalin writes: "It required Lenin's celebrated *April Theses* to enable the party to move forward energetically on a new path. *This mistaken opposition, I held with the majority of the party.*

It should be scrupulously borne in mind that *April Theses* recognised in effect the validity of the Trotskyist Theory of permanent revolution. The bourgeois democratic revolution was to be converted into a socialist revolution and the era of socialist reconstruction of society was to begin. Trotsky, on his return to Russia in April, 1917, was admitted into the central committee of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin, in spite of his bitter polemics, retained an unqualified admiration for his adversary. He was to declare on one occasion, in reply to a faint objection to Trotsky's delegation to the constituent Assembly: "No one would think of disputing a candidature such as that of L. D. Trotsky." If events had proved the acuteness of the theory of permanent revolution they also demonstrated to a nicety the correctness of the Leninist tactic of party organisation. Trotsky henceforth was to be a democratic centralist, an uncompromising enemy of opportunism, an intransigent foe of reconciliation to and unity with various other opportunist socialist parties. He realised at last that such unity was impossible. Lenin was to declare sometime after: "Trotsky has been saying for a long time that unity is impossible. Trotsky grasped the fact, and, since then, there has been no better Bolshevik."

The name of Trotsky was henceforward associated with that of Lenin in the press and the platform, both in and outside Russia. They personified to the world the nascent mass movement which culminated in the October Revolution. The phrase "Lenin and Trotsky" survived for many years in the memory of the masses and was enshrined in the pages of history. At the later stage of the revolution people even wrote "Lenin—Trotsky." A period of patient and earnest collaboration between the two had ensued. It outlived the revolution, the stress and strain of civil war and detractors of Trotsky could only hark back to the polemics of the pre-revolutionary period, which already received a decent burial. Revolutionary purpose and endeavour united them indissolubly and it is a travesty of fact and truth to declare that he was again Lenin's adversary. The testimony of Raskolnikov, an old-guard Bolshevik, should dispose of the legend and myth assiduously built up after Lenin's death. Controversies of 1903 are unearthed to-day and divorced from their legitimate context

in order to prove the eternal perfidy and disloyalty of Trotsky to Lenin and Revolution. Differences between Lenin and Trotsky were differences which have always existed between thinking minds. But after their reconciliation, these never again clouded their relations. the understanding was complete on the eve of the revolution and after " In the way Trotsky spoke of Lenin, " says Raskolnikov, " the attachment of the disciple is visible. At that time Lenin had behind him thirty years of militant work in the service of the proletariat, and Trotsky twenty. All trace of the differences of the pre-war period had disappeared. There was no difference between the tactics of Lenin and Trotsky. This rapprochement, signs of which appeared during the war, had become clearly defined from the moment of Leon Trotsky's arrival in Russia. Immediately after his first speeches, we, Old Bolsheviks, Leninists, felt that he was one of us." History of Bolshevism is re-written to-day in serene disregard of the unimpeachable documents of the period. If we have adverted to them copiously, it is because they do not appear in the official history.

In the struggle for power that Soviet Russia witnessed after the demise of Lenin, a mass of apocryphal literature has grown up, with the avowed object of minimising the rôle of Trotsky in the Russian Revolution. It is a common knowledge that Trotsky, when Lenin was in hiding, had organised the October insurrection, as President of the Military Revolutionary Committee and of the Petersburg Soviet. But some time after the death of Lenin, Stalin dazed the world by his astounding statement, " Comrade Trotsky played no particular rôle either in the party or the October insurrection, and could not do so, being a man comparatively new to our party in the October period." Unfortunately Stalin forgot what he himself wrote in *Pravda* in November, 1918. " All the work of practical organisation of the insurrection was conducted under the immediate leadership of the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the bold execution of the work of Military Revolutionary Committee, the party owes principally and above all to Comrade Trotsky." It is well-nigh impossible to reconcile the two statements of Stalin, except on the assumption that he would hardly deny in November, 1918, a patent fact of a year before which he was able to do with impunity in 1928 after the death of Lenin. Bukharin, for many years an ally of Stalin, strangely confirms the latter's 1918 testimony.

He writes enthusiastically on the very day after the Revolution. "Trotsky, splendid and courageous tribune of the rising, indefatigable and ardent apostle of the revolution, declared in the name of the Military Revolutionary Committee at the Petrograd Soviet, with thunders of applause from those present, that the Provisional Government no longer existed. And as living proof of this fact there appeared in the tribune Lenin, whom the new revolution had liberated from the mystery which surrounded him."

The unanimity of opinion between Lenin and Trotsky at this epoch of revolutionary upsurge stands in striking contrast to their previous disagreements. This solidarity clearly manifested itself in the preparation for the insurrection of October, in the creation of a new governmental machinery, in the building up of the invincible Red Army, in the four congresses of the Third International, in the theoretical work of the party, in the work of the leadership of the communist parties at home and abroad. Their divergence of opinions related only to Brest-Litovsk Peace and Trade Union question. Negotiations at Brest showed Trotsky's glittering intellectual gifts at their best. In a queer conclave of old-world diplomats and revolutionary plenipotentiary, two irreconcilable forces struggled for mastery. "The thing that surprises and repels the Government of other countries," Trotsky said, "is that we do not arrest strikers, but capitalists who subject workers to lockouts, that we do not shoot peasants who demand land, but arrest the land-owners and officers who try to shoot the peasants." Nothing was expected of such a conference. Lenin and Trotsky were only counting upon a proletarian revolution in Germany and to delay the signing of peace. But the anticipated uprising failed to materialise and Russians were forced to accept an ignominious treaty, which goes beyond the treaty of Versailles in severity. It was on the question of signing such a dishonourable peace that Trotsky differed from Lenin. But this disagreement left no trace of personal bitterness and soon after, Trotsky was placed at the head of the military affairs. On the much disputed trade-union question also differences adjusted themselves.

Trotsky's military policy in the civil war won the complete approval of Lenin. The new regime was in imminent peril. The conscripted slaves of finance-capital attacked Russia from all points of the compass. The Red Army had to fight the war in eighteen different fronts. The task had been colossal. Against Trotsky's war operations, criticisms

of Stalin and Voroshilov became insistent. Lenin endorsed every decision of Trotsky in this regard. He authorised Trotsky to forge ahead in spite of the adverse comment made on the conduct of the war. He went so far as to hand over to Trotsky, a blank sheet of paper, with the following lines written at the bottom: "Knowing the harsh character of Comrade Trotsky's orders, I am so convinced, so absolutely convinced, of the rightness, expediency, and necessity for the good of our cause, of the orders he has given that I give them my full support." It constitutes the most eloquent tribute to Trotsky's conduct of the war and the defeat of the Lordes of Denikin and Kolchak shows that the confidence was not misplaced. As organiser of victories, as an outstanding military genius, Trotsky's reputation stands on unassailable grounds.

Driven by cruel necessities following the Civil War, when the economic situation drifted from bad to worse Lenin made a strategic retreat on the economic front. Discontent was rife in the country. Workers and soldiers were unable to put up with the famine rations of the epoch of war-communism. The Krontadt rebellion offered a timely warning. The result was the inauguration of the N. E. P., the restoration of limited and controlled capitalism. "If we had not transformed our economic policy," Lenin said, "we should not have lasted many months longer." As early as 1920, Trotsky placed before the Politburo a series of measures closely similar to the N.E.P. In fact transition to the New Economic Policy was carried out in complete harmony and concord. But Trotsky combatted the disruptive and disintegrating tendencies of the N. E. P., which were discernible after Lenin's death. The growth of the Kulak, the Nepsman, the bureaucrat spelt danger to the socialist regime. It was necessary to adopt a proper and rigid class policy in regard to them. They neither required crushing, nor were crushed. Any other policy was bound to lead to the subversion of the state apparatus. Neither forcible collectivisation, nor the Kulak's 'painlessly growing into socialism' was the salutary policy to pursue. Lenin, who was head and shoulders above the rest, could alone struggle with some measure of success against the forces of reaction which set in.

In November, 1924, Lenin made his last speech before the Moscow Soviet. He was too painfully aware of the increasing bureaucratisation of the party 'machine.' On December 25 he wrote a confidential letter for the next party congress, which, he feared,

he would be unable to attend. It was the testament of Lenin to his party. Every word of that remarkable document is carefully weighed and showed the unmistakable trend of the coming conflict within the party. The split in the party he had sensed quickly. We saw the danger-spot with clear vision. "*Comrade Stalin*" Lenin writes "*having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution.* On the other hand Comrade Trotsky is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities—personally, he is to be sure, the most able man in the central committee—but also by his too far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs." Lenin expressed himself with greater candour a little later. The first flush of power made the bureaucracy dizzy. The dictatorship of the Secretariat rather than that of the proletariat made itself felt in every sphere. If he were spared he would have overhauled the entire apparatus of the party. The despotism of the General Secretary cut him to the quick. He would change the personnel if that would remedy the situation. "*Stalin is too rude,*" writes Lenin, "*and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us communists, becomes unsupportable in the Office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority—namely more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc.*" Lenin in one of his last confidential letters describes the Russian State machine as "*borrowed from Tsarism and barely touched by the Soviet World,*" as a 'bourgeois-Tsarist mechanism.' He felt that under such depressing circumstances the constitution would be a "*scrap of paper, impotent to defend the races of Russia against these true Russians, Chauvinist Great Russians essentially cowardly and cruel, like the typical Russian bureaucrat.*" Lenin considered the policy of Stalin in the Caucasus to be much too oppressive, overbearing, vindictive. "*In this matter Stalin's hastiness and burcaucratic enthusiasm and his spite,*" Lenin condemns in unmeasured terms.

Lenin died, crushed with the conviction that his programme of socialist construction of society with the aid of the world-revolutionary upsurge was destined to be whittled down. Trotsky was relegated to the corner. For many years he was destined to plough a lonely

furrow. The large-scale defeat of the world-proletariat which he struggled hard to prevent weighed him down. He was traduced, misunderstood, handcuffed by ignorance and jealousy till he found himself in a 'plane without a visa.' A campaign of calumny, a series of judicial frame-ups, proscription and purge of his best comrades-in-arms gradually undermined his position. The Shavian dictum that one of the first jobs of a successful revolution was to get rid of the revolutionists had been rigorously applied. The torch of socialism flickered in a dimmer light when the co-adjutors of Lenin received his mortal blow from political assassins. The victory of the Fourth International is writ large in the bankruptcy of his political adversaries, which is completed by the abominable outrage. The revolting tragedy would proclaim from the sky-scrapers the theoretical and practical control of the forces of the world-revolution that still had been his. Trotsky was a misfit in an age of Bonapartism when "grotesque mediocrities" as Marx said of the epoch of Napoleon III, "strut in in heroes' garb."

MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA

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V

WASTAGE AND ITS REMEDY

THE Provincial Reports and Reviews on Education reveal a huge diminution of scholars from class to class in the Primary stage, at least. The position has a little improved since what it was during the beginning of the Reforms. The causes which contributed to the improvement in the position will have to be explored and those methods which have contributed to this improvement should be more rigidly applied to gain, not only the maintenance of the standard which has been achieved, but also to the attainment of still better results. The Hartog Committee which was an auxiliary to the Simon Commission on Indian Constitution, drew the attention of the authorities, in the year 1929, to this glaring 'wastage' of Money and Energy for wholly unproductive results. In spite of the fact that the department used to be administered by a representative popular Minister—and was, therefore, under favourable auspices—it continued without any signs of aggravation. The Reports of the Provinces published subsequent to that, also repeated the same story year after year.

A typical example illustrative of this huge 'wastage' is given here:—

Boys and Girls in the Primary Schools and the Primary Classes of Secondary Schools

1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
89,84,924	18,99,986	9,84,358	7,10,895	4,27,053

1933-34	1934-1935	1935-36	1936-1937
Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
Boys—38,63,319	17,36,781	13,61,521	10,70,860
Girls—15,08,453	4,86,509	3,34,639	2,15,400

From the first set it will appear that about one-third of the total number of boys and girls admitted in Class I, were actually reading in Class II, and then, by degrees, the number dwindled to about one-tenth in Class V. For every 100 boys and girls admitted in Class I, only 10 used to be found in Class V. The diminution in Class II compared with the enrolment in Class I was remarkable.

From the second set of figures, it will appear that the position has improved a little. During this period, for every 100 boys admitted in Class I about 28 were to be found in Class IV. This may be regarded as the figure for those having attained literacy in this stage. Diminution from Class I to Class II still remains the same and stands at about 20 lacs.

The question now confronting us is, why do so many boys and girls give up their studies after learning the alphabet only? It may be due to *stagnation*, i.e., being retained in the same class for a number of years; it may be also due to *inefficient teaching* and *inspection*; it is also possible that the management may have manipulated the enrolment. About 60% of the Primary schools in British India are managed by one teacher only, and it has been revealed that there were found schools in the remotest areas, in the interior of the country, which existed only for the purpose of receiving grants from the disbursing authorities. It is probable that such schools were prone to show a depleted enrolment than the actual figures, even if they existed at all. Serious efforts are needed to put a check to this waste of money. There may be many disadvantages to having these one-teacher schools. But they are mainly located in the interior of the country and have three classes only and the teacher has necessarily to shoulder the burden of plural class-teaching—sometimes aided by, what is unusually called, the ‘*monitorial*’ system. In the existing circumstances and in the prevailing condition of the rural areas, such single-teacher schools are not only indispensable but are beneficial to the best interests of the country.

The quinquennial Report for the period ending 1936-37, presents a better picture and furnishes figures to show that there has been an improvement in the wastage. It reveals that 72% of the scholars admitted in Class I fail to reach Class IV. But in Bengal, about 85% of them do not present themselves in that Class. Here the wastage is higher. The wastage still continues to be heaviest in Class II although there has been slight improvement over the previous

figures. Universal Primary Education seems to be the only way to check the wastage. By the end of 1936-37, there has been a change of outlook also, in the nature of instruction, and the Curriculum in almost all the provinces has been modified to a certain extent to meet the growing needs of the country.

This heavy wastage could have been avoided and even checked had there been a rigid control on, and effective inspection of the institutions. The Inspectors had to work against heavy odds, and handicaps of the unmanageable number of schools, and the area over which they had to work in the discharge of their duties. The machinery, therefore, did not do its proper function and the uncontrolled Course of Primary Education drifted along with the wind in the heavy seas. The co-operation of the villagers, of at least the local self-governing institutions, might have been of some assistance, if they earnestly and energetically carried on their function of uplifting the villages.

The wastage could also be eliminated if the money were not spent on those schools which could not be controlled in a better manner. And, instead of spending the money on Primary Schools, which just satisfied the departmental conditions for the purpose of receiving grants-in-aid conformity to the rules for which may have been hastily examined in an anxiety to see the expansion of Primary Education in the shortest possible time, the money were spent for intensive work in a field within the easy grip of the department. That would have meant an unnecessary interference and check in, what appeared in the face of things, to be a genuine desire of the people, i.e., the management, to see that the villagers are helped to receive some sort of education. Even a bad school with ineffective teaching is better than no school at all !

But, if this stage of things continue for a pretty long time, it may have an adverse effect on the minds of those villagers, who do not view this education with any respect. They have already bred an aversion to education generally, due to the fact that it tends to isolate the agriculturist from society and gives a tendency to look upon manual labour with derision. The villager, therefore, apprehends that by giving his ward some education he will be of no use to his vocation of agriculture, trade, industry, art or whatever may be his calling. If to this already existing view of isolation in his mind, the idea is ingrained that the little education, that is imparted, is wholly

ineffective, that will lead to a mix-up of the whole thing and the villager will be loathe to sending his ward to any school. Therefore, in order that the village-folk may admit the children and keep them there longer, the Curriculum should be made adaptable to their needs and they should be convinced of the utility of giving them some sort of Education. The Curriculum may include such subjects as the keeping of Farm accounts or the accounts of the various trades in which the villagers are generally engaged. There was a time, and perhaps the practice still exists, when the agriculturists had to trudge along a long distance to get the receipts read granted by the land-lords' officers for the money received by them on account of the rent for the lands, only to be convinced that they have not been cheated in this.

Anyway, as an alternative to Universal Primary Education, which would be the best remedy for eliminating the Waste, the existing schools may be grouped and controlled in a better way than following a policy of haphazard expansion. Instances have not been unknown, in which, the conditions required by the Code, for receiving departmental recognition, have been superficially fulfilled, just to elude the inspecting officers. The method which should be followed to secure improvement in the condition of the Primary schools, is to be found out by the provinces themselves. Every province, should, in the beginning, make a survey of the field in respect of the distribution of the schools. The schools then may be justly and equitably adjusted to meet the requirements of the particular areas. Unhealthy competition should be avoided between the schools in the same locality. The Central School system of the Punjab, which has been found to produce good results and which was introduced in some places in Bengal also, may be tried. The system obviates the necessity of having high-grade Primary Schools everywhere, and the feeder schools being occasionally inspected by the Central Primary School teachers, the need of constant vigilance and inspection by the department is minimised, thus ensuring a better organisation, and with a good Curriculum, the system may be expected to produce satisfactory results.

Any improvement in the condition of the Primary schools necessarily implies a vital proposition that there should be a sufficient number of satisfied, qualified and trained teachers. To attract the rural population to take up this work, there should be an adequate number of Middle Vernacular Schools, and if Matriculates are

available so much the better. The facilities for the training of teachers for the schools in the villages, should be adequate and intensive.

If the Curriculum of the Secondary schools do not include sufficient subjects to endow the pupils with the elements of a liberal education and common knowledge, which may have to be taught to the scholars in the Primary schools, the Curriculum of the Training Schools for Teachers should provide a Course of intensive training in those subjects in addition to Pedagogy. Such subjects like Mental Arithmetic ; Elements of Hygiene and Sanitation (Rules of Health) ; a knowledge of the History and Geography of the country ; an elementary knowledge of the elements of the Sciences having direct relation with the life of the people ; elementary Civics and Citizenship etc., should be intensively taught to the would-be-teachers, so that they may be able to impart knowledge in those subjects to the scholars in the Primary schools. Training in Community work, Social Service and Village Uplift work may be included in the Curriculum also.

The Missionaries have, of late, been trying to tackle this problem by providing higher elementary schools with a distinctive Curriculum to meet the requirements of the villagers. The type of schools at Moga ; Chapra, Ushagram ; Bhimpore ; Bishnupore ; Vellore ; Manmad ; Ankleswar and Umedpore, where instruction is imparted through the project Method, may be regarded as the typical examples of Missionary efforts to make the Primary education as beneficial as is possible for the villagers. It is noteworthy in this connection that these schools have included in their Curriculum those subjects which may be expected to help the village-folk in their vocations in later life. The basic industries may be included in the course of Studies so as to prepare the individual for his later life, and to give him a training in the use of the hands, eyes and ears in a manner, which will help considerably, his power of observation and judgment.

Ignorance and false beliefs, based mostly on conservatism which have been ingrained from time immemorial and which have taken their roots by a defective training at home will have to be overcome. The approach to the problem should be from an angle different from that here-to-fore followed. The task is to teach the Masses properly through the modern methods intended to strengthen the power of observation and to broaden the interest. So that we may see a perceptible change in the rural life of India, as a whole.

The teachers of the rural schools should have the requisite training so as to be able to identify themselves with the life and work of the villagers, and for that purpose persons from the rural areas may be selected and given the training in the centres or failing to get such men, those people should be chosen, who would be willing to settle in the villages, *i.e.*, those with a liking for the rural areas. "Go back to the villages" should be the guiding principle, so to say.

About the teaching staffs of the Primary schools. In the western countries, women teachers, as a rule, are chosen for the Nursery and Primary schools and there are a large number of them, who are engaged in those schools. In that stage, the education of children is of a nature, which calls for special aptitude and qualification in a teacher. Women are the best and instinctively the most suited for grasping the peculiar problems of child-life. And so, the education of children of this stage have been more successful in the hands of women teachers. They are capable of taking infinite pains and of imparting education to them through natural affections. In those countries where women have been employed to take up the profession of teaching, they have been found to be cheaper than men. In India, however, the case is different. Here the women teachers cost more, and necessarily, the average cost of educating a girl is higher than the figures for boys, in those schools at least, where education is carried on through women teachers. Besides, although the percentage of literacy of women to total population, is about 2%—which of course, indicates considerable improvement in the figures for the preceding years and which points to the fact that a considerable number of girls of school-going age is receiving instruction in the schools, there exists a demand for a change in the system of girls' education. It is true that there has been an increase in the number of the Middle and High schools and Arts colleges in the country, but that does not indicate that more need not be done. Rather, it points to the necessity of having an increasing number of girls' schools in the country. In order that, we may have good many women teachers in the villages, it is necessary in the first place, besides having a good number of educated women, that the age-long prejudice and the customs have to be overcome so as to induce them to take up the profession. In the urban areas, they present very little difficulties compared to what is generally appreciable in the countryside. Girls' education in our country, should now proceed along a different route

and should move on in a different direction with a different Curriculum to expand to much greater proportions than what it is at present.

Machineries have to be looked after in the course of their working so as to keep them in perfect working order. For that purpose, not only fuel is required to be applied to them occasionally but they have to be properly maintained and every part of them has to be periodically examined. A railway line has to be constantly watched by the Permanent Way Inspector, so that it may be in tip-top condition and may safely pass the trains without in any way endangering the life and property which are carried by them at great speed. Similar is the case with any machinery, mill or workshop. Every part of the machine has to be looked after and periodically inspected to ensure their proper working. So, in addition to a sufficient number of trained and efficient workers (teachers) who may be entrusted with the teaching proper in the Primary schools, there should be a good number of Inspectors, if the system has not to degenerate into inefficiency. It may be argued that the expenses on the Inspectorate, is superfluous and the amount spent on this account, may be profitably employed in the furtherance of Primary Education and in the improvement of teaching in the schools.

There are about 2000 Inspectors and Inspectresses of all grades in the Educational Department of the provinces of India. A little over 100 of them are engaged in the supervision of Secondary Education and in the general administration of the Department. The rest of the Inspectorate do the major part of the work of supervising the lower Secondary and the Primary schools and in the inspection of the institutions. The inadequacy of this staff has been referred to already and is being re-iterated simply for the sake of emphasising the importance of having more of these officers for the inspection of the Primary schools. The average number of Primary schools which an Inspector has to deal with and the area he has to cover for the purpose of inspecting them is widely different for the different provinces but it is a fact that these officers have to do more work than what they may be reasonably expected to perform. The result is that their duties mainly centre round the routine work and they can hardly check the enrolment or even of the existence of the schools in the interior and the inaccessible parts of the country. Something more than the administrative machinery is required. The

Inspectors should be a part and parcel of the system of Primary Education in our country and they should be in a position to offer suggestion in the improvement of teaching and in the condition of the schools and they may help where help is necessary.

If the poverty of the qualifications and equipment of the teachers is taken into account—of course in other than the urban Primary schools—the urgency of having the schools inspected by willing and helpful officers will be appreciated and the necessity of getting the system periodically examined by people who may be in a position, by their experience of teaching and of their knowledge of the work which is being carried in the other parts of the world, to offer direct help and to report on the necessity of making changes in the existing state of things. The control of these officers need not be divided between the department and the district councils, simply to create an anomaly in the organisation. They may be entirely controlled by the district councils who are directly responsible for the expansion and improvement of Mass Education. Better results will accrue out of such co-ordination of efforts. The question of the Inspectorate may be partly solved by adopting the Central School system of the Punjab. If that system cannot be adopted for obvious reasons, then the Inspectorate has either to be strengthened or the schools should be equitably distributed in the districts so as to place the Inspectors in a position to inspect the Primary schools.

In almost every province of India, Malarial fevers are prevalent during the rainy season, and it is also a fact that during the monsoon, specially in those parts like Bengal and Assam, where it is heavy, some places in the interior become inaccessible and one has to plod through mud and water of the dead and dying rivers to go from one place to another. The trouble which the young learners has to experience to go to schools is inexplicable. They become liable to suffer from ill-health as a result of the exposure and the soaking of the rains. Various means have been suggested to get over this natural calamity. In the Punjab, the schools are usually closed during the rainy season but are kept open during the summer. In places like Bengal, Bihar and Assam, the same procedure may be followed, and instead of having their long summer and Puja vacations, as in the other provinces of India they may have the rainy vacation with a short recess during the Puja or the Diwali. This procedure will serve the purpose of giving the pupils some rest which they require and will

also obviate the other problem of the troublesome rains. That will indeed be a wholesome change.

The overwhelming number of inefficient Primary schools for boys and for girls may be made effective in other ways. If the time table of the schools are so arranged that the classes for the boys may be held during the mornings and the afternoons, and the girls' sections are held in the interval between the two sessions *i.e.*, during mid-day then the question of having separate buildings, and possibly the staff, for the two departments may be solved to a certain extent. Instances have been known in which the staff and the building of a boys' school are utilised for the girls' sections and some of the staffs are even known to work in the evening college and school classes. An increased amount paid to the teacher, will be a welcome contribution to his earning and will tend to make him a contented worker, with some interest in his profession. Along with this, the question of co-education of boys and girls in the Primary stage, at least, may be given due consideration.

In the U. S. A., the educational units are free from outside control in respect of their internal administration and management. In Japan, the Inspectors are regarded as the clearing house of New Ideas and as practical guides to the application of the modern methods of teaching. There they are not looked upon as people out to exercise the right of the red-tap and to multiply difficulties in the way of the administration. It is the intensive and not the extensive development in the field of education, which will in the long run, secure advancement of education of India.

The Central Advisory Board has been revived and the Bureau of Education has been put into operation. The Review on the growth of education is some part of the functions of the Central Government. The propagation of useful information on the activities of the provincial Governments in the different spheres of Educational advancement and of the outside world, in this respect, should be regarded as the most useful of the duties of the Central Government. The Mont-Ford Reforms tended to take away from the Central Government their interest in educational matters. It was unfortunate. The Government of India should not divest themselves of the responsibilities of initiating the Policy and of finding the requisite Finances.

Without committing themselves in anyway for the financial responsibility in putting the Basic System of Education into effect, the

provisions of which have been minutely examined by a sub-committee in the course of the last two years, the Central Board of Education has at last finally approved the Scheme. The major objections of making no provision for religious education which tended to give it a secular outlook and of giving undue importance to the self-supporting nature of the basic crafts through which education was sought to be imparted have been compromised. The Scheme nowhere laid down that religion should be neglected, neither is there any reference to the effect that such religious training might be given in the school outside school hours. The school adopting the scheme was free to frame its own routine including religious training of the communities. The fact that the basic crafts to which most of the subjects could be co-related and the products of which may be used to render them self-supporting, does not, it is contended, imply that vocational education was the goal. What is implied in this, is that by this scheme a *new Orientation* is desired in the outlook on education and its value lay in emphasising the necessity of education through manual activities freed from the domination of books and the fetish of examinations, the only goal of the present outlook on education which is as at present, neither responsive to the realistic elements of the present situation nor is it inspired by the life-giving or the creative ideal.

The adoption of the Wardha Scheme by the provinces when funds permitted, would necessarily imply the introduction of Compulsory Universal Primary Education in the country. A new problem is sure to crop up when that stage is reached *i.e.*, of the provision for the education of children before the Basic system starts at the age of six or seven. Nursery or Infant schools would be the only places where *pre-basic* education may be imparted, so as to make the children suitable for receiving the benefits of the Basic System of Education. The Nursery and the Infant schools can be satisfactorily conducted by women teachers only. Apart from the prevalent social objections of allowing the women to take up teaching as a profession, in the rural areas, the fact that hardly 2% of our total female population are under instruction in the country, also reminds us of the urgency of making wide-scale provision for the education of the girls. Of those girls under instruction, the majority is in the Primary stage and very little of them receive any sort of higher education. Not only that many more girls will have to be educated, but that they should at the same time, be given the proper training to shoulder

the responsibility of taking charge of the Nursery and the Infant schools.

The necessity of having a Curriculum for women which will tend to make them good housewives and mothers has been repeatedly advocated everywhere by educationists. The social ideal and needs of Indian women are not similar to those of the Western countries. A Curriculum which will include the subjects like: Domestic Science including Cookery, Laundry, Housewifery Needle-work, Elementary Physiology, Medicine, etc., Dietetics, Hygiene, First-aid, Home-nursing, Mothercraft, Eugenics, Gardening, Civics and Child-psychology besides Music and Dancing and which should be adopted to the Indian condition, will bear far more beneficial results than the purely literary or even what has been given to our boys for a long time. The Lady Irwin Girls' College at Delhi is doing something in this direction and Colleges of that type with a Curriculum having a definitely Indian outlook should be multiplied in our country to send out as many girls as were possible not only for the good of the household but also for the good of the Nation, to take up the positions in the training schools for the teachers of the Primary schools for girls and for the Nursery schools and the Infant classes. It is time that we thought of this aspect of the question of Wastage-cum-Primary Education a bit seriously and made united efforts to bring about that fundamental change in our system of education.

Provision should also be made for transferring the pupils from the Basic schools to the Secondary stage at different grades making their courses of instruction in conformity with the Basic System of Education. That is how the Wardha Scheme of Education pre-supposes new Orientation in our Educational system. The Vernaculars will have to be made the medium of instruction and parallel courses of instruction will have to be provided for the education of the girls. Without making suitable provision for these changes in the different stages of our educational system, it will be of no use introducing the Wardha Scheme of Education or (Compulsory) Universal Primary Education.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad]

Theoretical Military Training in Bihar

That the Provincial Government have under consideration a scheme for imparting physical training in schools with a theoretical course in military history and science in place of the previous Ministry's scheme for military training school was revealed to pressmen by Mr. Cousins at a Conference. The scheme proposes the formation of cadet corps in secondary schools to serve as a feeder to the University Training Corps which could be expanded and strengthened by addition of more platoons.

A full-fledged military school, he added, could not, however, be undertaken by the Provincial Government, as it did not enjoy adequate powers in this regard. The proposed scheme is expected to be announced in a month's time.

Lucknow University

All round expansion in the work of Lucknow University was reported by the Vice-Chancellor of the University when he addressed the University Court.

The Faculty of Medicine was a special feature of the University which, he said, brought the University into direct contact with the masses. An increase in the number of women students, establishment of a diploma in radiology, a section of orthopaedic surgery and one of pharmacology, introduction of I.L.M. classes, experimental psychology and M.Com. degrees were other features of the administration during the year.

New researches on neurosis (black tip diseases in mangoes) and helminthic diseases had been entrusted to the University by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

The Court at the outset passed a resolution of condolence at the untimely demise of Sir Shah Sulaiman and paid glowing tributes to his memory.

Gift to College

Mr. Shanti Nayak of Dalsingsarai having contributed Rs. 25,000 to the funds of the Mithila College, Darbhanga, the Governing Body of the college has resolved that the institution be named Shanti Nayak Mithila College.

Students to Help in Rural Work

Utilizing their holidays in nation-building work, University students will play a great part in the rural and economic reconstruction of the country if the resolution adopted by the Inter-University Board is given effect to by Indian Universities.

The Board, at its last annual meeting, considered it desirable to undertake an economic investigation of rural and urban areas with the help of University students, particularly during holidays.

Rs. 70,000 Offered for Assam University

Mr. Sashiprasad Baruah who has offered a donation of Rs. 70,000 towards the establishment of a university in Assam, is reported to have informed the authorities that he would withdraw his offer if they decided to locate the university either at Shillong or at Sylhet. In that case Mr. Baruah proposes to take up the work of founding a private University with more money donated by himself and other members of his family and to locate it at Gauhati.

Society of Agricultural Economics

The second conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics was held at Lahore from April 12 to April 14 under the chairmanship of Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya.

Bengal Board of Economic Inquiry

The Board of Economic Inquiry set up by the Government of Bengal is now preparing the outlines of a scheme for an inquiry into the question of average yield and cost of cultivation of the principal crops in the province.

It is proposed to carry out, in the first instance, an exploratory survey to devise a suitable procedure for collecting reliable data about the various factors which contribute to the yield and govern the cost of cultivation.

The survey is estimated to cost about Rs. 10,000 and will take about 15 months to complete. Areas for the survey have been selected. Statistical design and methods of the inquiry are also being drawn up under the guidance of Professor P. C. Mahalanobis. The actual field work will be started soon with the commencement of cultivation for the *bhadoi* crops.

The Board also proposes to institute inquiries into the extent of the scarcity of drinking and irrigation water in different parts of the province ; the possibilities of developing barren and untilled lands situated mostly in West Bengal districts ; the possibilities of developing the horticultural wealth of the province ; and the present cattle wealth of Bengal, the extent of its use and waste, and the possibilities of its economic development.

Inter-University Board Meeting

The question whether students who specialize in vocational subjects in the High Schools may pursue higher course in those subjects in the University up to the degree standard, is at present engaging the attention of the Indian Universities.

The Inter-University Board discussed the matter at its last annual meeting and expressed the opinion that the right method consisted in the provision of diversified courses at the high school stage with provision for similar courses of a progressively higher grade at the inter and succeeding stages, leading to diplomas or degrees, so that it might be possible for pupils taking vocational courses at the high school stage to go up to the Universities and qualify themselves for diplomas and degrees in their own lines. The board further held that it ought to be possible for the Universities to have entrance tests suitable for such courses of study, instead of a single entrance examination for all candidates, irrespective of the courses to be taken.

Miscellany

IDEOLOGICAL IMPERIALISM

Militaristic-political domination is but one kind of empire-building and imperialism. Social science has to envisage another kind of imperialism or domination. There one set of ideas is influenced, modified or conquered by another set, one system of morality is compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty or sovereignty of another system. The authority of another set of ideas, ideals and institutions replaces that of a traditional set. The arts and sciences, philosophies, religions, *mores*, manners and customs, and gods and goddesses of one people are replaced by those of another people. This domination or imperialism is ideological. It is essentially impersonal, having hardly anything to do with any individual of flesh and blood.

Man is a brute by all means and tries to influence or conquer others physically and militarily. But it is also true that man is something of a non-brute, *i.e.*, man has tried to listen to reason and to accept reason. It is very interesting to note that throughout the periods of militaristic-political domination the domination of the other type, the ideological domination, ideological imperialism also has been going on, almost synchronous with the other imperialism. Very often the militaristic-political empire has had nothing to do with the ideological empire. Once in a while, the ideological empires have been established, influenced or promoted by military-political empires. But, as a rule, the two imperialisms have gone on independently of each other.

Let us take Islam or Christianity, which is older than Islam. As a system of ideas and ideals Christianity has conquered and dominated the world by influencing, modifying, moderating and subjugating the local rites, ceremonies, institutions, moral ideas, and gods and goddesses. Christianity as a system of conversions is one of the greatest ideological imperialisms the world has known. In social science it is the custom to use the term *acculturation* for this conversion. When one country or people is adopting the religion, customs and manners of another, the first is being acculturated to the second. Christianization is an instance of world-domination by an adopted religion. It is imperialism on the ideological plane. The Christian empire is not confined to any particular continent. It has succeeded in encompassing the entire world with more or less doses of success. The Islamization of mankind has been relatively less effective or universal.

There are other ideological imperialisms. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is possible to say, democracy has established an empire among all mankind. The French revolution, the ideas of 1789, started the world on this path. Today there is hardly anybody anywhere on earth that is not subject to the ideals of democracy, whatever that may mean. The undeniable fact is that democratic ideology is one of the most inspiring forces and vital urges among all races. The domination of the human spirit by democratic idealism is a remarkable imperialism of modern times.

Similarly one of the greatest world-empires is being enjoyed by science. Is there any human being today, in East or West—anywhere in the world—who is not subject to the rule of science, to the sovereignty or empire of science? A fourth ideological empire is that of technocracy and industrialism and, along with them, capitalism. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century capitalism has been enjoying an empire among all peoples. This is an impersonal empire like Christianity or Islam, democracy and science.

Exactly antithetic to capitalism is Marxism, the doctrine associated with the name of Marx. Marxism or socialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been enjoying a world-empire. Its domination has touched even Asia including India. It is impossible for anybody to deny that socialism is directly or indirectly influencing the thoughts and activities of individuals here and there and everywhere. Socialism, therefore, is as great an ideological imperialism as Christianity or Islam, democracy, science and capitalism.

So far we have mentioned the ideological imperialisms which are mainly non-Indian in origin. Does India afford illustrations of this second kind of imperialism? She does. India also has given rise to ideas, ideals, *vidyas* and *kalas*, arts and sciences, manners and customs, philosophies, politics, moralities, religions, gods and goddesses, and sacred texts such as have conquered the world. Ideological imperialism is one of the greatest contributions of India to world culture. India as a maker of chapters in world history is thus to be placed in two different fields, first, as a contributor to militaristic-political domination, secondly, as a contributor to ideological imperialism. Empire-building of two different kinds is to be credited to the culture or creativity of the Indian people.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

HINDUISM AS WORLD-IMPERIALISM

Let us try to understand Hinduism. In the first place, Hinduism is a cult or a religion. It has its gods and goddesses, rituals and ceremonies. In the second place, Hinduism is a system of culture, institutions, social philosophies. It is a system of arts and sciences, manners, beliefs and customs. Now, who established Hinduism? It was established by some people, perhaps somewhere in the Punjab or on the banks of the Ganges, the Kabul, the Ravi or the Bias. The creative persons were perhaps a little colony of half a dozen or several dozen people. We call them *Rishis*. What they called themselves we do not know. But they were creators, epoch-makers. These *Rishis* established what later became Hinduism. In the beginning their creation or culture was nothing more than the burning of wood. It was fire applied to a few pieces of wood in which *ghce* was to be burnt. Considered objectively, *yajna*, *homa* or sacrifice is the pragmatic form of Hinduism as a religion. The *Rishis* who invented it were not thin, emaciated people, but strong men, sturdy gymnasts, intellectual gymnasts and moral gymnasts, who along with the fire propagated a powerful cult. It is not some meaningless hocuspocus that they started. They started a tremendous social dynamics. Their motto was "*charaiveti*"—march on, march on, march on. That aggressiveness, that desire to go on conquering and to conquer is the kern of Hinduism

as a religion. "We have lit this little fire," they said, "but it is not to remain confined to this little colony, to this our village. It has to be spread farther and farther. There is that river, the cult has to spread to it, that river over there has to be crossed. And from village to village, from forest to forest, and from river to river, and on and on it has to march, conquer, missionize until the whole world comes under its domination."

The *Rishis* taught Young India to say, "*Ahamasmi sahamana*, etc.," which means, "Mighty am I, superior by name upon the earth, conquering am I, all-conquering, completely conquering every region." This is the inspiration of Hinduism, the cult of *charaiveti* (march on), the culture of *divvijaya* (world-conquest), the philosophy of world-conversion.

This is not the mere enthusiasm of half a dozen nervous, rickety, malaria-stricken people, but the declaration of faith of those who actually marched on from one river to another and crossed one hill-top after another. The whole of India has come under their domination. Finally an ideological empire has been established by what, in our ignorance or absence of a better term, we describe as Hinduism. Hinduism is a world-conquering cult or culture, determined to organize missions in order to civilize or dominate the world. Hinduization is acculturation of diverse races, peoples and regions to Hindu norms and *mores*. We said that Christianity (or Islam), democracy, science, capitalism and socialism are ideological imperialisms or impersonal dominations and that these five "isms" or systems enjoy a world-position. Students of social science will have to objectively recognize Hinduism, understood whether as a system of culture or of cult, as another specimen of ideological world-imperialism.

We are using the term "world-empire" in connection with Hinduism as a religion and as a culture. This is not a hyperbole. In the first place, our conception of the world is to be recalled as consisting in the very neighbourhood of the creative individual. Thus considered, the smallest territorial area conceivable can be aptly described as the conqueror's world. In the second place, India is a huge sub-continent, a world by itself. And last but not least, one may ask the question: Is Hinduism confined to India? No. The spirit of India has not rested content within the boundaries of the Indian sub-continent. Afghanistan and Central Asia were conquered by our Hindu religion and Hindu culture. Likewise was China conquered and it is in that conquest that we have to see the deeper significance of the Chinese Goodwill Mission of today. Burma and Siam (Thailand) were also similarly Hinduized. We may go to Siam (Thailand) and we shall find that the names of rulers over there are derived from Rama, Vikrama, Varman, Jaya, Indra, Ananda, etc. We may visit Indo-China and there also we shall encounter Hindu culture in daily life. In Sumatra, Java and the other Insulindian islands as well as in far-off Japan Hinduization is likewise manifest in temples, gods and goddesses, rituals and ceremonies. Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Siberia, Turkestan,—all these regions of Asia are to be recognized to a certain extent as the colonies of Hindu cult and Hindu culture. In one word, the whole of northern, southern and eastern Asia bears traces of Hindu ideological imperialism. This represents the domination of Hindu ideology over others, their acculturation to Hindu ideas and ideals. Is western Asia to be treated as lying outside the sphere of influence of Hindu imperialism? No. Hindu arts and sciences, algebra, arithmetic, *Ayurveda*, therapeutics, metallurgy, fables, stories, philosophies, crossed the Himalaya mountains and the Khyber Pass. They were accepted as the arts and sciences of the Muslims, the Saracens of Baghdad.

From there they passed on to the Europeans who accepted them as some of the foundations of their mathematics, chemistry, medicine, etc. Thus our Hindu ideals, manners and sentiments which began at Mohenjodaro in Sind and in the Punjab have spread everywhere in Asia and to a certain extent in Europe. Hinduism is then by all means a world-imperialism.

BENOY²KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Structural Basis of Indian Economy.—By H. Venkatasubbiah. Published by Allen and Unwin, London. Pp. 150. Price 7s. 6d.

The book is a study of the economics of Imperialism. Its purpose is to show that economic activity in India has been influenced largely by certain institutions, *e.g.*, landlordism and industrial capitalism. The author argues that landlordism is notorious for its fossilization. The present system of land tenure in the zamindari and the ryotwari areas was created by Imperialism for its dual need—progressive cultivation and regular flow of revenue. But it has failed to secure a progressive agricultural economy. The author also surveys the growth of large-scale production, particularly in the coal mining and the jute manufacturing industries and points out that industrial capitalism in India is at present immature. It will remain so as long as the State does not replace the managing agent as the financier of industry (p. 31). The prosperity of the coal mining and jute manufacturing industries is, according to our author, due to adventitious aids which external finance capital receives in this country (pp. 109, 136).

It will hardly be denied that the policy of the government in this country has often been moulded by Imperialist considerations. But in any study of the economics of Imperialism it is necessary to guard against a confusion that might arise in mixing up the evils of unrestrained capitalism with those of Imperialism. The author refers to the reduction in the size of the pillars in coal mines to a point below the limit of safety. It is doubtful how far this evil can be attributed exclusively to the forces of Imperialism. For the neglect of vital long-period national interests in the ardent pursuit of private profits is a characteristic drawback of the capitalistic system of production. It is an evil which has been known to exist even in countries free from the domination of an Imperial partner. Orthodox economists have often pointed out the possibility of a divergence under unregulated capitalism between the marginal private net product and the marginal social net product.

On page 137 a statement is made that the price of raw jute is governed by the demand of the jute manufacturing industry in India. This appears to be a sweeping generalisation. For it ignores the whole complex of forces that determines the price relationship between jute manufactures and raw jute. On the whole the book is an interesting and stimulating one, for there is much in it that has been treated from a rather unusual point of view.

J. P. NİYOGI

Holy Images: An Inquiry into Idolatry and Image-Worship in Ancient Paganism and in Christianity.—By Edwyn Bevan. Published by Allen and Unwin, London. Price 7s. 6d.

The four lectures which appear in this volume were part of the Gifford Lectures delivered by Dr. Bevan in 1933. They were not included in the general volume (*Symbolism and Belief*) since they constitute a digression on a particular instance of symbolism.

The book is a veritable mine of information. Scholarly treatment and lucidity of style combine to carry conviction. The reader will readily agree to the author's main thesis that images have played and are destined to play an indispensable part in belief and religion. They raise our minds to God; of all symbols they are the most telling. So far so good. But there is another aspect of the question, raised by the author and summarily dismissed as if it were but rank superstition, *viz.*, that the image may, in certain circumstances, bring down the Divinity to the level of the worshipper. The use of idols in Hinduism is alluded to together with certain attitudes taken by the Eastern Christian Churches. The Holy Eucharist is mentioned in a footnote—an "aniconic" object of worship, we are told. Of course; yet part and parcel of a religion that centres around God-made man and through its sacramental system brings God down to the level of the faithful.

This aspect of the problem lies outside the scope of lectures on "Symbolism and Belief"; it hardly deserves the author's supercilious strictures whilst it may well inspire yet another course of Gifford Lectures on "God in Human Form."

P. TURMES, S.J.

Letters of Swami Vivekananda.—Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, the Himalayas. 1940. Pp. vii+420. Price Rs. 2-4.

Swami Vivekananda, a mighty influence in the national upheavals of modern India, speaks to us through these letters in words that still inspire across the intervening decades. Some of them are half a century old; but the appeal is modern. Social service, religious toleration, a profound reverence for the past glories of India and for spirituality, a burning sense of wrong done to our countless brethren in the name of untouchability, a keen eye for appreciating the excellences of Western life, and an ardent desire for rousing Indians to ceaseless activity, these characterise the letters that have been published in a very handy form by the Advaita Ashrama. The letters have, so far as possible, been chronologically arranged, and some of them have been included for the first time.

This collection of about three hundred letters will be appreciated by the admirers of the great Swamiji as well as by all interested in modern India, and the publishers are to be congratulated upon the way in which they have made accessible these epistles embodying the living word of the monk of India who had raised the status of India and her religion ever since his momentous speech at the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago.

P. R. SEN

The Hidden Leaven.—By R. Ryburn, M.A. Price not mentioned.

The work of the Christian Missionaries in India comes in as much for praise as for blame in the Indian public opinion. Sometimes the missionaries are revered as the apostles of Western culture and sometimes despised as auxiliaries of British imperialism. In the "Hidden Leaven" Mr. Ryburn places the ideals of the Indian Church squarely with the cultural and political context of modern India and studies the whole problem with the spirit of a dispassionate investigator. He makes a special study of

the social and educational work of the Christian missions and shows that they can be of great assistance to struggling India if they have (what Pater calls) that passionate stress of spirit which the world owes to Christianity.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Dābī (Claim).—By Shri Nirendranath Ray. Published by Bharati-bhavan, 11, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 84. Price Annas Twelve only.

There has been, of late years, some response to the cry for the stamp of contemporary times on modern Bengali fiction, the stamp of political work and thought in particular. Saratchandra's *Pather Dābī* was in a sense a pioneer work in this line; the novel under review, which is a work on the same lines, was composed about twelve years ago, though printed and published much later. There is thus a connecting link between the two.

India is changing—changing intensely; and the idealist in youth is faced with a conflict. It is this conflict which the novelist has essayed to portray. Asit and Anil, thrown together as students of the same college, introduce the plot which soon gathers a romantic interest round Asit and Purnima, Anil's sister. She has fallen in love with him; but he, with a clearer comprehension of the world's opposition and his own weak resistance, cannot accept that love: Purnima's love could never be an absorbing passion with him. He was drifting surely into the vortex of revolutionism—his father's remarks against Purnima's mother had antagonised him, he had been estranged from his parents and left home, he had deliberately cut himself off from Purnima's people, and Bijay and Ariff, workers for the people's rise, draw him in. But Asit could never be a terrorist, and he succeeded in inducing Bijay to think over and scrutinise his ideal. Bijay sacrificed himself, and Ariff too (it was inevitable), and thus proved that Asit's pleadings did not go in vain. Socialism, nationalism, terrorism—these were, Asit realised after his tragic experience, not for him; he must work for his soul's freedom. Purnima met him and tried to take care of him, care that he sorely needed; but he feels the danger of forgetting the call in the nearness to Purnima. He bids her farewell, and she accepts it; at the same time she understands that their ways must drift; she sees, after all, that Asit has succumbed to Tradition, and she must trudge by herself on Lenin's way. And with this realisation and mutual farewell the novel ends.

The Ideal reveals itself in many ways—socialism, religion, revolution—and modern India chooses and chooses. It is true that most men do not know their own mind, and drift. Some lives are wrecked on the shoals of ignorance, while others cease to live truly. What claims to accept, and which to reject? Purnima moves on—undeterred by disappointments which have to be. If Asit is the hero of the book, does not the future belong to Purnima? She gives up her claim on Asit as he entreats her to do so, but feels the need of walking along her own way.

The author has shown considerable and commendable restraint (and rightly, for the dedication is to late Prof. M. Ghose of Presidency College, Calcutta whose studies and temperament took the classics for their basis in language) in the portrayal of the different characters, and also in the delineation of piquant situations. The gain has been great in clearness of perspective, of outlines; and the impression that stands out after laying down the book is that nothing is indistinct or blurred. Sunayani's story recedes into the background and is left unsaid; but it is the story,

of Purnima and Asit that the novelist seeks to tell. And even their individuality grows faint, in view of the surging thought of Young India grappling with its problems. The story never flags, and the presentation of the problem nowhere caricatures men and minds.

P. R. SEN

Kovalan and Kannaki: The Story of the 'Silappadhikaram.'—By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law, F.R.S.I. Published by Messrs C. Coomaraswamy Naidu & Sons, 27, Chinnambai Street, Madras. Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.

Mr. A. S. P. Ayyar is an experienced hand at rendering English versions of Indian stories, and in this book, as the sub-title tells us, he has given the story of the great Tamil epic. The story interest is fully sustained in his version, and it has been made accessible now to thousands of readers who could never be expected to cultivate a first-hand acquaintance with the epic. The reader is tempted to ask: Why is not a map attached, to give a definite idea of the country relating to this great work, composed about 1,800 years ago?

The introduction, admirable in its scope which is comprehensive, betrays a slight regional interest in the struggle between the north and the south of India; and it also assures the Tamils that they have nothing to fear from Sanskrit and Hindi. Sanskrit, to be sure, will remain the language for the scholar, while the politician can revile at Hindi, only at his own risk. The Indian National Congress has clearly stated through Mahatma Gandhi that the cultivation of one's mother-tongue is the duty of all Congressmen, and that no conflict is intended between Hindi and, for that matter, Tamil.

It is to be fervently wished that Mr. Ayyar will follow the present work with an equally handy version of the 'Manimekalai,' the other great epic of the Tamils. Anyway, Mr. Ayyar is doing real work for the modern Indian languages.

P. R. SEN

Alivardi and his Times.—By Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Patna College. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1939. Pp. xix + 308, with 2 maps and 2 illustrations. Price Rs. 4.

The work under review is a very valuable and interesting contribution to modern Indian history. As the author points out, a critical study of the history of Alivardi's reign is necessary "in order to understand the genesis and significance of the political and the economic revolutions in Bengal since the middle of the eighteenth century." It would be a mistake to regard the history of Alivardi's reign merely as an episode in the local history of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. His efforts to check the Marathas (so ably described in Chapter III of Dr. Datta's book) and to "restrain the growing ambition of the foreign trading companies" (narrated with many interesting details in Chapter V) merge it in the stream of general Indian history. Dr. Datta has done ample justice to the political and administrative abilities of this masterful Nawab. He has carefully collected all available details about his early career (Chapter I). He shows how he

acquired the subahdarship and consolidated his authority (Chapter II). The story of the Afghan insurrections is narrated in full (Chapter IV). Three interesting chapters on the economic and social history of Bengal in Alivardi's time bring the book to conclusion (Chapters VII-IX). This exhaustive and authoritative treatment of the subject is the result of ten years' careful study of original materials in many languages—English, French, Persian, Marathi, Sanskrit, Bengali, Oriya and Hindi. The long bibliography (covering 13 pages) at the end of the book shows that Dr. Datta has not left unexplored any possible source of information. We congratulate him on the success he has achieved in producing a compact and delightful treatise from scattered and discordant materials.

INDURHUSAN BANERJEE

Nandapur (A Forsaken Kingdom), Part I.—By Kumar Bidyadhar Sing Deo, B.L., Advocate, Jeypore (Orissa); with an introduction by Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao, Andhra Research University, Vizianagram. 1939. Pp. viii + x + 166.

The author of the book under review attempts to give an account of the old kingdom of Nandapur, which is the same as the modern Jeypore State. The book is divided into four chapters. Chapter I deals with the early history of the region and gives an account of the age of Vināyakadeva (c. 1443-76) and his immediate successors. Chapter II deals with the period from Yašovanta or Dasmatta (c. 1597-1637) to the successors of Balarāma II (c. 1684-86). Ch. III traces the history up to the expulsion of the French from the Northern Circars, and Chapter IV brings it up to the close of the eighteenth century. The book contains 22 illustrations and as many as 16 appendices. A map of the Jeypore region, however, is wanting.

The mighty Nandas of Pāṭaliputra appear to have had relations with Kalinga and a dynasty called Nanda or Nandodbhava, probably claiming descent from the former, ruled in the country about the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. (see Sircar, *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 77, note 2). The name of Nandapur may, therefore, be traced to a very early period. After the Cheti (= Chedi) or Cheta (= Chaidya) dynasty represented by Khānvela, Kalinga became parcelled out into a number of small principalities, and this state (though later partially disturbed by the Imperial Gangas, the Muḥammadans, the Marathas and the English) continues even up to the present day. The history of many of such States remains still uninvestigated. We, therefore, congratulate Mr. Sing Deo on his attempt to give us an account of the Jeypore Rāj.

It should, however, be pointed out that the author's treatment of the subject is not quite satisfactory. Too much of unnecessary traditional details and lengthy quotations (pp. 8 ff., 26 ff., 31 ff., etc.) sometimes disturbs the smooth course of the account, and some of the appendices (e.g., E, P, etc.) have only slight bearing on the topic. Want of proper diacritical marks is another unpleasant feature of the work. Many of the illustrations (e.g., Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, 22, etc.), again, are practically useless for historical purposes.

The author does not appear to be quite up to date. His remarks about the religion of the Nandas (p. 147) and the Salakēnoi of Ptolemy

(p. 158; cf. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 71) are not supported by evidence. The real name of the author's Vijayachandrākhyā (p. 11 *et passim*) seems to be Vijayachandra.

In spite of the shortcomings, the book is interesting for its wealth of materials and for the fact that it deals with an important period of Orissan history.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Ourselves

[I. Re-nomination of Ordinary Fellows.—II. University Teacher to serve on Soil Science Committee.—III. The Ramkrishna Vidyamandir, Belur.—IV. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee.—V. M. L. Examination, 1940.—VI. Election of Deans of Faculties.—VII. Donation for Research in Mica.—VIII. Dates for Examinations.—IX. Srikañil College, Tippera.—X. Bethune College.—XI. American Academy of Political and Social Science.—XII. Appointment of Ordinary Fellow.—XIII. Grants to non-Government Arts Colleges.—XIV University Representatives on the Dacca Intermediate Board.—XV. Beereshur Mitter Medal, 1940.—XVI. Inter-University Sports Board.—XVII. Indian Football Association, Bengal.—XVIII. Sir P. C. Ray : Eightieth Birthday Celebration Committee.—XIX. Mr. Humayun Kabir.—XX. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.—XXI. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty.].

I. RE-NOMINATION-OF ORDINARY FELLOWS

His Excellency the Chancellor is pleased to re-nominate Prof. Subodhchandra Mahalanobis, B.Sc., F.R.S.E., and Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A. as Ordinary Fellows of the University. Prof. Mahalanobis's term of office expired on January 10, 1941, and that of Sir Sarvapalli on the 27th of February, 1941.

His Excellency is pleased to nominate Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullah to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University *vice* Jatindra mohan Ray, deceased.

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II. UNIVERSITY TEACHER TO SERVE ON SOIL SCIENCE COMMITTEE

Prof. J. N. Mukherjee of the University College of Science has been appointed by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, to serve on its Soil Science Committee whose life extends up to the 31st March, 1944.

Our University has informed the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research that it has no objection to the appointment.

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III. THE RAMKRISHNA VIDYAMANDIR, BELUR

The Syndicate has recommended that the above institution be affiliated to the University to the I.A. standard in the following subjects with effect from the commencement of the session 1941-42:

English, Bengali (Compulsory), Sanskrit, History, Elements of Civics and Economics, Logic and Mathematics.

IV. DR. S. P. MOOKERJEE

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., has been appointed a representative of this University on the Inter-University Board with effect from April 1, 1941. The Board has elected Dr. Mookerjee its President for the current term.

V. M. L. EXAMINATION, 1940

Out of the six candidates who sat for the degree of Master of Law Examination held in December, 1940, only one candidate has passed and the rest failed. The successful candidate has been placed in the First Class.

VI. ELECTION OF DEANS OF FACULTIES

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., has been elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts for the year 1941-42. Sir Upendranath Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.N.I., F.S.M.F. (Bengal) has been elected Dean of the Faculty of Science for the year 1941-42. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas, C.I.E., M.A., B.L., has been elected Dean of the Faculty of Law and Mr. M. N. Bose, M.B., C.M. (Edin.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal), Dean of the Faculty of Medicine for the same period.

VII. DONATION FOR RESEARCH IN MICA

Messrs. Chatteram Horilram, Ltd., have offered to place the sum of Rs. 1,500 at the disposal of Prof. S. K. Mitra of the University College of Science for equipping and strengthening the University laboratory with a view to investigating into the electrical properties of

Indian mica. Prof. Mitra has already obtained satisfactory results by his research in the subject.

The University has accepted with thanks the offer of Rs. 1,500 by Messrs. Chatteram Horilram, Ltd., for testing mica.

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VIII. DATES FOR EXAMINATIONS

The commencing date for the next Law Examinations has been fixed to be 16th June, 1941.

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IX. SRIKAIL COLLEGE, TIPPERA

The Syndicate has recommended that the Srikail College, Tippera, be affiliated to the I.A. standard in the following subjects with effect from the commencement of the session 1941-42: English, Bengali, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, History, Logic, Mathematics, Elements of Civics and Economics, Commercial Geography, and Commercial Arithmetic, and Elements of Book-Keeping.

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X. BETHUNE COLLEGE

The Syndicate has recommended that the Bethune College be affiliated in Biology to the I.A. and I.Sc. standards from the next session in addition to the subjects the institution is already teaching.

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XI. AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

The Forty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Academy was held on the 4th and 5th April, 1941. Our University has sent its good wishes to the authorities of the Academy on the occasion.

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XII. APPOINTMENT OF ORDINARY FELLOW

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Rai Sahib Panchanan Ganguli, B.E., as an Ordinary Fellow of the

University in place of Mr. Praphullachandra Ghosh, M.A., whose term of office expired on the 31st January, 1941.

XIII. GRANTS TO NON-GOVERNMENT ARTS COLLEGES

The University has been requested to make recommendations for the distribution of the sum of Rs. 80,000 (eighty thousand) provided in the Budget for 1941-42 among non-Government Arts Colleges affiliated to this University. It has been suggested by Government that the sum of Rs. 6,000 may be kept apart out of this money for the benefit of women's colleges in the province.

The University has invited applications from Heads of colleges for participation in the grant. The claims of the different colleges will be considered by a committee consisting of the following gentlemen:—

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor,
 The Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas, C.I.E., M.A., B.L.,
 Dr. Harendracoomar Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.,
 Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A.,
 The University Inspector of Colleges.

XIV. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVES ON THE DACCA INTERMEDIATE BOARD

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., and Mr. Jogeschandra Chakravorti, M.A., have been appointed representatives of the University on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca, for the year 1941-42.

XV. BEERESHUR MITTER MEDAL, 1940

The above medal will be awarded to Mr. Pratulchandra Dasgupta, M.A., who submitted a thesis entitled "Gold Exports from India since 1931." His thesis was recommended for the award by his examiners

Sir J. C. Coyajee, Kt., B.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law and Dr. Gyan Chand, M.A., Ph.D.

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XVI. INTER-UNIVERSITY SPORTS BOARD

Mr. Anathnath Chatterjee, M.B., B.S., Honorary Secretary, Students' Welfare Committee, has been appointed a representative of this University on the Inter-University Sports Board.

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XVII. INDIAN FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION, BENGAL

The undermentioned gentlemen have been nominated representatives of this University on the above Association :—Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., and Mr. Umaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L.

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XVIII. SIR P. C. RAY: EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

An appeal for funds has been recently addressed to the public of India under the signatures of Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Maurice Gwyer, Sir M. N. Mukerji, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Sastri and many other eminent men for celebrating the eightieth birthday of Sir P. C. Ray. The idea of honouring the doyen of Bengal's scientists originated with Sir Nripendranath Sircar who was one of the old pupils of Sir P. C. Ray.

We heartily associate ourselves with the appeal and hope and believe that the country will not fail to be generous in its response to it. Sir P. C. Ray has been an inspiring teacher to generations of students. He has stirred the impulse for original investigation into activity in many of his pupils who are now themselves renowned scientists. He is one of the great benefactors of his country whose gift to his country consisted not only in his work as teacher and as guide, friend and philosopher of young learners of science for more than half a century, not only in the donations he has made to the University substantially representing a life-time of earning but also in an important measure in the lofty idealism which his life illustrates by his deliberate

acceptance of an ascetic principle. He has thus proved to his generation that the highest intellectual culture may be combined with simplicity of life such as we associate with the forest civilization of ancient India and has magnificently vindicated the theory of plain living and high thinking.

The reception proposed to be held in honour of Sir P. C. Ray should be on a scale appropriate to so great a man and we invite all admirers of the great scientist to come forward with subscriptions. Dr. N. N. Law is the Treasurer of the Committee and Dr. M. N. Saha and Dr. B. C. Guha, Secretaries.

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XIX. MR. HUMAYUN KABIR

Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.), was recently invited by the Madras University to deliver a course of lectures on Poetry as its Sir George Stanley Lecturer for the current year. Mr. Kabir's discourse on "Poetry, Monads and Society" was divided into three lectures. He delivered them in the Senate Hall, Madras.

Mr. Kabir's work is being printed by the Calcutta University and will be published early next month.

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XX. SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan who was appointed George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy on the retirement of Sir Brajendranath Seal in 1920 has resigned with effect from July 1, 1941, so as to be free to accept a Professorship in Indian Culture recently established in the University of Benares of which he is also the Vice-Chancellor.

Sir Sarvapalli was made a permanent incumbent of the University in 1931 but his services were lent to the Government of Madras during the period 1931 May—1937 August. From 1938 until the outbreak of the War, Sir Sarvapalli served the University of Oxford as Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics for six months every year from June to January.

Although Sir Sarvapalli has resigned the Professorship, his association with the University as Ordinary Fellow will continue and it is hoped that our University will not lose the co-operation in its Councils

of so great an educationist and philosopher even if circumstances do not permit him to hold the Chair in Philosophy.

The University has decided to honour Sir Sarvapalli by making him an *Emeritus* Professor.

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XXI. DR. AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty delivered a series of Readership lectures at the invitation of the Panjab University. The subject of his discourse which was divided into six lectures was "New Studies in English Literature." These addresses were given at Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lyallpur, Ludhiana and Ambala during the second week of March, 1941.

In these lectures Dr. Chakravarty dealt with the basic tradition of English literature from the point of view of technique and of its assimilation of new ideas.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Kamala Lectures, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A., B.L.,
Vidyaratna. D/Demy 16mo pp. 119 + ix.

Rabindra Sahityer Bhumika, by Dr. Niharranjan Ray,
M.A., D.Litt.Phil., Dip.Lib. F.L.A. Royal 8vo pp.
490 + 15.

Khandakhadyaka, an Astronomical Treatise by Brahma-
gupta, edited by Mr. Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A.
Royal 8vo pp. 168 + x.

Old Persian Inscription of the Achæmenian Emperors, by
Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp.
290 + xi.

The History of Indian Labour Legislation (Readership
Lectures) by Dr. Rajanikanta Das, M.A., Ph.D.
D/Demy 16mo pp. 378 + xv + II.

Early Career of Kanhoji Angria and Other Papers, by
Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. Demy
8vo pp. 226 + ix. Rs. 2-0.

Poetry, Monads and Society (*Sir George Stanley Lectures*,
1941), by Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.). Demy
8vo pp. 204 + x. Rs. 3-0.

Dharma Sadhana, by Sm. Swarna Prabha Sen, B.A., B.T.
Demy 8vo pp. 113 + 9.

Ramdas and Sivaji (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures*) by
Mr. Charuchandra Datta, I.C.S. (Retd.). Demy 8vo
pp. 373 + 4.

Hegeler Darsanik Matabad, by Mr. Nagendranath Sen-
gupta, M.A. Demy 8vo 98 + 13. Re. 1-0.

Buddhi-o-Bodhi, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A. Demy
8vo pp. 78.

Gitar Bani, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray. Demy 8vo pp. 198. Re. 1.

Books in the Press

APRIL, 1941

1. Gleanings from My Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. Philosophical Essays, by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
4. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. III, edited by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
5. Adam's Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, edited by Mr. A. N. Basu, M.A., T.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, by Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Studies in the History of British in India, by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
9. Post-Graduate Volume (Arts and Science), 1939.
10. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
11. University Question Papers, 1937.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
14. Negative Fact: Negation and Truth, by Dr. Adharchandra Das, M.A., Ph.D.
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharatiya Banaushadhi Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc., and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Nyayamanjari, Part II, Edited by Pandit Panchanar Tarkavagis.
19. Prohibition in the Kali Age, by Mr. Batuknath Bhattacharyya.

20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.
21. Rivers of the Bengal Delta (*Readership Lectures*), by Mr. S. C. Majumdar, M.A.
22. Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India, by Dr. Narayanchandra Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr Phil., D.Litt.
24. Siddhantasekhara, Vol. II, by Pandit Babua Misra.
25. Kabita Sangraha, III, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. K. N. Mitra, M.A.
26. An Administration Study of the Development of Civil Service, by Dr. A. K. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.
27. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. History of Bengali Language and Literature, by Late Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
29. Calculus of Finite Differences, by Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A.
30. Industry in India, by Dr. P. N. Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.
31. Din-i-Ilahi, by Prof. Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A., B.L.
32. Lectures on Art, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E.
33. Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A.
34. Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, by Mr. Atindranath Basuthakur, M.A.
35. University Question Papers for the year 1933.
36. Bharater Deb Deul, by Mr. Jyotishchandra Ghosh.
37. Manasamangal, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A.
38. History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, by the late Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D.
39. A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions. by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.
40. Orthographical Dictionary, edited by Mr. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya.
41. Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
42. Journal of the Department of Science, Vol. I, No. 8.
43. Vedantadarsan-Advaitabad, by Dr. Asutosh Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.
44. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
45. Rasekharer Padavali, edited by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., and Dwareschandra Sarmacharyya.

46. **Bkah Babs Bolun**, by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
47. **Narayana Pariprecha**, by Mr. Anukulchandra Banerjee, M.A.
48. **Manjusrinama Sangiti**, by Mr. Durgadas Mukerjee, M.A.
49. **Padma Puran**, by Kabi Narayan Deb, edited by Dr. Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
50. **Haramani**, by Mr. M. Mansuruddin, M.A.
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56. **Jiban Maitrer Padma Puran**, edited by Mr. Sambhucharan Chaudhuri.
57. **Upanisader Alo** (Revised Edition), by Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
58. **University Calendar for the year 1941**.
59. **Dakshinatya**, by Mr. Lalitkumar Chatterjee.
60. **Public Health and Social Service**, by Dr. John B. Grant, M.D., M.P.H.
61. **Training in Leadership and Citizenship for Young India**, by Mr. S. C. Ray, M.A. (Lond.), I.E.S.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

I. INDIAN CULTURE

A History of Indian Literature, by M. Winternitz, Ph.D.,
Late Professor of Indology and Ethnology at the German
University of Prague, translated into English from the
original German by Mrs. S. Ketkar and revised by the
Author. *The only Authorised Translation into English.*

This monumental work of the late Prof. Winternitz is too well-known to need any introduction to the public. In order to make it accessible to those interested in Indian Literature but not well-versed in German, the Calcutta University undertook the publication of an English version. In order to bring the work up to date the author revised the whole work for the English translation. Many chapters have been re-written entirely, smaller changes, corrections and additions have been made almost on every page and the more important publications of the last twenty years have been added to the references in the Notes. Thus the English translation is at the same time a second, revised and improved edition of the original work.

Vols. I and II are the translations of the original German works with notes *revised by the author* and published during his lifetime. The preparation of Vol. III has been undertaken by an Editorial Board of experts on the subject. This volume is intended to complete the work left unfinished by the death of Prof. M. Winternitz. The whole work will occupy several volumes.

Vol. I. Introduction, the Veda, the National Epics, the Puranas and the Tantras. Demy 8vo pp. 653. 1927. Rs. 10-8.

Vol. II. Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature. Demy 8vo pp. 673. 1934. Rs. 12-0.

Vol. III. *In the Press.*

Some Problems of Indian Literature (*Readership Lectures delivered at the University*), by the same author. Royal 8vo pp. 130. 1925. Rs. 2-8.

Contents:—The Age of the Veda—Ascetic Literature in Ancient India—Ancient Indian Ballad Poetry—Indian Literature and World-Literature—Kautiliya Arthasastra—Bhasa.

Sino-Indica, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit.

Dr. Bagchi has undertaken a series of publications called *Sino-Indica*. The work is a study of Chinese documents relating to India. As the researches were begun in France, the volumes had to be written in French.

Vol. I. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I (In French)*. Royal 8vo pp. lii+436. 1927. Rs. 15-0.

It is the first systematic work which deals with the history or translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese and their translators. The work contains the biographies of all Indian, Iranian, Sogdian and other monks who went to China in the early centuries of the Christian era. A history of their activities, as preserved in the Chinese documents, is given. The first part covers a period of six hundred years, first century A.D. to sixth century (589) A.D.

Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I.—"The author has brought together everything he could on the biographical notices of the translators and gives a register of their works. The large number of references to the literature that might come in question is to be specially congratulated. . . This assiduous work will have the recognition everywhere which it deserves." (Translated from German—*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1929, 2.)

"His important work does honour to him and his teachers . . . a fresh proof of the eminent talents of the Bengali race." (From French—*Revue Bibliographique*, 1928, October, Bruxelles.)

"An important contribution. . . . There are some of the important informations from this historical study with which it is full." (From French—*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques*.)

"Work of great value that makes an important contribution to the history of Chinese Buddhism." (From French—*Chronique d'Histoire des Religions*.)

"He has been able to bring out this first volume of a *magnum opus* which vindicates once more the importance of Buddhism in the history of India and testifies to the sound preparation of the author. . . . This is a schematic history of the spread of Buddhism and, with it, of Indian culture into China. . . . One of the best achievements of Buddhistic scholarship, the first contribution of young India to the systematic and comparative study of Buddhism."—*Prof. G. Tucci (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 2)*.

Vol. II. *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome 1.* Double Crown 8vo pp. 336. 1929. Rs. 15-0.

It is a critical edition of two ancient Sanskrit-Chinese lexicons of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., compiled by a Ser-Indian monk, Li-yen, and a Chinese monk, the famous Yi-tsing. The work has been enriched with notes added by Prof. Paul Pelliot, Membre de l'Institut de France, Professor in College de France.

Vol. III. *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome II.* Double Crown 8vo pp. 204 (pp. 337-540). 1937. Rs. 15-0.

The second part of the *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois* contains a detailed study of five Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries which have been preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka. These are—the *Pan yu tsu ming* of Li-yen, the *Pan yu ts'ien tseu wen* of Yi-tsing, the *T'ang fan wen tseu* of Ts'üan-tehen, the *Pan T'ang siao si* and the *T'ang fan leeng yu chouang touei tsi*, all of which were compiled in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Dr. Bagchi has discussed the problems raised by these vocabularies, their authenticity, the biography of the authors, the Prakritic, Iranian, and Central Asiatic elements in the vocabulary, the method of Chinese transcription, etc. A detailed Chinese-Sanskrit index containing more than two thousand words supplies the basis for future Sino-Sanskrit lexicographical works.

This work is of capital interest to students of Buddhism, of Indian history, to Sinologists, to linguists and to all those who are interested in the early history of cultural exchange between China and India.

Vol. IV. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome II.* Royal 8vo pp. 306 (pp. 437-742). 1938. Rs. 15-0.

It contains a history of the Chinese Buddhist literature from the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D.

The work will be completed with detailed indexes in a separate volume which is now in the press.

The Evolution of Indian Polity, by R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Demy 8vo pp. 192. 1920. (*Slightly damaged.*) Reduced price Rs. 4-8.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

Contains a connected history of the growth and development of political institutions in India, compiled mainly from the Hindu Sastras. The author being the famous discoverer and translator of the *Kautiliya Arthasastra*, it may be no exaggeration to call him one of the authorities on Indian Polity.

Contents:—I. Tribal State of Society. II. Elective Monarchy. III. The Origin of the Kshatriyas. IV. The People's Assembly. V. The Duties and Prerogatives of the Kings and Priests. VI. The Effect of Jainism and Buddhism on the Political Condition of India. VII. The Empire-building policy of the Politicians of the Kautiliya Period. VIII. Espionage. IX. Theocratic Despotism. X. The Condition of the People—Intellectual, Spiritual and Economical.

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Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, by Richard Fick (translated by Sisirkumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.). Demy 8vo pp. 390. 1920. Rs. 7-8.

Dr. Fick's Die Sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas Zeit has, for many years, been of invaluable assistance to all interested in the social and administrative history of Buddhist India. But those ignorant of German were unable to make use of that book and their warm gratitude will be extended to Dr. Maitra for his eminently readable translation. The book is too well-known to need any review; suffice it to say that the translation is worthy of the book. Now that this scholarly work is made available in English, it should find a larger circulation."—*Hindusthan Review*, July, 1923.

Contents.

Chapter I—*Introduction*—The Brahmanical Caste-Theory.

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Chapter X—*The Guilds of Tradesmen and Artisans*—Stage of Economical Evolution in the Jatakas—Organisation of the Artisan Class.

Chapter XI—*Casteless Professions*.

Chapter XII—*The Despised Caste*.

Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India (*Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Law*), by Nareschandra Sengupta, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo pp. 109. 1914. Re. 1-8.

In this book the author traces the sources of Ancient Indian Law with reference to the environments in society and deals with matters regarding legal conceptions historically, initiating a somewhat new method, mainly following the one indicated by Ihering with reference to Roman Law in the study of problems of Hindu Law.

Pre-Historic India, by Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D. Second Edition, *Revised and Enlarged*. Demy 8vo pp. 542 (with 53 plates). 1927. Rs. 7-0. (*Out of print*).

Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (*Readership Lectures in the Calcutta University, 1919*), by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras. (*Out of print*). *Revised edition in the press*.

Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, by B. R. Chatterji, D.Litt. (Punjab), Ph.D. (London). Demy 8vo pp. 303. 1928. Rs. 6-0.

"Within this thesis there are probably assembled all the facts at present discoverable concerning Indian influence in Cambodia.....Mr. Chatterji seems to have studied all the available inscriptions (of Cambodia) and he has tracked down an immense number of relevant passages in early Indian, Chinese and Arab literatures.....As a scholar writing for scholars Mr. Chatterji seems to have done his work well....."—*Times Literary Supplement*, 6th September, 1928.

"I have read this book with the greatest interest.....A valuable and scholarly piece of work."—*Sir E. Denison Ross*.

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"His book is a very clear and exact résumé of what we know about the political, religious and artistic history of Cambodia up to 1927—the year in which the book was written." (Translated from French—*Bulletin d'Ecole Francoise d'Extreme Orient*, 1931.)

Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, by Sylvain Lévi, Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch. Translated into English, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit. Demy 8vo pp. 216. 1929. Rs. 2-8.

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"Prof. Bagchi has not only translated these articles that, collected as they are in a handy volume, will be of greater use to everybody, but has also added a valuable introduction. In this introduction he has given a résumé of the new branch of research, and has gathered with Prof. S. K. Chatterji new and convincing facts."—*Prof. G. Tucci*.

Indian Ideals in Education, Philosophy and Religion and Art (*Kamala Lectures*, 1924), by Annie Besant, D.L., with a Foreword by the Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves, Kt. Demy 8vo pp. 135. 1925. Re. 1-8.

The lectures were delivered in the Calcutta University by Dr. Annie Besant under the auspices of the Kamala Lectureship established in memory of his beloved daughter by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I.

Philosophical Discipline (*Kamala Lectures, 1926*), by Mahamahopadhyay Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo pp. 179. 1928. Re. 1-8.

Contents: Chapter I—*Discipline in Indian Systems*—(i) General—(ii) Vedanta—(iii) Purva-Mimamsa and other 'Hindu' Systems—(iv) Buddhism and Jainism—(v) Upanishads: Synthesis of Indian Philosophy.

Chapter II—*Discipline in other Oriental Systems*—(i) Zoroastrianism—(ii) Mithraism—(iii) Taoism—(iv) Confucianism—(v) Egyptian Religion—(vi) Babylonian and Assyrian Religion—(vii) Judaism—(viii) Christianity—(ix) Islam.

Chapter III.—*Discipline in Western Philosophy*—Greece and Rome—Modern Philosophy—Conclusion.

Rationalism in Practice (*Kamala Lectures, 1932*), by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. Demy 8vo pp. 99. Re. 1-8.

The lectures briefly discuss certain questions of general interest and are only intended to provoke thought in the younger generation.

Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals (*Kamala Lectures, 1929*), by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D. Demy 8vo pp. xix + 242. 1935. Rs. 2-8.

The thesis of the author is the evolutionary character of the moral ideals of Hindus as embodied and reflected in their sacred laws, customs, social life and conduct. He shows that the moral rules and ideals which have obtained among them have not been immutable and stationary, but have changed, and are bound to change, in the course of time in accordance with their social and economic environments. The need for such adaptation is stressed as an essential condition of life in the modern world. The author examines the defects and merits of Hinduism and the value of the contribution of Hindu thought to moral culture. He discusses the influence of the doctrine of Karma, the question of moral progress, the effect of the impact of Western ideas and culture upon Hindu ideals, the drift of modern forces and tendencies and their bearing upon the future outlook of Hindu society. The subject is treated throughout in the light of comparative thought and in a spirit of detachment. The author enforces his points by numerous references to parallel conceptions and practices in Western countries.

J. H. Muirhead (Editor, Library of Philosophy): "I have read sufficient to appreciate its value for the understanding of the very interesting subject with which it deals. I have found the comparisons which the author makes between Hindu and Christian standards and practices particularly instructive.....It seems to me extremely well written by one who has spared no pains to master the literature, both Eastern and Western, on the subject and I congratulate the press of Calcutta University on the production of so scholarly a work."

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Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Ganganath Jha (Allahabad): "The lectures are, of course, excellent and should be read with interest and benefit by all interested in the well-being of the country. It will dispel a great deal of misconception."

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad): "Sir Sivaswamy Iyer is one of the most thoughtful writers and anything coming from his pen is bound to attract considerable attention. I have read considerable portions of this book since it arrived and admired the presentation of the subject a great deal."

The Times Literary Supplement (London): "The thesis is full of interest and is treated with the knowledge of affairs and in the liberal spirit which Sir Sivaswamy has often displayed on public platforms and in the Legislative Assembly."

Vedanto Kesari (Madras) April, 1935: "He sheds the light of a mature and scholarly mind on many intricate and vexed problems of Hindu ethics and has as ably defended the fundamental principles of Hindu morality from the charges of ignorant foreign critics as he has rescued it from the zeal of rigid orthodoxy."

Prof. Franklin Edgerton (Yale University): "I have found the book interesting and stimulating. It shows sound and deep learning, and at the same time a spirit of broad and intelligent tolerance worthy of India's best traditions. I should think its influence would be profoundly beneficial, and I heartily wish that it may enjoy the greatest possible popularity."

Prof. William Ernest Hocking (Harvard University): "The very important contribution it makes in fields which are of special interest to me, the development of Hinduism and the relation between religion and government in India."

The History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, by
B. M. Barua, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (London). Royal 8vo
pp. 468. 1921. Rs. 10-8.

The book gives a clear exposition of the origin and growth of Indian Philosophy from the Vedas to the Buddha, and seeks to evolve order out of chaos—to systematise the teachings of the various pre-Buddhistic sages and seers, scattered in Vedic literature (Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads) and in the works of the Jainas, the Ajivikas and the Buddhists.

Prof. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, M.A. : "The only book of its kind. No student of the Philosophy of Upanishads can afford to neglect it. The book shows accurate scholarship and deep insight on every page."

Bharatiya Madhya Yuge Sadhanar Dhara (*Adhar Mookerjee Lectures for 1928, in Bengali*), by Kshiti-mohan Sen, Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian Religion and Mysticism, Visvabharati, Santiniketan, with a Foreword by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. xvi+135. Re. 1-8.

(For details see Catalogue of books in Bengali.)

Gitar Bani (*in Bengali*), by Anilbaran Ray, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 200. 1941.

(For details see Catalogue of books in Bengali.)

Sakti or Divine Power, by Sudhendukumar Das, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). Demy 8vo pp. 310. 1934. Rs. 3-0.

An attempt has been made to trace the origin of the idea of Sakti as Divine Power from Jñān or the 'Mother-Goddesses' of the Vedas and show how it developed through the speculations of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads and finally culminated into the Svetasvatara conception of full-bodied philosophical principle of 'Supreme Divine Sakti' belonging to God himself, hidden in his own qualities. It is an historical study based on original Sanskrit texts. It contains for the first time a thorough discussion on the philosophy of the Kashmere Trika School and that of the Lingayat School of Southern India from the texts both published and unpublished.

Sri Aurobindo and the Future of Mankind, by Adhar-chandra Das, M.A. Double Crown 16mo pp. 143. 1934. Re. 1-0.

The author has interwoven into a connected statement the contents of a number of articles contributed by Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, on the true meaning of Vedanta Philosophy and has presented his book in a very interesting and attractive manner.

"Mr. Adharchandra Das in the Four Chapters of his book gives us a sound and clear account of Aurobindo's main views, and points out incidentally that they are based on the central principles of Indian culture. We are all grateful to him for bringing together in a brief and accessible form the main teachings of Aurobindo Ghosh."—*Foreword*, Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

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"It is a valuable contribution to the history of thought of present-day India and gives a clear and systematic account of the work of one of the great thinkers of our time."—*Dr. H. von Glaschagay, Königsburg, Germany*.

Ancient Indian Numismatics (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1921), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. Demy 8vo pp. 241. Rs. 4-14.

The book contains a course of lectures on Numismatics, a part of Archæology, delivered by the Professor in 1921. The subjects of the lectures are as follows:

- I. Importance of the Study of Numismatics.
- II. Antiquity of Coinage in India.
- III. Karshapana: its Nature and Antiquity.
- IV. Science of Coinage in Ancient India.
- V. History of Coinage in Ancient India.

A Study of the Vedanta, being a study at once critical, comparative and constructive, by Dr. Sarojkumar Das, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), with a Foreword by Prof.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, M.A., D.Litt. Second Edition. Demy 8vo pp. xiv + 404. 1937. Rs. 4-0.

"The author insists upon a co-operation of the intellectua^l and the moral, and emphasises the practical attitude of the philosophy of life as incorporated in the Vedānta. His arguments are clear and precise, his descriptions vivid and full of meaning, his language fluent and expressive. His knowledge of Western philosophy is such as to make him fully competent for the task of giving a systematic and comparative historical study of the Vedānta. . . ."—*The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.

"A very clear analysis, by a leading Indian thinker, of the philosophical system known as the Vedānta. . . . Dr. S. K. Das well sustains the pre-eminence of Indian thought in the world of philosophy."—*The Times Literary Supplement*.

"This book, made up of the twelve Sreegopal Basumallik Fellowship Lectures for 1929, gives a very clear analysis of the Vedānta. Dr. S. K. Das brings out the fact that the change from the Rigvedic to the Upanishadic age had a momentous influence in the religious history of mankind. It meant 'a spiritual renaissance in ancient India that can be compared with the transition from the bondage of Leviticus to the freedom of the Gospels.'"—*The Inquirer*.

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The Aryan Trail in Iran and India, by Nagendranath Ghose, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 347. Rs. 3-8.

The matters investigated in this book formed the subject of a course of University Extension Lectures which the author delivered in the Department of Anthropology of this University. This is a naturalistic study of the Vedic hymns and the Avesta.

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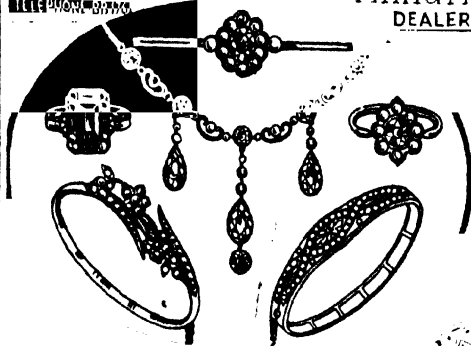
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MAHATMA GANDHI'S INTERPRETATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF SATYA-AHIMSA

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AT a time when Europe was getting ready for the suicidal conflict in which we see her engaged to-day and to which practically every nation in the West has been gradually drawn, India, distracted by social and religious dissensions, found nevertheless true leadership in a little, insignificant-looking man who has somehow succeeded in inspiring thousands of men and women drawn from every social stratum and every religious group to enlist themselves as soldiers in an army where the weapons used are Satya (Truth) and Ahimsa (Non-Violence). The method Gandhiji and his followers have followed is to be found in the following pronouncement made by him in "Young India," October 8, 1925 :—

" I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, not by putting up against it a sharper edged weapon, but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. The resistance of the soul that I should offer instead would elude him. It would at first dazzle him and at last compel recognition, which recognition would not humiliate, but would uplift him. It may be urged that this is an ideal state. And so it is."

It seems, therefore, that while nearly all the so-called progressive nations of the world are relying on brute force as a means of settling differences and while the systems to which they are giving their allegiance represent the denial of justice and the principle of the brotherhood of man, our great national leader stands out as an isolated and therefore all the more impressive prophet of the gospel of Satya and Ahimsa. And he is obeyed by millions in India not because he is the master of untold riches, of secret police or of engines of destruction, not because he has inspired fear in their hearts, but solely because of the wisdom and humanity of his message. He relies for his influence over his followers on his appeal to the spiritual side of their nature. He shows them what he is convinced is the truth and leaves them to shape their conduct as they please. He never claims to have a monopoly of truth nor does he declare that there is no other way to it except the one he suggests. Gandhiji is the master of that spiritual authority in the light of which material values seem to lose all their importance.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S CONCEPTION OF SATYA

When he founded his Ashram of what he called Soul-Force, Mahatma Gandhi framed certain rules for its inmates the first and foremost of which is the vow of Satya or Truth. He does not uphold Satya because "honesty is the best policy," with the implication that if it is not expedient as the best policy, we may as well depart from it. In his own language, "Truth as it is conceived means that we may have to rule our life by this law of Truth at any cost." Referring to the life of Prahlād famous in Indian mythology he says, "For the sake of Truth he dared to oppose his own father; and he defended himself, not by paying his father back in his own coin. Rather, in defence of Truth, as he knew it, he was prepared to die without caring to return the blows that he had received from his father, or from those who were charged with his father's instructions. Not only that, he would not in any way even parry the blows; on the contrary, with a smile on his lips, he underwent the innumerable tortures to which he was subjected, with the result that at last Truth rose triumphant. Not that he suffered the tortures because he knew that some day or other in his very life-time he would be able to demonstrate the infallibility of the law of Truth. That fact was there; but if he had died in the

midst of tortures he would still have adhered to Truth. In our Ashram we make it a rule that we must say 'No' when we mean No, regardless of consequences."

SOME ILLUSTRATIONS OF SATYA

This is a very high standard to demand and yet we know that Gandhiji observes it himself thus setting an example not only to his followers but also to the world at large. The very first public work he took up after his return to India was a campaign for the amelioration of the tenants of the indigo planters of Champaran in Bihar. Few, if any, had any idea at that time of the qualities of leadership he possessed and his interference in a matter which did not concern him was greatly resented not only by the planters but also by Government officials. In this connection, the Collector of Champaran wrote him an offensive letter which he later on wished to withdraw. The followers of Gandhiji began to make a copy of it but they were asked not to do so as he felt that the letter could not be said to have been truly withdrawn so long as they had a copy of it in their possession.

The same courteous procedure was followed on a similar occasion when, during the negotiations preceding the Gandhi-Irwin pact, the Home Secretary after writing an insulting letter decided to withdraw it. No copy of it was kept because our great national leader held that to keep a copy of a withdrawn letter means not only finding a place for it in the office files but also in the heart. Such a course of action characterised by untruth is bound to lead to violence. It is thus that Mahatma Gandhi explains the vital connection between Asatya and Himsa or Satya and Ahimsa.

There is, moreover, a positive side to his conception of Satya. When Non-Violent Non-Co-Operation was launched in 1921, Mahatma Gandhi, who had made the Khilafat cause his own and was the recognised leader of the Congress, joined forces with the Ali brothers and toured the country with them, addressing mass meetings of Hindus and Muslims and exhorted them to take part in the movement. The speeches of our great national leader were always characterised by moderation but it cannot be said that the same was always true of the speeches made by his coadjutors. When this matter was put before Mahatma Gandhi by Lord Reading, his love of Satya compelled him to admit the truth of this charge brought against the Ali brothers. He

persuaded them to express regret for certain speeches which, in the opinion of many, "had a tendency to incite violence."

When the Non-co-operation movement was stained time and again by acts of violence, he immediately called it off prompted by the same love of Satya. He took this step against the wishes, the entreaties and even the vehement opposition of many of his followers. They felt that this would bring such discredit on the whole movement that any future revival of it would be out of the question. We all know that a large majority of them repudiated his leadership when he publicly announced his decision and that deserted by the moderate element which had no belief in the efficacy of direct action and by the extremists who thought everything fair in war, Gandhiji lost his hold, at least for some time, over his countrymen. He could easily foresee what was going to happen and yet in reply to an article which appeared about this time in the "Modern Review" of Calcutta from the pen of our great national poet Tagore he could say, "If we would gain Swaraj, we must stand for Truth as we knew it at any cost. A reformer who is enraged because his message is not accepted must retire to the forest to learn how to watch, wait, and pray." Writing in his paper "Young India" he said, "We dare not enter the Kingdom of Liberty with mere lip homage to Truth and Non-Violence. Let the opponent glory in our humiliation or so-called defeat. It is a million times better to appear untrue before the world than to be untrue to ourselves".

His love of Satya (Truth) which impelled him to acknowledge mistakes he had made was also responsible for his fearless denunciation of what he considered wrong. After the Punjab atrocities of 1920 and the betrayal of the interests of the Khilafat in 1921, matters to which want of space prevents any reference, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his "Young India":

"I consider that I would be less than truthful if I did not describe as satanic a Government which has been guilty of fraud, murder and wanton cruelty; which still remains unrepentant and resorts to untruth to cover its guilt. I really believe that I am performing the office of a friend by denouncing in precise language the pretensions of a Government which has nothing to commend itself to the people under its charge."

Here there is not the slightest attempt at toning down or white-washing the wrongs for which Mahatma Gandhi held the British

Government responsible. Mahatmaji did not hesitate to use the strongest language against the British administration because without it he saw he could not give full expression to his indignation. Many of our Non-Indian friends have taken special exception to the use of the word "satanic" in this connection. I would like to remind them that Mahatma Gandhi who, in his autobiography, has made no secret of the impulses in his own blood which once drove him to evil has, by the confession of his own weaknesses, undoubtedly earned the right to draw the pointed attention of the world to the manifestation of evil whenever he might see them. To point them out where the people criticised are powerless and to keep silent where they are strong would be to indulge in conduct which should be impossible for a man of this type, for had he not proclaimed that "there is no God higher than Truth. Truth is the first thing sought for"?

With all his uncompromising adherence to Satya (Truth), Mahatma Gandhi does not make the slightest claim to having achieved it. Writing in December, 1921, he said, "I am but a seeker after Truth. I claim to be making a ceaseless effort to find it. But I admit that I have not yet found it. To find Truth completely is to realize oneself and one's destiny, I am painfully conscious of my imperfections, and therein lies all the strength I possess; because it is a rare thing for a man to know his own limitations." It is his spirituality of which the humility expressed above is only a symptom coupled with his undoubtedly great qualities as a leader which have endeared him to both the classes and the masses of India who have unitedly accorded him the unique position he is to-day occupying in the public life of our motherland.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S CONCEPTION OF AHIMSA

In Mahatma Gandhi's view, there is such intimate connection between Ahimsa ordinarily translated as Non-violence and Satya (Truth) that these, in his own language, "are inseparable and presuppose one another." It is therefore that in his Ashram the vow of Ahimsa stands next to the vow of Satya. Ahimsa means non-violence in thought, word and deed and as such makes very exacting demands on man's spiritual nature. The people of the West do not find it easy to appreciate the reasons which have made Ahimsa

the most important principle of Gandhiji's religious life. This is because they are not all aware of the emphasis laid on this doctrine in Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism—the religions which have had such a large share in moulding the spiritual life of India.

BUDDHISM AND AHIMSA

Paul Carus in his "Gospel of Buddha" refers to a legend according to which King Brahmadata defeated a rival king, compelled him to go into exile and then killed him and his queen. But he lost his peace of mind and was in constant apprehension of the vengeance which might be taken by their son who had somehow escaped. Concealing his identity, this prince managed to get appointed as the personal attendant of his parents' murderer. On one occasion, the latter who had gone out on a hunting excursion felt tired and fell asleep with his head on the lap of his attendant, the disguised prince. As he was about to kill his enemy, the words of his father came back to his mind, "Not by hatred is hatred appeased. Hatred is appeased only by not-hatred." The prince sheathed his sword and, when Brahmadata awoke, disclosed his identity. When Brahmadata begged for mercy he said, "How can I grant you your life, O King, since my life is endangered by you? It is you, O King, who must grant me my life." Brahmadata asking for an explanation of his words was told, "You have murdered my parents. If I kill you, then your followers will kill me and my followers in their turn will kill your followers. Thus by hatred, hatred will not be appeased. But now you have granted me my life, and I have granted you your life, thus by not-hatred has hatred been appeased." Buddha thereupon said, "Not by hate is hate destroyed: by love alone hate is destroyed" and addressing his disciples taught them the golden maxim, "Overcome anger by the power of non-anger and evil by the power of good."

JAINISM AND AHIMSA

Mahatmajī has also told us how one verse of a Gujrati poem which he had learnt by heart during his school days has clung to his memory all through his life, and, let me add, probably given a definite shape to his ideas. It runs as follows:—

"If a man gives you a drink of water and you give him a drink in return, that is nothing.

"Real beauty consists in doing good against evil."

In this connection we have to remember that the religious faith of the family to which Gandhiji belongs has been Vaishnavism which insists on Ahimsa as one of its cardinal doctrines. We are also aware that on the eve of his departure for England, his mother took him to a Jain Sadhu before whom he took a solemn vow not to touch alcohol and animal food and to observe the strictest chastity. He has told us in his autobiography that this saved him "from many a pitfall in London." The silent influence of a good and pious Vaishnava mother may be said to be her last and most precious gift to her great son. All these facts go to prove that the great influence of Jainism with its insistence on the sacredness of life, an influence characteristic more or less of Hindu life in western and northern India, reached Gandhiji through his family. Apart from any question of the direct influence of Jainism on Gandhiji, it has to be admitted that Jainism no less than Buddhism cherishes the ideal of Ahimsa as one of the most important articles of its faith.

HINDUISM AND AHIMSA

It would be a mistake to suppose that this type of idealism, for it is nothing else, is the monopoly of Buddhism or of Jainism. It is found in Hinduism also. As early as the days of that ancient epic the Mahabharata, Hinduism regarded Ahimsa as the very summit of its religious goal. The whole of at least Hindu India is familiar with that celebrated teaching of the Mahabharata which may be rendered into English in the following terms, "Ahimsa is the supreme religion." This is as familiar even among the common people as any of the great sayings of Christ among the same class of people in the West.

ISLAM AND AHIMSA

It would, however, be unfair if we labour under the impression that Ahimsa has its faithful followers in India only or that the precious message it has for mankind has been preached in our motherland only. We have in Arabia a legend which has Yusuf, an Arab

chief, for its hero. He was abundantly blessed with the things of this world and was known as Yusuf the Good throughout Arabia. It is said that late in a stormy night, a stranger sought his hospitality and told him that he was fleeing from the arm of law. He was made welcome and next morning was provided with a purse of gold and the swiftest horse in the stable of his host in order to help him in his flight. Touched by the kind and generous treatment of Yusuf, the guest confessed that he had murdered the eldest son of his host and was trying to evade those who were pursuing him in order to punish him for his crime. The story goes on to say that Yusuf gave him thrice the amount of gold offered previously and showed him how to escape from his pursuers. When he had left, Yusuf knelt down and said, "My first born for whom my heart yearns day and night, thou art avenged and canst now sleep in peace."

CHRISTIANITY AND AHIMSA

The founder of Christianity also conveyed that same lesson to his followers when he said, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." Paul who has been called the second founder of Christianity has elaborated the idea in that memorable saying of his, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him, if he thirst, give him drink.....Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." The last sentence is noteworthy as fully expressing the Christian method of meeting evil.

Throughout the ages, there have never been wanting genuine followers of the Lord and Master who have walked the path of humility, of forgiveness and of love. John Woolman a study of whose writings has been recommended by that well-known English essayist Charles Lamb came to know that the American Red Indians were murdering the European settlers and said that he felt "a pure moving of love" to visit them in order to know them better so that he "might receive some instruction from them." He met them on the war path and told them why he had come to pay them a visit and concluded with a brief prayer. Not only did they stop all hostilities but one of them said, "I love to feel where words come from," thus indicating, of course

in an indirect way, the change of heart wrought by his Christian attitude.

Still another genuine follower of Christ, James Naylor, had his tongue bored through and through with a red-hot iron, was pilloried for two hours when he was pelted with stones, rotten eggs, etc., by a misguided and infuriated mob, was whipped at a cart-tail through the streets of London and had his forehead branded with the letter "B" to indicate that these inhuman punishments had been inflicted on him because he had been condemned as a blasphemer. He was the victim of other equally cruel persecutions not mentioned here.

The reaction of this saint to the indignities and bodily pain inflicted on him is to be found in what he said, "There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end ; its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it is betrayed, it bears it ; for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned ; it takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow and brought forth without any to pity it ; nor does it ever murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings ; for with the world's joy it is murdered."

Surely these words indicate that the man who could, in the midst of such bodily sufferings and mental agony, give expression to such lofty sentiments was guided by the spirit of Satya-Ahimsa.

AHIMSA AND NON-KILLING

These instances taken from the great religions merely prove that the value of Ahimsa as a spiritual discipline has been recognised by all the great teachers of the world. It is, however, a matter of regret that certain types of Hinduism, owing to the decay of the true spirit of religion, have tended to emphasise merely its negative aspect. With them Ahimsa has meant only the determination not to take the life of even the smallest of insects which I regard as an example of the

extreme application of a sovereign truth. That our great national leader is not content with such a narrow interpretation of the great principle is evident from what he has said on more than one occasion.

There was once difference of opinion as to whether it was right to kill an ailing calf at his Sabarmati Ashram which was suffering great agony. Gandhiji was in favour of putting it out of misery and said :

“ The trouble with our votaries of Ahimsa is that they have made of it a blind fetish and put the greatest obstacle in the way of the spread of true Ahimsa in our midst. The current (and in my opinion mistaken) view of Ahimsa has drugged our conscience and rendered us insensible to a host of other and more insidious forms of violence, like harsh words, harsh judgments, ill-will, anger, spite, and lust of cruelty ; it has made us forget that there may be far more violence in the slow torture of men and animal the starvation and exploitation to which they are subjected out of selfishgreed, the wanton humiliation and oppression of the weak and the killing of their self-respect that we witness all around us to-day than in the benevolent taking of life.

“ It is this fundamental misconception about the nature and scope of Ahimsa—this confusion about the relative values that is responsible for our mistaking mere non-killing for Ahimsa, and for the fearful amount of violence that goes on in the name of Ahimsa in our country.”

THE POSITIVE ASPECT OF AHIMSA

If we accept Mahatma Gandhi's interpretation of the doctrine of Ahimsa, we have to admit that in addition to being a negative virtue, it has also a positive aspect and implies active goodness. It is therefore that Mahatmaji said, “ Ahimsa means the largest love. It is the supreme law. By it alone can mankind be saved.” Not only does it not imply the doing of any violence to the oppressor with intent to destroy him but it aims at changing his heart by suffering joyfully any punishment which might be inflicted and showing love to him in return so as to conquer his heart. In a word, the votary of Ahimsa maintains that wrong can be righted for all times to come by following one method only and this is to bring about a radical change in the ideals of the opponent. This change, it is held, will not only make it impossible for him to oppress innocent people any more but will, what is more,

teach him to deal justly with all including the person who has carried on a non-violent struggle against him. But how is this change to be brought about? It will be brought about not by Himsa, or by retaliation but by putting up with suffering unresistingly at the hands of the evil-doer till such time as he is touched and his heart, in the language of the Scriptures, is changed. That was why Mahatma Gandhi said, "India must conquer her so-called conqueror by love." And elsewhere, "We must love our English administrators and pray to God that they may have wisdom to see what appears to us to be their error. I believe in the power of suffering to melt the stoniest heart. We must by our conduct demonstrate to every Englishman that he is as safe in the remotest corner of India as he proposes to feel behind his machine-gun."

AHIMSA IN ACTUAL PRACTICE

It now remains to prove that Mahatma Gandhi did succeed in inspiring thousands of Indians of all classes with the idealism which informs the doctrine of Ahimsa. The evidence I am about to place before my readers is not taken from Indian sources in order to anticipate any criticism which might come from non-Indian quarters, challenging its reliability. All the proofs will therefore be taken from non-Indian sources in order that it might be above suspicions of any kind of bias.

Here is what the Rev. Dr. Leonard M. Schiff who was an eye-witness has said in his book "The Present Condition of India":

"There are just two incidents which have stuck in my mind from those strange days. There was something very impressive about the Satyagrahis. It was a war, but on the whole a bloodless one. I recall a slim Gujarati girl who had been badly beaten remarking that, as someone else had said, 'Father, forgive them,' so must she!

"Then there were the Akali Sikhs—tall warriors with swords, but pledged to non-violence. They were determined not to surrender their flag. Down came the lathi on their heads with a sickening thud; they fell. Others took their place. At last the inner circle of their women-folk alone remained, but this was too much for the police—they kept their flag."

Here is another bit of evidence taken from a letter which appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" in December, 1930 in which

an Englishwoman, an eye-witness, narrates what she saw with her own eyes:

"On September 17th or 18th, I was on a balcony of the third floor of a house nearby and opposite to the Town Hall in Bombay, where an election was taking place. There was a large number of people, but quite peaceful and quiet; and those belonging to the Congress party were, in their usual well-organised and methodical way, regulating the traffic, guiding pedestrians through crowded parts and dispersing crowds where they became too dense to allow of slow driving through them. One of the men so engaged was struck with a lathi by a police sepoy; he did not retaliate nor move away. The second time he was struck he fell to the ground. Again he was beaten. Two of the ambulance men in attendance fetched a stretcher to take him to the ambulance car, as he was too much hurt to walk even with their aid. After he had been lifted into the stretcher the sepoy again struck him—a man already badly wounded—as he lay there being carried to the car.

"Some weeks previously (I am sorry I forget the exact date) I was watching a small crowd from a balcony above a store in one of the chief roads of the city. They had collected there when it became known that arrests were being made of the picketers.

"These picketers do not interfere with the people going into the shops.....At intervals this crowd was broken up in a most needlessly brutal way with lathis.....many people were severely hurt and had to be taken away in ambulance cars to the hospitals. One man—a peaceable citizen who did not belong to the Congress movement nor had anything to do with the Nationalists—was serving in his shop opposite to and a few yards away from the balcony where I was watching. As a lathi charge was made, a few of the people nearest his shop went into it to get out of the way of the sepoys. An English sergeant entered the shop, drove the people out with his whip, and severely beat the owner of the shop on his own premises. Hearing there were English people on the balcony opposite who were sympathisers with the ill-treated people, he came across, asked if we could explain the reason of such things being done, and showed us the mark on his back made through two thickness of cloth.....I have seen the Nationalists under the most terrible provocations, and never once have they resorted to violence or retaliation in any way, though when they are wounded or their women are ill-treated, it is fearfully hard for them."

It may of course be argued that in the four cases referred to above, the exponents of the doctrine of Satya-Ahimsa were merely displaying a rather unusual type of passive courage but that there was no manifestation of that spirit of active love which is the real driving force of this method of fighting wrongs. In order to meet this objection, I shall now quote a few lines from "The Dawn of Indian Freedom" written by two priests of the Church of England, Englishmen who have settled down as inmates of the Christa Seva Sangha of Poona and who, in the language of the Most Reverend the Archbishop of York, have devoted their lives to the task of "interpreting the Christian Gospel to India in the utmost possible detachment from purely European or British elements." Englishmen of this type, and they are not so few as we Indians think, are indeed "the salt of the earth" and have earned our undying gratitude by their advocacy of the cause of India in a fearless and truly Christian spirit. It is true that they have been called "Little Englanders" by men of the type of the late Lord Brentford but if at any time there is an understanding between Britain and India—a thing which every patriotic Briton and Indian would most gladly welcome—it will be because of the presence of such men in our midst, men who have spent themselves year in and year out in sympathetically interpreting and explaining in all their implications the demands of India to Britain and in the process have been misunderstood now by non-Indians and now by Indians. One of this noble band left us only the other day but we feel sure that he has left many like-minded Englishmen behind him.

Here is the account of the Rev. Father Verrier Elwin :

"I remember talking to a boy—he was not more than 19—in the Congress Hospital in Bombay. He had gone to Sholapur simply to offer National Flag Satyagraha, by hoisting the flag and taking the consequences. On arrival he had at once been arrested with his companions, all of them unarmed, defenceless boys ; they were each put in separate cells, stripped naked, brutally assaulted in the most delicate parts of their bodies, and flogged till they fell senseless. My friend had been in hospital six weeks and was still suffering. But what amazed me was, not the amount of his suffering, but the quality of his love. There was not a word of bitterness or anger. He was a Satyagrahi and it was his duty to suffer that he and thus his motherland might be the purer."

I shall now come to the last bit of evidence taken this time from

a book entitled "Rebel India" written by that staunch friend of ours, H. N. Brailsford, who is narrating an experience, "One face from among them (Satyagrahis) stands out in my memory: its owner, a lawyer, may have been too fine a spirit to be typical, but his thinking was characteristic of Gandhiji's movement. He had been the chief speaker at one of the few meetings (near Meerut) which were dispersed by rifle fire. He had tried to calm an angry crowd and had stationed a cordon of volunteers round the police station to protect it. He was, none the less, arrested, beaten by the police, and shot by one of them, while under arrest, at close range. The police kicked him as he lay on the ground, and five hours passed before he received first-aid. His right arm had to be amputated, and a day after the operation he was carried from hospital to prison. He told the story without a trace of bitterness, his face lit by a triumphant serenity. 'In prison,' he went on, 'my friends and I were happy and even gay.' 'Now we know,' one said to the other, 'that India is free. We have kept the master's sayings. We have faced even the rifle, and refrained from anger.' As one looked at the face of the man, proud in its gentleness, one ceased to pity the mutilated arm."

After this, where is the fair-minded man who will not agree with the view put forward by one of the best of our non-Indian friends who observed, "For many the movement was a discipline and catharsis. It restored self-respect. The struggle was grim, disciplined, but it was conducted at a high level."

THE SUPERIORITY OF SATYA-AHIMSA

The question of questions is whether in its actual application the idealism behind Satya-Ahimsa was kept in mind. National India contends that, taking into account the very large numbers participating in the different movements carried on by believers of this principle, and here let me remind my readers that at one time there were more than sixty thousand in jail for their non-violent activities, and the general ignorance of the masses, the spirit of Satya-Ahimsa was really and truly maintained. The British administration would point to cases where it is admitted that violence did break out and would emphasise the fact that where large numbers are concerned, there is always a very grave risk of Ahimsa degenerating into Himsa. While many among us would agree generally with the

truth underlying this contention, there is little doubt that as this technique rescued from oblivion and put into practice these days for the removal of grievances of various types is a fundamentally Indian, one, it is likely, even at its worst, to entail less damage than any other method which might be adopted for similar purposes. It should be recognised that the masses have at last awakened and that their patience under their real or fancied grievances have certain limits. Experience has shown that, in other parts of the world, grievances such as those from which India suffers have been redressed only as the result of the application of some kind of pressure. This pressure can take either a violent or a non-violent form. And it is to the credit of Mahatma Gandhi that he has forged for the use of India's millions a weapon which is calculated to give them their heart's desire without inflicting any appreciably extensive damage on their opponents. It is therefore that Romain Rolland compliments our great national leader on having "raised up three hundred millions of fellow men, shaken the British Empire and inaugurated in human politics the most powerful movement that the world has seen for nearly two thousand years."

Let no one imagine that this great international writer is talking about things of which he has little or no direct and intimate knowledge. Satya-Ahimsa with its ringing message of self-chosen suffering for fighting wrongs has not only appealed very widely to the disinherited millions of India who might naturally enough be expected to join any movement which holds out even distant hopes of improving their lot but it has proved equally effective in the case of those others who generally form the pillars of conservatism in other countries and are the strongest defenders of vested interests and established institutions. In this connection I may recall to the memory of my readers the words of an Englishman who had been living in India for many years. "When knighted members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, aged Vice-Chancellors of Indian Universities, retired Judges of High Courts, and trusted and respected leaders of Indian thought and life of every shade of opinion, are in jail in opposition to our country's policy, it causes one to think furiously. If we cannot rule India without keeping in jail hundreds of India's most respected citizens, what about it?"

What interests me is not so much the damage done to the prestige or power of the British administration as the fact that the

adoption of Satya-Ahimsa brought into the national struggle many stalwart fighters who would have very carefully abstained from taking any part in it if there had been the slightest hint of any kind of even indirect appeal to violence.

Let me conclude by quoting a stanza from a poem by the Rev. Father Jack C. Winslow of the Christa Seva Sangha of Poona which very eloquently and very sympathetically interprets the spiritual element underlying the technique of Satya-Ahimsa and which alone has made possible the measure of success achieved hitherto.

“ Others will fight with hatred and slaying,
Wade to a kingdom through blood outpoured.
We will conquer with God's own armour ;
We will slay with the Spirit's sword ;
Vanquish by Love that can meekly suffer ;
Die and arise in the name of the Lord.”

A NATION IN MAKING: THE UNITY OF INDIA

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SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEA, in writing his autobiography in 1925, summed up his experience of fifty years of public life in India as *A Nation in Making*. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in addressing the Annual Convocation of Calcutta University only on the 8th March, 1941, said: "Those who live in India, whatever their religion or philosophy of life and from whatever part of the world their ancestors may have come in the past, do constitute a nation." He maintains that "the process of the evolution of a common culture, which is neither wholly Hindu nor wholly Moslem, has been ceaselessly at work during the last four or five centuries, if not longer, and was never more in evidence than in Mughal times." And yet what are we being told by some distinguished Anglo-Indian administrators and historians as to this Nation in Making? Sir John Strachey who took pride in remembering that four generations of his family had given to India the best portion of their lives, and who mentioned with peculiar pleasure that there was hardly a great office of the state in India, from that of Acting Viceroy, Lieutenant-Governor, or Member of Council downwards which he had not held, made the bold assertion in his lectures on India delivered before the University of Cambridge as early as 1884: "There is not, and never was an India or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political, social, or religious; no Indian nation, no people of India, of which we hear so much."¹ But the following sentences from the same lectures are significant and deserve the serious attention and the closest study of all nationalists in India. Strachey plainly and bluntly says: "When we say that we cannot always ignore differences of race, this is only another way of saying that the English in India are a handful of foreigners responsible

¹ Strachey, *India : Its Administration and Progress*, p. 5.

for the Government of nearly 300 millions of people.....The fact remains that there never was a country, and never will be, in which the Government of foreigners is really popular. It would be the beginning of the end of our empire if we were to forget this elementary fact.....We are foreigners, and *not only in our own interests*, but because it is our highest duty to India itself that we intend to *maintain our dominion*.....Let there be no hypocrisy about our intention to keep in the hands of our own people those executive posts on which, and on our political and military power, our actual hold of the country depends.....We ought never to forget differences of race.....As I have said before, no countries and no peoples of Europe differ from each other so profoundly as countries and peoples differ in India. No good administration or *permanent political security* is possible unless facts of this kind are remembered." " (*Italics mine.*)

England's anxiety about "good administration" in India has been repeatedly proclaimed, but why does Sir John Strachey become nervous about "permanent political security" in this country? Why does he quote Machiavelli in his lectures in order to impress upon his English audience in 1884 the "imaginary character of Indian Nation never seen or known to exist in reality"?

Unfortunately for India, Strachey's utterances have been echoed and re-echoed by some Anglo-Indian administrators and Indian politicians on different platforms in this country. Mr. M. A. Jinnah is perhaps, the greatest protagonist of the multi-nation theory in India now, and the so-called Pakistan Resolution adopted by the All-India Muslim League at Lahore, on the 23rd March, 1940, and re-affirmed by the same League at Madras on the 15th April, 1941, is the most tangible expression of this theory. Strachey's emphasis on "the peoples of India" and on "the countries of India" pressed to its logical conclusion means the vivisection of the land and the dismemberment of the territorial, political and administrative integrity of the country. And this is exactly the crisis that is threatening India to-day. In the face of this over-whelming and baffling situation, the slogan of the present Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery—"India First"—is little consolation and is little help.

* Strachey, *India : Its Administration and Progress*, pp. 495-497.

* Strachey's Lecture quoted in Syed Mahmood's *History of English Education in India*, p. 261.

Strachey's emphasis on "No Indian nation, no people of India" had an altogether different effect on Ramsay Macdonald, at least for sometime. Ramsay Macdonald who personally visited India twice, and who became, three times, the Prime Minister of England, had a different tale to tell about the unity of India and about the "one Indian consciousness" of its people. Macdonald wrote thus in his book, *The Government of India*, in 1919: "I would say that the first and most essential thing to learn about India is that the statement of Strachey is very misleading, especially if used for political purposes. India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the Bay of Bengal to Bombay, is naturally the area of a single government. One has only to look at the map to see how geography has foreordained an Indian Empire. Its vastness does not obscure *its oneness*; its variety, its *unity*.....Political and religious tradition has also welded it into *one Indian consciousness*.....This *spiritual unity* dates from very early times in Indian culture."⁴ (*Italics mine.*) It is important to remember that this statement emanated from Macdonald in his unregenerate days—in the days when his name was even suggested for the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress, in the days when Macdonald had not seen light, in the days when no thought had entered into his head of destroying "the one Indian consciousness" of India by the device of the so-called Communal Award of 1932. In 1919, "the inevitability of a united India" was an article of faith with Ramsay Macdonald, and this inspired all his responsible utterances.⁵

Macdonald thus supplies Strachey's refutation. But Macdonald's formula as to "the inevitability of a united India" needs some discussion. It is tempting to search for an appropriate political pedigree for this conception in the history of British India. At least half a century before Strachey's memorable lectures at Cambridge, Thomas Babington Macaulay, speaking in the House of Commons on the 10th July, 1833, on the Government of India Bill of that year, referred in clear and unequivocal terms to the territorial, political and administrative integrity of India. Indeed the whole burden of the speech was the need for the creation of a central, unified authority for the administration of India. The East India

⁴ Ramsay Macdonald, *The Government of India*, p. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Company had not at that time succeeded in conquering the whole of India ; Oudh, Sind, and the Punjab lay outside the British pale. And yet this imperfection did not deter the authors of the Bill from seeing the vision of a united India, and they boldly went forward in giving legislative shape to the project of the first Government of India in British Indian History. In Macaulay's speech, again, the people of India is always mentioned as the people of India and never, as in Sir John Strachey's, as " the peoples of India." It may be said that Macaulay's tone and speech in 1833, set the fashion of Indian administration for some years to come, and Anglo-Indian administrators, for some years, did not largely deviate from the path chalked out by the Whig Government of England in 1833. It is especially noteworthy that in the Petition which the East India Company presented to the British Parliament in February, 1858, on the eve of its abolition, the expression invariably used for referring to the inhabitants of this country is the *people of India* and never the *peoples of India*. It appears that the wise and enlightened policy which was inaugurated with the Government of India Act, 1833, was not abandoned by the East India Company till the day of its final extinction. Other considerations and other principles came to govern the policy of the Government of India with the direct assumption by the Crown of the responsibilities of Indian administration. The Petition of the East India Company in 1858, which was drafted by no less a person than John Stuart Mill, pointedly refers to this change of policy and expresses its apprehension that with the abolition of the Company the interests of the people of India will be subordinated to those of the people of Great Britain. The Petition shows: " That your petitioners have seen with the greatest pain the demonstrations of indiscriminate animosity towards the natives of India, on the part of our countrymen in India and at home, which have grown up since the late unhappy events. They believe these sentiments to be fundamentally unjust ; they know them to be fatal to the possibility of good government in India.....That your petitioners cannot contemplate without dismay the doctrine now widely promulgated that India should be administered with an especial view to the benefit of the English who reside there.....your petitioners regard it as the most honourable characteristic of the government of India by England, that it has acknowledged no such distinction as that of a dominant

and subject race; but has held that its first duty was to the people of India." * (*Italics mine.*)

The point that I want to make is that for at least a quarter of a century after the Government of India Act, 1833, the Whigs in England continued to show under Benthamite and Radical impulse an enlightened interest in Indian administration. They "acknowledged no such distinction as that of a dominant and subject race." Macaulay's celebrated Minute in favour of English education, 2nd February, 1835, the famous Education Despatch of 1854, and the establishment of the Universities in India in 1857, were the visible effects of this wise and benevolent policy. But all this was considerably changed with the Mutiny and the assumption of direct government by the Crown. Even "that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause" of the Act of 1833, which enacted that no native of the Indian Empire should by reason of his colour, his descent, or his religion, be incapable of holding office, was whittled down by the Queen's Proclamation in 1858 by the interpolation of a qualifying phrase—"so far as may be"—which greatly diminished the chances of Indians for admissions to the highest offices under the State. From another very important consideration also, the speech of Macaulay in the House of Commons on the Government of India Bill, 1833, deserves our serious attention and careful study. No coward soul was Macaulay's, and his humanism was not afraid of Indian political and national aspirations. Dante was in literature the great passion of his life and like the Florentine poet, his mind was always swayed by considerations of compassion and sympathy. Even as early as 1833, he had a buoyant and demonstrable faith in the progress of the Indian people. He had nothing but the humanist's scorn for those who would withhold from the Indian people their birthright of opportunities, leisure, instruction, and privileges of citizens. He had realised that in India his own countrymen, belonging to the ruling nation, resembling in colour, in language, in manner, those who held supreme military and political power, and differing in all these respects from the great mass of the population, might consider themselves as a superior class, and might trample on the indigenous race. There was the ever-present danger that the Englishmen in India might constantly make themselves the master race, and

* Keith, *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*, Vol. 1, pp. 805-06.

the Indians the subject race with rights and interests subordinated to those of the ruling race. Macaulay's fine and sensitive mind recoiled from such a development. With a view to the prevention of this evil, he proposed to give to the central government in India the power of legislating for Europeans as well as for Indians. He expressed his views with great vehemence: "Unless, therefore, we mean to leave the natives exposed to the tyranny and insolence of every profligate adventurer who may visit the East, we must place the European under the same power which legislates for the Hindoo. No man loves political freedom more than I. But a privilege enjoyed by a few individuals, in the midst of a vast population who do not enjoy it, ought not to be called freedom. It is tyranny."⁷ In commenting on this part of the speech of Macaulay, one only wishes that this sage apophthegm of state had been remembered by those Englishmen who were responsible for creating the wild agitation over the Ilbert Bill during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon.

Macaulay had no nightmare about a "Lost Dominion" in India. He was fully prepared in 1833 to see India attaining her destiny as a nation. Prospects of Indian self-government had no terror for him. The concluding portion of his memorable speech may be quoted at some length: "But that, when the fullness of time is come, when the interest of India requires the change, we ought to refuse to make that change lest we should endanger our own power, this is a doctrine of which I cannot think without indignation. Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear. 'Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas,' is a despicable policy both in individuals and in states. In the present case, such a policy would not only be despicable, but absurd. The mere extent of empire is not necessarily an advantage. To many governments it has been cumbersome; to some it has been fatal. It will be allowed by every statesman of our time that the prosperity of a community is made up of the prosperity of those who compose the community, and that it is the most childish ambition to covet dominion which adds to no man's comfort or security.....It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well-governed and independent of us, than ill-governed and subject to us.....We shall never consent to administer the *pousta* (a preparation of

⁷ Macaulay's Speeches (World's Classics ed.), p. 144.

opium) to a whole community, to stupify and paralyse a *great people* whom God has committed to our charge for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control. What is power worth if it is founded on vice, on ignorance, and on misery ; if we can hold it only by violating the most sacred duties which as governors we owe to the governed ?..... We are free, we are civilised, to little purpose if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilisation. Are we to keep *the people of India* ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive ? Or do we think that we can give knowledge without awakening ambition ? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent ?..... I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us : And it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system ; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government ; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a *great people* sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism ; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws." * (*Italics mine.*)

This is the speech of a bold English statesman who recognised the unity of India, who was prepared to see the people of India finally becoming " independent " of England, and who always referred to the inhabitants of this land as *the people of India*, and never as *the peoples of India*. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858, also, is addressed to *the people of India*. The despatch which Lord

Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India, sent to the Government of India on the 13th July, 1876, notifying the assumption by Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, of the title of "Empress of India," spoke of the Queen's favourable sentiments towards "the Princes and *People of India.*" (*Italics mine.*) The Parliamentary debates over the Indian Councils Bill of 1892 in referring to the inhabitants of this country always mentioned them as *The People of India.*" It is, I think, Edward VII's Proclamation of 2nd November, 1908, which for the first time, "greet" the Princes and people of this country, as "the Princes and *Peoples of India.*" (*Italics mine.*) One might ask if the inauguration of the famous Morley-Minto Reforms at that time had anything to do with this significant change. The change is now complete. In the Royal Proclamations and Messages to-day, *The people of India* invariably becomes *The peoples of India.* Then, again, Macaulay was prepared to view with pride the passing away of the "sceptre" from British hands, and he was ready to consider such a day as "the proudest day in English history." What a contrast to this attitude we find in the Cambridge lectures of Sir John Strachey half a century afterwards when he said: "We intend to maintain our dominion. Let there be no hypocrisy about our intention to keep in the hands of our own people those executive posts on which, and on our political and military power, our actual hold of the country depends." How different also is the outlook, about one century later, of Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, who made in the House of Lords, on July 7, 1925, the following pronouncement: "I am not able, in any foreseeable future, to discern a moment when we may safely, either to ourselves or India, abandon our trust. There is, my Lords, no 'lost Dominion,' there will be no 'lost Dominion,' until that moment, if ever it comes, when the whole British Empire, with all that it means for civilization, is splintered in doom." Further comment on the tone of this speech of Lord Birkenhead is needless.

Macaulay had an opportunity of translating his liberal and enlightened ideas into practice when he came to India in 1834 as the Law Member of Governor-General's Council. His famous and epoch-making Minute on Indian Education, February 2, 1835, was designed to promote the true national interests of the Indian people.

It wanted to strike at the root of the old defective system of education which was merely fostering sectarian or communal interests by giving undue encouragement to Sanskrit and Arabic studies. Macaulay's ambition was to make the inhabitants of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and to this end he wanted to direct the efforts of Indian Administration. It must not be supposed that the Indians would, thereby, become denationalised, or, in any sense, less attached to their culture and civilization. On the contrary, the aim was, as Macaulay himself expresses it, "to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of Science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population." ¹⁰

This was the utterance of a great seer who was prepared to visualise with satisfaction and with a clear conscience the future greatness of India. He was convinced that the system of education which was in vogue at that time, which treated Hindus and Mussalmans as two distinctly separate communities for the purpose of education, did not tend to accelerate the progress of truth, but "delayed the natural death of expiring errors." He also realised that it would be impossible for the Government of India with limited means at their disposal at that time "to attempt to educate the body of the people." The obvious course was to form a class who would interpret the knowledge of the West which they had gathered to the millions of their countrymen. This was the origin of the much-abused "filtration theory" in the history of education in India under British rule. The theory put into operation by Macaulay, served its purpose admirably well for many years till it fell on evil days and on evil tongues, and was discarded by the Government of Lord Mayo in the seventies of the last century. We have only to say here that modern India should recognise in Thomas Babington Macaulay, one of the fathers of Indian rationalism.

Macaulay's policy of fostering English education as a means of elevating the minds of Indians bore fruit in the movement for the establishment of Universities in India within a decade. On the 25th October, 1845, the Council of Education at Calcutta, under the

¹⁰ : Macaulay's Speeches (World's Classics ed.), p. 859.

presidency of Mr. Charles Hay Cameron, prepared a plan for a University at Calcutta. A few sentences from this document may be quoted as illustrating the progress that had been made by the people of Bengal in the field of education: "The present advanced state of education in the Bengal Presidency, with the large and annually increasing number of highly educated pupils, both in public and private institutions, renders it not only expedient and advisable, but a matter of strict justice and necessity, to confer upon them some mark of distinctions, by which they may be recognised as persons of liberal education and enlightened minds, capable, from the literary and scientific training they have undergone, of entering at once upon the active duties of life; of commencing the practical pursuit of the learned professions, including in this description the business of instructing the rising generation; of holding the higher offices under Government open to natives, after due official qualification; or of taking the rank in society accorded in Europe to all members and graduates of the Universities. The only means of accomplishing this great object is by the establishment of a Central University, armed with the power of granting degrees in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine, and Civil Engineering, incorporated by a special Act of the Legislative Council of India, and endowed with the privileges enjoyed by all chartered Universities in Great Britain and Ireland.....That the time for such a measure has arrived is fully proved by the standard of excellence attained in the Senior Scholarship Examinations of the Council of Education (fully equal in extent to the Bachelor's Examination of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin), and the creditable skill and proficiency exhibited by the graduates of the Medical College, whose examinations in extent and difficulty, are much greater than those of any of the Colleges of Surgeons in Great Britain, and, in a purely professional point of view, nearly on a par with those required from the medical graduates of most British Universities."¹¹ The foregoing extracts are a striking testimony to Bengali intelligence and abilities which had shown such excellent results within a decade from the publication of Macaulay's famous Minute on Education. The standard of excellence attained by some Bengali Hindu scholars, for instance,

¹¹ Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories 1852-53), p. 618, Appendix O.

Pearycharan Sircar, Anandkissen Bose and Rajnarain Bose, in the Senior Scholarship Examination of December, 1843, was so high, that some specimens of very excellent answers written by those candidates were presented to the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories in 1852-53, as an argument for an immediate establishment of a University in Calcutta.¹² This is indeed very high praise for Bengali Hindus, but this need not cause any surprise; for Macaulay had already written in terms scarcely less flattering about the abilities of the Hindus, in his Minute on Education which has been quoted so often. Macaulay thus observes: "Indeed it is unusual to find, even in the literary circles of the Continent, any foreigner who can express himself in English with so much facility and correctness as we find in many Hindus. Nobody, I suppose, will contend that English is so difficult to a Hindoo as Greek to an Englishman."¹³

When the University of Calcutta was finally established in January, 1857, it did not, however, cause universal satisfaction in the official circles in England and India. Powerful minds got alarmed; and mistaking the causes of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, they had misgivings about the success of the project of 1857, and thought that it would be prudent and expedient to retrace the steps. Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control in the Derby Ministry, sounded the tocsin of alarm, in a letter to the Court of Directors, dated 28th April, 1858, and authoritatively announced that the promised good had not been derived from the system of Indian education. Fortunately for the cause of education in India, Lord Ellenborough was compelled to resign his office of the President of the Board of Control very soon. With the arrival of Sir Charles Wood at the India Office, education in this country, and University education in particular, was delivered from the peril which threatened it.

But this deliverance was not of long duration. Within twelve or thirteen years from the foundation of the University of Calcutta, Lord Mayo, the Governor-General of India, came to view the system of University education in this country with much disfavour. The

¹² Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories (1852-53), p. 504, and also pages 585-94. It has been mentioned further in the Report that questions were not communicated to the students till they were all assembled in the examination hall, and the answers were all written without reference to books or other assistance

¹³ Macaulay's Speeches (World's Classics ed.), p. 358.

cry was raised that the system of public instruction in Bengal gave an excellent education to the opulent and upper middle classes at the cost of the State, and made scarcely any provision for the education of the masses. Even W. W. Hunter, who was for some time Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, saw nothing good in the prevailing system of education. He writes thus in his biography of Lord Mayo, published in 1876: "The State tried zealously to discharge its duty in instructing the people, and it interpreted this duty to mean a high-class education for a small section of them. . . . The Bengali Babu, has become the recognised type of the educated native of Northern India. But the Bengal system of public instruction effected this triumph at the cost of the primary education of the masses."¹⁴

The cry that the system of public instruction of Bengal sacrificed the teaching of the masses to high-class education had no basis either in theory or in fact. When Macaulay wrote his Minute in favour of Western education in 1835, it was openly admitted that it would be impossible for the Government of India, "with their limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people." The obvious policy, therefore, was to impart good education and high education to a class who would play the rôle of interpreters between the Government and the people, and would do their best to spread education downwards. The basis of this policy was, of course, the "filtration" theory of education. It was hoped that the effect of this system would not be confined to the classes immediately benefited. It would filtrate downwards. And, as a matter of fact, education was rapidly filtrating downwards in Bengal and other provinces of India. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 bore eloquent testimony to this fact. Yet, in the face of this development, Lord Mayo conceived a deep dislike towards the existing system of education. Curiously enough, he thought that the cause of education in India would be best promoted if the State ceased to spend money for the education of "a few hundred Bengali Babus." It appears from a letter which Mayo wrote to a friend that the guiding consideration of Mayo's new educational policy was not so much his solicitude for the interests of the masses as his deep-seated prejudice against the "Bengali Babus." A few sentences from this very significant letter may be quoted: "I

¹⁴ Hunter, *Life of Lord Mayo*, Vol. II, p. 301.

dislike this filtration theory. In Bengal we are educating in English a few hundred Babus at great expense to the State. Many of them are well able to pay for themselves, and have no other object in learning than to qualify for Government employ. In the meanwhile, we have done nothing towards extending knowledge to the million. *The Babus will never do it. The more education you give them, the more they will try to keep it to themselves, and make their increased knowledge a means of tyranny.* If you wait till the bad English, which the four hundred Babus learn in Calcutta, filters down into the 40 millions of Bengal, you will be ultimately a Silurian rock instead of a retired judge. Let the Babus learn English by all means. But let us also try to do something towards teaching the three R's to Rural Bengal."¹⁵ (*Italics mine.*)

This is an unmerited slur on Bengali intellect and character. But the effusion need not cause surprise. From the seventies of the last century it seems to have become the deliberate policy of certain British administrators to say nothing good about Bengal and Bengali character. Mayo showed the way in 1870. In December, 1887, Sir Lepel Henry Griffin, Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, in a speech at Gwalior, made a wild attack on the Bengali race in the following terms: "One of the reasons for which I urge you, Mahrattas, to utilize the educational advantages which we offer you, is, that you may take your rightful intellectual place in India and *keep the Bengalis, who are now everywhere very active, in their proper place.* You are their superiors in ability, in strength, and in courage. They are only your superiors in noise and volubility. If they should be your leaders, it would be an army of lions commanded by grasshoppers. If you look at the history of the world, you will find that strong nations, like the English, Mahrattas, Rajpoots, and Sikhs, were never ruled by weak and unwarlike races like the Bengalis. Courage is the quality which governs the world, and the bravest people are everywhere and justly triumphant. *Do not then allow the Bengalis to deceive you with their talk about National Congresses and representative institutions. Be content with your own Mahratta nationality, and believe me that representative institutions are as much suited to India as they are to the moon. India is composed of many different nations, with very little in common, and it is as foolish*

to hope to unite them as to join in one nation Russians, Frenchmen, and Englishmen who are more closely connected by civilization and descent than the various peoples of India. The so-called National Congress is a sham, and delegates are appointed by themselves and their friends. Hindus of position and authority will join it ; and the only Mahomedans who attend are a few obscure and notoriety-seeking persons." ¹⁶ (*Italics mine.*) In 1888, Sir John Strachey, referring to the proposal that competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service should be held in India as well as in England, wrote in his book, *India: Its Administrations and Progress*, that such a plan was highly objectionable on the ground that it would transfer certain important offices so long held by Englishmen "to men drawn from very small class of Hindus" from Bengal. Strachey writes: "These Hindus of Bengal, although we choose to call them Natives of India, would be, to at least 200 millions of the Indian populations, almost as much foreigners as we are ourselves. One of the inevitable consequences would be the anger and discontent of the more intelligent of our Mohammedan subjects." ¹⁷ (*Italics mine.*) So the proposal for holding simultaneous competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service in India was unacceptable for the simple reason that only young men from Bengal "would have any chance of success in such examinations." ¹⁸ Such a prospect was intolerable, because, as Sir John Strachey writes, "the thought of being governed by a Hindu foreigner from Bengal fills the Mohammedans of Northern India with indignation and contempt." ¹⁹ (*Italics mine.*) Further comment is needless. One might only ask if such sentiments were calculated to promote the unity of India, or to further the cause of the movement, *India First*. Were not ideas, such as these, likely to lead ultimately to social disintegration and to social collapse? The nervousness of these Anglo-Indian administrators arising out of the unchallenged intellectual abilities of the Bengali Hindu Babus did not disappear in the 19th century. In 1906, Lord Minto wrote with considerable dismay to Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, that "the Bengali editor was spreading his influence throughout India," ²⁰ and

¹⁶ Col. W. F. B. Laurie, *Sketches of Some Distinguished Anglo-Indians*, Second Series (W. H. Allen & Co., London, 1888), pp. 224-26.

¹⁷ Strachey, *India: Its Administration and Progress* (3rd Edition), p. 498.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

²⁰ Mary Countess of Minto, *India: Minto and Morley*, p. 28.

that he was thinking of " a possible counterpoise to congress aims." (*Italics mine.*)

The question may now be very well asked if Lord Mayo, true to the tradition of an Irish Protestant, was not thinking of a possible counterpoise to the influence of the Bengali Babus in the seventies of the last century. His furious indictment against the system of University education in Bengal does not appear to be intelligible on any other ground. The education of the masses was as neglected a question then, as it is now. The raising of the question in the form in which it was done by Mayo, only served to cloud the issue and did a disservice to the cause of national education in this country. The cleavage that was created in Indian society by Mayo's insistence that the interests of the masses were quite distinct from those of the higher classes, is causing anxiety even now, and it is rendering all chances of national education very difficult indeed. The case against the unwisdom of Mayo's policy was stated, in terms no one can better, by a Senior Member of the Indian Civil Service in a letter to Lionel Curtis in July, 1917. He writes as follows: " In educational matters we have been misled by the European analogy. We have said it is the business of government to look after primary education: The people must make arrangement for higher education as they do in other countries. In view of the condition of the country (India) this was an unwise position. *Primary education is relatively unimportant, but we must have the best higher education, the other will follow.* In this country everything has always been done by the government, and it is no good telling the people, poorly educated as they are, that if they want higher education they must arrange for it. That is what government did in Bengal, with the most fatal results." (*Italics mine, Curtis, Dyarchy, p. 174.*)

Another point of Lord Mayo's educational policy was destined to strike at the root of growing Indian nationalism. The system that was inaugurated in 1835 was bearing fruit. Its result would be the establishment of an India-wide rising level of common education. But Lord Mayo found " that the Muhammadans of Bengal were intensely dissatisfied with this state of things, and that their discontent assumed in Bengal the form of active disaffection." ²¹ A

remedy had to be discovered for this state of things, and Lord Mayo very soon discovered that the system of education, founded on a basis co-extensive with the educational requirements of the whole people, was at fault. He thought that the system of common education which had so long been pursued with steadfast zeal was unsuited to the Muhammadans. Lord Mayo's personal summing up of the situation in his own words is as follows :—"There is no doubt, that as regards the Muhammadan population, our present system of education is, to a great extent, a failure. We have not only failed to attract the sympathies and confidence of a large and an important section of the community, but we have reason to fear that we have caused positive disaffection." ²² Mayo was determined to remove the cause of this "positive disaffection" of what he calls "the most powerful race in India." ²³ His solution of the problem lay in a number of contrivances. One such contrivance was that "a Muhammadan would not come to a Hindu school to be taught by a Hindu teacher." ²⁴ Another was that the Government "must therefore give way somewhat to the national prejudices of the Muhammadans, and allow to Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, a more prominent place in many of the Government schools and examination tests." ²⁵ In this way, Mayo thought, the Muhammadans would get "a more equal chance of filling those lucrative positions which are now almost monopolized by Hindus." ²⁶

It is clear that this Memorandum of Lord Mayo was governed by considerations of administrative exigency. The Memorandum is not an educational document; on the other hand, it is a political document inspired by considerations other than academic. The avowed object of Lord Mayo was to cure the "positive disaffection" of the Muhammadans by "giving way somewhat to their national prejudices." Thus with Mayo, education in India was his politics, and not his policy. A famous thinker once observed: "The weaknesses of democracy are the opportunities of education." Similarly in India, the weaknesses and prejudices of the Indian people were the opportunities of a sound liberal education. The wisdom of this maxim was realised by Macaulay in 1835; but in the administration

²² W. W. Hunter, *Life of Mayo*, Vol. II p. 307.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

of India by Lord Mayo, this principle was discarded, and a totally different policy was followed in educational affairs—the policy of “giving way somewhat to the national prejudices” of a section of the Indian people. And this “giving way” again, was not inspired by educational considerations, but was dictated by political expediency. Mayo’s ideas took shape in the Resolution of the Government of India, dated 7th August, 1871, on Muhammadan Education. This Resolution is an important document, being the first of a series of measures adopted by the Government for the encouragement of separate education among the Muhammadans. The history of separate denominational education in British India may be said to date from this Resolution. The Resolution may be studied in full in Syed Mahmood’s *History of English Education in India*, pp. 148-49. We can, only from the nationalist point of view, take exception to two important suggestions of the Government of India in this Resolution. The Resolution said: (1) “As in vernacular schools so in this class also (English schools), assistance might justly be given to Muhammadans by grants-in-aid to *create schools of their own*. (2) Greater encouragement should also be given to *the creation of a vernacular literature for the Muhammadans*—a measure the importance of which was specially urged upon the Government of India by Her Majesty’s Secretary of State on more than one occasion.”²⁷ (*Italics mine.*)

This was to invite the danger of “the fractioning of education” against which Professor Ernest Barker impressively warned us in his Address to the Council of the Institute of Christian Education in December, 1938.²⁸ Such fractioning of education encouraged the movement of disruptive forces at work and made the chances of educational socialism in this country very difficult of realisation. But Lord Mayo was not concerned with the possibilities of educational socialism. What he primarily thought was that “a resolution of this kind would be justified by the circumstances of the case, and would have an excellent effect on the feelings of the Muhammadan population at this moment.”²⁹ Mayo’s biographer, Hunter, tells us that the educational reforms of Mayo had their desired effect. These reforms, we are told, were “hailed as a boon by the Mussalman population. The

²⁷ Syed Mahmood, *History of English Education in India*, p. 149

²⁸ *Contemporary Review*, January, 1941, p. 48.

²⁹ W. W. Hunter, *Life of Mayo*, Vol. II, pp. 310-11.

Muhammadan petition and complaint have ceased to be a constantly recurring difficulty in the administration of Bengal, and *Muhammadan disaffection has at the same time dropped out of the cognizance alike of our armies and our courts.*"³⁰ Hunter, who was for some years the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, adopted an excellent criterion indeed for judging the results of the educational reforms of Lord Mayo in this country ! He was seeking to evaluate the so-called educational measures of Mayo not by the progress of general education among the people but by the disappearance of "Muhammadan disaffection." The prospects of liberal national education in India had become dark indeed. The chances of educational socialism were doomed. The destiny of Mayo's measures, as it turned out, was to commit the country to denominationalism piecemeal.

And yet when Lord Mayo and W. W. Hunter were busily engaged in the task of fractioning education and giving education a denominational turn in India, Professor Thomas Hill Green in England was preaching the urgent necessity of a system of comprehensive and all-embracing national education. Green, impelled by his idealism, was looking forward to an ultimate "reconstitution of society through that of education," and he felt that, through well-planned education, it would be possible to effect a considerable change in the tone of society and to remove many of its barriers. His vision saw a "ladder of learning which should reach from the gutter to the Universities,"³¹ and this learning would bring about a fusion of men, most variously born and circumstanced, in one human society. The need of the hour was the removal of class impediments and laying the same foundation for all alike in a system of comprehensive national education. This would ensure "not only a thoroughly educated but a socially united people."³² But in India the result of Mayo's policy has been that the denominational system has struck its roots too deep and wide to be displaced. It has fostered the spirit of social exclusiveness and has amply recognised the strictest social demarcations between the Hindus and the Musalmans. A common education, which is the only means of removing jealousies and social separations prevalent within the people of a country, was not given a fair trial in India. "Common education," says Green, "is the true social

³⁰ W. W. Hunter, *Life of Mayo*, Vol. II, p. 311.

³¹ Works of T. H. Green, Vol. III, p. 387.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 456.

leveller. Men and women who have been at school together, or who have been at schools of the same sort, will always understand each other, will always be at their ease together, will be free from social jealousies and animosities however different their circumstances in life may be."³³ These are true and wise words. How much one does wish that these words were remembered by British administrators of the days of Lord Mayo, and how much one does wish that they were studied and pondered over by our responsible ministers and civil servants to-day. The ambition of Thomas Hill Green in the seventies of the last century was the promotion of a national system of education, and almost his last public utterance before his death in 1882 was the expression of a hope that the time would come "when the phrase 'education of a gentleman' will have lost its meaning, because the sort of education which alone makes the gentleman in any true sense will be within the reach of all. As it was the aspiration of Moses that all the Lord's people should be prophets, so with all seriousness and reverence we may hope and pray for a condition of English society in which all honest citizens will recognise themselves and be recognised by each other as gentlemen."³⁴ This is national education properly so called, and this is educational socialism. We can now understand how the prospects for such an education in India were retarded by the educational policy which was introduced by Lord Mayo. The evils of that policy are still rampant, and they are the greatest hindrances to good citizenship and the development of national solidarity in this land.

The dangers inherent in Mayo's system of denominational education became evident in a few years. In February, 1882, a Memorial was addressed to Lord Ripon, the Governor-General, by the National Muhammadan Association of Calcutta, calling attention to the decayed position of Muhammadans of India, to the causes which had, in the opinion of the Memorialists, led to this decadence, and to the remedies which might improve that condition. The Memorial was discussed by the Education Commission of 1882 and by the Government of India in its Resolution on the 15th July, 1885. Some of the demands of the National Muhammadan Association

³³ Works of T. H. Green, Vol. III, pp. 457-58.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 475-76.

were fantastic and far too extravagant. These demands were summarily rejected by the Government of India. This attitude of the Government of India is not condemned, but is, on the other hand, highly praised by Syed Mahmood in his *History of English Education in India*. He says: "There are some passages in the Resolution of the Government of India which deserve to be permanently preserved and remembered by the Muhammadan community. Firstly, as giving them a sound and statesmanly warning, and secondly, as conveying the sympathy which the Government of India has deigned to express towards the Muhammadans of India, respecting their future educational and other prospects and welfare."³⁵

In regard to the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882, for special encouragement of Muhammadan Education, the Government of India, in its Resolution, rose to statesmanly heights and made the following general observations, which were not calculated to encourage the demands of the Memorialists. This part of the Resolution is as follows: "*It is only by frankly placing themselves in line with the Hindus, and taking full advantage of the Government system of high and especially of English Education, that the Muhammadans can hope fairly to hold their own in respect of the better description of State appointments.....Care must be taken to avoid unnecessary widening of the line between Muhammadan and other classes of the community. The Governor-General in Council does not consider it desirable, or for the advantage of the Muhammadans themselves, that they should be exempted from those tests which are established to secure the admission of duly qualified candidates into the public service. Nor can special favour be shown them in open competitive examinations of any description. It is only by raising their own educational qualifications, to the level already attained by other races, that the Muhammadans can hope to win appointments that are awarded as the result of examination.It is the earnest desire of the Supreme Government to treat all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India with absolute impartiality, and see all alike benefiting by the protection, the patronage, and the assistance of the State.*"³⁶ (*Italics mine.*) These were wise, statesmanlike, and courageous utterances, and we might only hope

that the Government of India did not subsequently deviate from this Resolution. We would also expect that the principles of this Resolution were remembered by Ramsay Macdonald in 1932 when he gave his notorious Communal Award, and by the Government of India itself when it formulated another Resolution of far-reaching importance on the 4th July, 1934—a Resolution which has been rightly called the second Communal Award in the history of British administration in India—a Resolution which specifically recognised the extravagant and indefensible claims of the different minorities to important posts in the public services of India on communal grounds by brushing aside the considerations which dictated the Resolution of the 15th July, 1885. Thus the principles which were laid down by the Government of India in 1885, in regard to the recruitment in the public services from certain considerations, were undermined by the same Government in 1934 from different considerations. And the result has been the sabotage of the principle of national efficiency and national solidarity. The process has just begun; the final results are on the knees of the gods. A new era in the history of Indian Nationalism was opened with the meeting of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in December, 1885. Of this we propose to speak in our next essay.

(To be continued)

FORCES IN MODERN PANJABI POETRY

PROF. CHARANJIT SINGH BINDRA, M.A., LL.B.

A decade and a half back we had the first glimpse of a possible golden age for Panjabi poetry. That was immediately after the great *morchas*, the civil disobedience at Jaito and other places during the Akali movement. In the general excitement of this religious-political struggle the creative energies of the people were also whipped up into a state of productivity. As a result of it we had a bumper crop of poets, poetasters, rhymers and versifiers; but some of them did possess real talent.

The older generation had already produced some towering personalities. Prof. Pūran Singh, who died in 1931, had been universally acclaimed as the harbinger of a new era in Panjabi poetry. Having been influenced greatly by the thought of Emerson and the art of Post-Victorian poets, he diverted the drift of Panjabi verse away from Classical traditionalism. As a matter of fact Panjabi poetry from its very inception has been Romantic in spirit, though every now and then there have been attempts towards traditionalism. The Panjabis are a liberty-loving people, averse to the fetters of traditionalism; and so is their poetry. Consequently the attempt of Prof. Pūran Singh to introduce the leaven of English Romanticism into his own poetry was not only a success, but it considerably influenced even the work of his great contemporary, Bhāi Vir Singh, as well as that of all the younger poets. Though the older writers had started with an inclination for classical tendencies, they did not take long to cast away even the last traces thereof, and wading through Prof. Pūran Singh's romanticism, caught up with the tide of the new spirit. Therein was the promise of a golden age.

The poetry of Bhāi Vir Singh, Kirpā Sāgar, Sharaf and Dhani Rām Chātrik, bears evident traces of maturity of thought and diction, but there is also prominent the exuberant buoyancy and freshness of the first emotions. The following one line poem of Bhāi Vir Singh represents characteristically their feeling of joy in the very fact of being alive; but marked with the ever-present lining of doubt and

apprehension of the unknown, which is inevitable to all maturer experience :

Miṭhe ṭān lagde menū phulāṇ de hulāre
Jān merī par khusdī

Sweet to me is the wafting of clusters of flowers,
But the soul of me does tremble.

Kirpā Sāgar is not with us today. He joined the majority more than a year ago. Sharaf has quitted the garden of poesy for other avenues. Therefore next to Bhāi Vir Singh, the only voice from the older generation that is still heard is that of Chātrik. Hirā Singh Dard, Gurmukh Singh Musāfir and Dr. Mohan Singh Dīwāna having betaken themselves with other literary activities. Much of Chātrik's work lies buried in *Chandan-Wārī* and *Kesar-Kiārī*, but the most popular of his poetry comes out in his *Dohirās* and *Bolīs*, short cryptic syllogisms such as :

Pallā mār ke bhuajā gāi divā,
Mur ke merī jōt na jagī.

The flame, she put it out with the wave of her veil :
Never could it be lit up again.

Indeed, he is at his best when he depicts the love emotion as in his lyric, " Ni merī Hīre Saleṭīe, Raje dī beṭīe."

Coming back to Bhāi Vir Singh, who has created the largest group of personal admirers, though he exercises no avowed influence on the younger poets, we find that the free movement of his thought he owes to his close contact with Prof. Pūran Singh : so also his love for nature, which he developed as he advanced in years. Whenever nature description takes a hold on him, his poetry begins to throb with full-blooded vivacity. The most popular of his poems are the light-hearted ones with a piquant turn of thought, bringing man, nature and God closer together : the whole picture being touched up with deep stirring emotion as in the songs of *Kambdī Kalāi*, particularly the *Godāwari* song. It is this fine emotional lyricism, typical of the English Romantics, that characterises the modern Panjabi poetry. Both the old and the young have inherited it through the towering personality in Panjabi poetry of Prof. Pūran Singh.

If the older poets have a failing for didacticism born of metaphysic propensities, the younger people are no less vulnerable to the temptations of cheap popularity through political propaganda. Only Prof. Mohan Singh Mahir has managed to keep clear long enough of this pitfall to produce some first rate poetry. The best of his poetry too lies not in his poem, *Kashmir*, the only long one he has written, but in his shorter pieces of the type of *Mahia* and *Dholas* such as :

Kade dhok sādī dār achh dhola
 Odre kass jithe galān nī kītīā
 Odre rakkh jithe laiān nī prītīā
 Nale meṇ gaī ódar vakh dhola.

Come sometime to our hamlet, O Love,
 Awaiting are the rivulets by whose banks we talked,
 Awaiting are the arbours that witnessed our love,
 And in addition I am pining for you, O Love.

His lyrical talent has produced some really fine poetry pregnant with sweet, evanescent emotion as in :

Kihā nikā nikā rehnda sarūr
 Nāhī puriān hoshān menū
 Nah me nashe vich chūr
 Nāhi sajan menū buhion ūṭhāve
 Nāhi sajan menū gal nāl lāve
 Nah meṇ rad nah me manzūr.

Manzal ishk de dendi jhakāve
 Kal āve jā kade na āve
 Eh nah nere nah dūr.

I have the faintness of inebriation;
 I am not in my full senses,
 Nor am I completely drunk.

My love does not dismiss me from her door,
 Nor does she take me to her bosom :
 I am neither rejected, nor accepted.

Attainment of love plays will-o-the wisp with me,
 I may attain it tomorrow. I may attain it never.
 It's neither distant nor to hand.

Among the other young composers who are on the fair road to success are Amrit Kaur Amrit, Ishar Singh Ishar, Pritam Singh Saffir, Baljit Kaur Bal, Tārā Singh Tārā, Darshan Singh Avārah, Dr. Diwān Singh Kalepani and Harindar Singh Bekāl. Most of them are trying to write poetry with a set purpose. Amrit Kaur, through her magazine, *Navin Duniā*,¹ comes out boldly to create a new world order of her own as envisaged in her song, "Ve loko menū roko nah, hun man āeān karan krān deo." But it remains a pure lyricism in revolt against the conventionalities of society. So is Baljit Kaur's escapism which finds its expression in her popular lyric:

Chal ve sajan asie doven rai mile dunia navin vasā leie
Bāhar vār kite dur durere pre prere jā rehie.

Come Love, let's two set up a world of our own
Out away, somewhere far away, farther away let's go.

That again is lyricism, pure and simple.

A coterie of younger writers, however, and even Prof. Mohan Singh in the latest of his compositions published in *Panj Daryā*, along with his disciple Harindar Singh, are trying to introduce the sophist element into their poetry. Pritam Singh and the professor with their higher University education might make a success of it, but the whole lot of them have yet to prove their mastery over this type of poetry. The art of moralising is the besetting sin of many but the radiant virtue of few. If the experiment is successful, they will be opening up a new avenue of metaphysical poetry in Panjabi. Here is a verse typical of this school, from Harindar Singh's *Navin Pandh*:

Vehnde jande vehn, badal vassi ja rahe,
Hare nah honde khett, hai bin tadbir de.

Rivers flow on, clouds may pour,
Fields will never be green without effort.

And from Tara Singh we have:

Even tuṭ gai tuṭ gai akkhde o—
Eh koi dhage dī tand sī, jo tuṭ jandī!

Wrongly they say it has snapped,
Our love is not a strand of thread that it could snap.

¹ The publication of this magazine has now been suspended.

On the other hand, Ishar Singh has already planted himself firmly in a different avenue. His popular character "Bhaiā," with a number of humorous poems spun round that character, has caught the public fancy. But most of the rest have still to prove their mettle. Those who have taken to propaganda through metrical composition, must put forth some original thought before they can establish a reputation.

Thus in modern Panjabi poetry, whereas Bhāi Vir Singh continues to be the link with all that is best in the old, Prof. Mohan Singh and the other younger writers may bring forth an efflorescence of the new, that is, if they do not fall under the enervating influence of post-War English poetry.

AN ESSAY IN THE LOGIC OF AESTHETICS

TERENCE WHITE

AESTHETICS is the philosophy of beauty and significance, as they exist, concentrated in art, and apparent throughout the universe.

This essay will therefore treat, not only of art, but finally of the aesthetics of human and non-human life in general. Beauty will not be treated as a separate subject of classification; instead, like one of its own apparitions, it will arise in the discussion of other topics,—like an unexaggerated *'cello-crescendo* which points the suavely basic into momentary explicit emphasis.

Definitions of beauty are seldom satisfactory; they are perhaps least unsatisfactory when expressed in terms of *relationships*. For instance, Vernon Lee's remark that "the word beautiful implies the satisfaction derived from the contemplation not of things but of aspects" contains a definite truth, but it could be strengthened as follows: "the word beautiful implies the satisfaction derived from the contemplation of things as aspects and of aspects as things." Here we have already come upon one salient characteristic of aesthetic organisms,—the tendency to interchangings within, and also between, different planes and modes in the organism.

This tendency, like most other aesthetic tendencies, is prominent especially in art. For art is a close-up, and a professionalization, of universal aesthetic characteristics. In art "the function of being a means is not divorced from the function of being an end" (as Whitehead exclaims, in another context). Art is a display, a virtuosity: hence the element of "splendour" to be found in definitions of it,—"*Splendor Veri*" (the Platonists) "*Splendor Ordinis*" (Augustine), "*Splendor Formae*" (Aquinas). For the opposite reason, the aesthetics of Nature are apt to be less clear and less extended than those of art.¹

A valid aesthetics cannot confine itself to any single metaphysical system, and yet it is not to be dissociated from metaphysical thought.

¹ Mr. E. F. Carritt even, in his highly balanced and stimulating book—*The Theory of Beauty*, while deploring the exclusion of Nature from aesthetic discussion, devotes much more attention in the ensuing chapters to the beauty of art.

Perhaps it stands midway between metaphysics, precise and general, and psychology, particularising and largely introspective. Nevertheless, since metaphysics and logic are sciences which cover all being, it is not too unnatural that aesthetics should have some special patterns and tentative systems to suggest for their perusal.

I suggest that the following five notions are typical contributions which aesthetics might make to logic and metaphysics:—

(A) What Whitehead in his maximum opus, gives as the third of his four “grounds of Order”: “(that) the heightening of intensity arises from order such that the multiplicity of components in the nexus can enter explicit feeling as *contrasts*, and are not dismissed into negative prehensions as *incompatibilities*.”¹ This is a good example of one salient facet of the aesthetic process.

(B) A pattern of what might be termed the “equivalence of ends,” by which the same process can be read in two ways, as:

$$\text{---}a_1 \rightarrow b_1 \rightarrow a_2 \rightarrow b_2 \rightarrow a_3\text{---}$$

or as

$$\text{---}b_1 \rightarrow a_1 \rightarrow b_2 \rightarrow a_2 \rightarrow b_3\text{---}$$

For instance, it is impossible to state whether the ultimate result of the artistic process is variety out of simplicity, or simplicity out of variety; whether it is—to take a random example—a making precise of emotion, or an emotionalising of precision. Examples of this notion can be found with some ease in every branch or aspect of aesthetic life. And it is an idea to which many ideas in Indian philosophy would seem to bear affinity.

(C) Patterns concerned with selectivity with compensation and with circularity.

(D) Patterns dealing with Display, with the importance of presentation and virtuosity.

(E) Patterns of Imitation, and of Wheels within wheels.

Let us examine these last three types of pattern in greater detail:—

SELECTIVITY-COMPENSATION-CIRCULARITY

Amongst other characteristics, art evinces the *Selections* of ideas and materials and objects, to a greater extent than is found in science,

¹ *Process and Reality*, p. 115.

philosophy, or religion. In art, all-inclusiveness, absolutes, numerable totalities of data, are not essential. It would seem that, for the artist, reality is comprehended (and even possessed), not by cumulative means, and not as if it consisted in a long straight line; but as if it were concerned rather with balance, with rebound and reflection, with a world where a deficiency in quantity might reveal or invite a superiority in quality, where the lack of cumulative sweat might induce the serenity which is a mark of the greatest of all wholes, thus acting by a short cut: a world in which he who loses the whole through mere suggestiveness shall save it as by a rebound, a magnetic adding-up of contraries.

Now, in some cases this selection remains simply in the form of the items selected. In other cases, it circles round so as to give an effect of abundance, of totality even. This is often achieved by the intensity and abundance and sense of totality in the selection itself, which then become confused or identified with the similar qualities in the field of the original whole. Similarly, "the idealisation produced by selection can, by reason of its inherent magnetism, turn back and around and reinforce clarity, emphasis, and idealisation on to the sacrificed individuality of the original unselected points themselves: This is the Charity of selectiveness."¹

The concept of selection, in relation to external values, may be extended into the sphere of art as a whole, as well as that of an individual work of art: as, for example, in Keyserling's judgment that "the values which aesthetics claim for all art belong in fact only to the highest art."

Again: Charles Maurron has said,² "Everything is not combination—far from it—even in the work of the most intellectual artists." In other words, why should *this* phrase of Mozart's succeed *that* one? And is there not an element of chance in the fact that *this note* succeeds *that*, *within* a single phrase? Clearly, this mosaic-method can be pursued until an entire opera or epic seems the work of chance: and artists instinctively indicate what *unit* of expression or thought they have selected as a basis for form, or for chance; although delightful psychological arabesques may arise when this indication is left partly vague, with the resultant slight tensions and indecision.³

¹ *Tentative Universe*, Ch. 3, by Terence White.

² *Aesthetics and Psychology* (trans.), p. 87.

³ See below in the section on "Imitation" for an expansion of this notion.

Chinese art is renowned for its selections its empty spaces ; and yet these seem far more positive than they would if filled with un-essential pattern : one is reminded of the closing sentence from Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* : " Woven man nichts sprechen kann, darüber muss man schweigen." And this motto might be applied to all spheres of aesthetic practice,—to the possible superiority of "pure" ballet over mine, to the dangers in the excessive material present in the art of film, to take two quite random examples.

In frequent harness with selectivity are compensations and circularities (though these sometimes may appear cumulative, rather than selective). Let us take one first example out of myriad possible ones :—

Suppose that we are appreciating a work of great complexity, suggestiveness, and subtle treatment, we collect a variety of favourable impressions : suppose that we then come to a point in the work itself where clarity (consisting of expansion, or tightening, or many other factors) is demanded. But now take the case when this clarity, which must be a welder-together of the objects from which we have gained our impressions (and of those impressions themselves), *does not* come about,—then what happens ? Simply that the weight of the total appreciative tension derived expectantly from our gathering of the impressions turns itself over at once to the other side, and destroys as it were, its own previous self.

And here is a more complex instance : let us consider the acts of return, the suggestions, the tensions into simplicity, by which Classicism is revealed as the expression of an individual soul.

For instance : an individual's desire to pierce through selectivity into "fulness" may merge into the selectivity of an actual classical work of art, and then return as the individual's whole relevant desire (not merely his desire for selectivity). As this "return" involves an element of time, the relation of this process to music, the time-art *par excellence*, is a remarkable one : the details of musical form are to some extent a saga of the relations between the "returned" version of a passage or note and its objective successor ("unreturned," probably), and the problem as to whether these can or do compensate for, or else reinforce each other, according to particular contexts.

1 "Whereof one can say nothing one should keep silence"

A further quality in classical art is that by which the restfulness of established basic forms may serve to give greater clarity to individual points in the texture. Thus arises an incentive for the artist to make these individual points the expression of his specific individuality.

These individual points may be points of repose, or points of sudden gesture, the latter compensating by their concentration and vividness for the lack of such qualities in the former, which they may even express as well as expressing themselves. On the other hand, the points of repose may assist the points of gesture in two chief ways: by providing tension and the possibility of a *crescendo*, and by the universalising and idealising effect which their serenity may create. In that case, they will influence the gesture points as fully as they have been influenced by them. Still further, a tension may arise between the mutual assisting influence of the two types and their real separation on a more obvious level. All these examples may be regarded about equally as illustrating either selectivity or compensation.

As three further instances of compensation, we may give the following:

(a) Kant defined the appreciation of beauty as "a pleasure universally communicable, yet independent of concepts." Consider, then, the tensions and the circular processes involved when either: (i) this "independence of concepts" is itself made a concept, as in works made to the order of the abnormal formation "art for art's sake"; or (ii) any concept is introduced into the very texture of a work of art, while the general "independence of concepts" is admitted, though in a variety of possible degrees.

Into this category come the problems of "programme music," of the legitimacy of various degree: of "representation" in painting and sculpture, and of didactic purpose in literature or painting.

(b) The compensation between the purity and calm of (say) Flaubert's style, and the unbalanced nature of his life and of his efforts to force that style. Conversely, the art might be neurotic and the artist placid.¹

(c) The circularity, the lucky journey safe back bone, shown in "Ars est celare artem." To speak, for the moment, in logical rather

¹ Cf.: Santayana, preface to Spinoza's *Ethics* (Everyman edition) "...yet what makes for righteousness, the conditions of successful living, need not be moral in a personal sense, any more than the conditions of a flame need be themselves on fire."

than aesthetic terms, the process of "*Ars est celare artem*" enables—in the case of the change of an accident into a substance or *vice versa* (for in art the last shall be first, and the mighty pulled down)—(i) the act of change not to appear as a change, while (ii) the changed entity does, or (iii) does not, appear changed; or again, (iv) the two conditions (i) and (ii) may be true together, or (v) the two conditions (ii) and the contradictory of (i) may be true together, or finally, (vi) this contradictory of (i) may be true together with (iii).²

(II) Art displays; art is not art if it is not a success. And such is the infection of this facet of art, that even theories of art fall victims, to it and display too loudly, personifying what are merely partial limbs of truth. Thus, both the dogma of "Art for art's sake" and, at the other extreme, Tolstoy's obsession with the "universal" and "moral" and "communicable" character of art (so that the Russian peasant is the supreme *arbiter elegantiarum*), are merely exaggerations, hypostatisations as it were, of quite legitimate aspects of aesthetic truth.

Perhaps one could elucidate Tolstoy's theory further by characterising it in two somewhat paradoxical relationships to Croce's famous identification of Art with Intuition with Expression: first, one might hold that the relation between the two theories was that between Potency and Act, Tolstoy's identification of art and communication being a clumsy and thus tentative clutch at Croce's doctrine; and secondly, one might criticise Tolstoy's excessive identification of art, immorality, etc., as an exaggeration, a parody perhaps, of Croce's more relevant theses.¹ In either case, whether it be parody, or the raising of a potency to the dignity of an act, we have here a curious display of Display.

And a typically aesthetic display: for not only does art equate (what elsewhere would be) potencies and acts; she even infuses positively into the negative display into what seems to be the very displayless desert. One has only to observe the effects of spacing in Chinese pictures, mentioned above in connection with Selectivity, to realise the force of this.

² Cf. What is said below, in the section on "Display," as to the aesthetic change of negative into positives.

¹ Of course it would also be possible to argue that Croce's union of expression and intuition is the product mainly of the psychological union between his own embryonic intention in framing this theory and the actual act of intending, and its nature.

Some of the problems of normal positive display are of the following type: consider, in executant art, the degrees of legitimate emphasising of the obvious; of deliberate personal revelation outside the obvious; of the possibility that such a revelation was intended potentially in the nature of what seems obvious; of the degrees of what composer, author, performer, actor and audience must severally take for granted; finally, one must examine the relation of all these questions to requisites such as tension, selection as against accumulation, or the claims of under-statement, negative display, and surprise. A further detachment of this problem is concerned with the artistic medley itself (in this case, let us consider the executant medium, though the purely creative has its own problems): as, for instance, when an effect of absolute abstraction (in Bach or slow Beethoven, perhaps) is attainable on the piano best by rigid hankering after the "impartial" tone of the organ, because the slight tension between this effort and the nature of piano-touch will give the effort life; while the same mood on the organ is often achieved best through an aptly-placed apparent breaking of the "impartial" mood, which act *displays* what would otherwise be heard as a sheer mechanical quality of the medium.

III. *Imitation.* From Plato onwards and Aristotle downwards aestheticians have emphasised the place of Imitation in Art. And indeed it is an important element, but not alone in the ways that it has usually been conceived. The aesthetic fact and process of imitation are themselves an imitation of the harmony (which must include a sense of universal kinship) between, every element in a work of art.¹ For imitation is not itself harmony, but the child of harmony by display. The factor of display in art we have just examined; it remains to consider the pattern of imitation, or wheels within wheels: for, even if art is not, as Plato called it, an "imitation of an imitation," it at least contains and evinces imitations of imitations, sometimes in an almost infinite regress.

Let us draw six examples of imitation at random from varied spheres of aesthetic life:—

(i) Ruskin's thick-pointed aphorism that "—as perfect finish belongs to the perfected art, a progressive finish belongs to progressive art,"² shows us imitation in the form of parallelism.

¹ *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, Ch. V, p. 282.

² Cf. : the huge and complex discussions on *Analogy* in Medieval European philosophy.

(ii) Our discussion, in "selectivity" above, based on Maorrón, about the placing of chance and form in a work of art, attains further begetting and refinement if applied to the deliberate planned effects of vague chance found in many Impressionist paintings, or to Debussy's coquetting, Siamese twins of conscious mist and conscious Gallic precision.

(iii) Kant's discussion between "pure" and "adherent" or "conditioned" beauty, however inadequate as a primary law, can with interest be carried down into the molecular spheres of the relationships between the different elements in verbal sound, and in verbal sense, regarded as fodder for poetry.

(iv) In a sense executant art, in music or on the stage, is an imitation of the creative form of the same art. And yet this quality between creative and executant art is imitated, on a different scale, within other arts: for instance, in architecture as between design and execution (though here the fixedness of the result necessitates a narrower sphere of difference between the two than in the time-arts, where the number of possible modes of execution are legion).¹ A less important type of imitation, because more mechanical, may be found in the relation between creating and casting a work of sculpture; on a more complex level than this is the relation between painting and an artistic photographic reproduction of it. Yet another type of relation is that between a painting and an original, artistic photograph of the same subject: in this case, although the contest lies between two separate arts, yet there persists still an element of the creative-executant relationship.²

(v) Within each separate fine art, moreover, there exist a pair of levels, which we may call the Substantival and the Adjectival respectively. When we combine the substantival level of one art with the adjectival level of another, we may attain aesthetic units such as: "the poetical element in music," "the picturesque element in poetry," "the architectural aspect of ballet," "the dramatic aspect of sculpture," and so on. From the above we may derive: "the element in poetry corresponding to the picturesque element in music," "the

¹ Cf. : the medieval distinction of *Actus Primus* and *Actus Secundus*.

² It is worth speculating on the exact difference between two relationships: that of a book to a play to a film, each of which is based on its predecessor in the triad; and that of a book to a play, and to a film, which have been created independently of each other, but based on the same subject.

aspect of ballet corresponding to the architectural aspect of sculpture,, and so on.

(vi) Still greater varieties of level and interchange may be seen in the problem of the following type:—Consider the “Religious elements within, or in relation to,” art. Here is some indication of the possible richness of gradation:—

- (A) art used consciously in the service of religion
 - (a) as a mere assistant in ritual;
 - (b) by reason of its “art-ness” itself;
 - (c) as the servant of a religion without ritual;
- (B) (corresponding uses of religion) religion used consciously in the service of art,
 - (d) as, *e.g.*, a mere “subject” for a picture, or the provider of a libretto or title;
 - (e) by reason of its very “religious-ness” which can serve a useful artistic purpose;
 - (f) as the inspirer (possibly subconscious) of the artist, before any particular work of art has taken shape;
- (C) The division of all the above, (a)-(f), into further sections according to the *aspect* of religion chiefly involved, *e.g.*:—
 - (g) a dogmatic system;
 - (h) a single dogma;
 - (i) a mythological idea uncrystallised into dogma;
 - (j) a piece of ritual;
 - (k) The suggestiveness caused by reference to either (i) a distant religion, or (ii) an aspect of religion which (like many of our oaths) has lost its literal religious significance, but which can resurrect it in a plastic manner and or context;
 - (l) The nearness of the religion concerned to those for whom primarily the work of art in question is intended;
 - (m) The possibility of introducing religion by purely moral or moralistic concepts, or of introducing morality or moralism by means of religious concepts;
 - (n) The relation of the artistic element in religion, *e.g.* in (a) ritual, and (b) a holy scripture,—to art.

With religion we have arrived at the non-artistic aesthetic universe any survey of which (that is, of life itself in its aesthetic aspects),

must of necessity be even more tentative than the descriptions we have just given of art.

For, in life, such elements as are capable of being considered aesthetic or of being components of an aesthetic unit, are seldom gathered together into such concentrated communities of context as are found in works of art ; moreover they lack the specialised (and to that extent definite) quality of art, and thus depend more for their recognition and indeed their very existence, on personal experience and particular opinion.

A kindred event arises in making parallels between the aesthetics of Life and the aesthetics of Art (in fact this is one of the most frequent means used to determine the former.) For, when we talk of " the art of life," we must be selecting a unit in life to be " artistic," and that one may take as basis for ' art ' any one of several elements of art, several artistic processes. And from this fact much confusion has arisen.

The following is a list of some of these elements or processes that are possible synonyms (in practice) for " art " :—

- (i) The conceiving of a work of art ;
- (ii) The process of creating a work of art ;
- (iii) The resulting, completed, work of art ;
- (iv) Art as a moment of a single selection ;
- (v) Art as a process of selection ;
- (vi) Art as taken in relation to science, *i.e.*, emphasising art's " religious " side ;
- (vii) In relation to religion, *i.e.*, emphasising its " scientific " side ;
- (viii) Form as contrasted with content ;
- (ix) Form (i) as equivalent to Form (ii) content ;
- (x) A mechanical basis which is outside actual artistic processes (*e.g.*, MS. paper, its ruling, etc., in music) ;
- (xi) A mechanical basis which is half within, half outside an actual artistic process (*e.g.*, the surface of a canvas (this is not found in all arts)) ;
- (xii) A mechanical basis which is within an actual artistic process (*e.g.*, certain metrical schemes, classical French poetic rules, basic rhythms in music) ;
- (xiii) Particular Arts (as contrasted with each other) ;

- (xiv) The artist himself, and his life, and methods (this is the most spurious of all the forms).

For instance, the Ontological Theory, which argues from the conception of God as the most real being to His necessary existence, has two such distinct aesthetic aspects :—

- (i) For the notion that existence is contained in the conception of the most real being would be valid if the field were the relation of a work of art to its own structure and “ significance ” :
- (ii) If, on the other hand, the field is taken to be the relation of an artist’s conception to his execution, this would scarcely be so.

Let us consider now a few problems in life to which aesthetic significance may be attached, and in regard to which aesthetic research would be of use :

- (i) The question as to which things are most effective when experienced only once, and which gain by precession. In the former case (for instance), certain contracts, visits, revelations, etc.) ; the occasion takes a completed work of art as its model ; in the latter, each become like a single strand combining to form a completed work of art.
- (ii) The beauty of emotions which are gentle, but perceived distinctly.
- (iii) The pleasure of (so-called) platonic ones ; also, of reminiscence of the past rather than participation in a present event.
- (iv) The Laws of Diminishing and of Increasing Returns, as shown prominently in Economics.
- (v) Tolerance and Intolerance ; also, the relationships and adjustments between the two.
- (vi) Inconsistencies in human character, as, respectively :—
 - (a) Conducive to beauty of character ;
 - (b) Needing to be added to, in order to produce beauty ;
 - (c) Tolerant both of beauty and of its absence ;
 - (d) Definitely obstructive of beauty.

- (vii) The relationship of a person to a friend of one of his friends, who is not directly his own friend, provides an instance of the aesthetic significance of lateral, indirect, and suggestive personal relationships.

If A and B are friends, and also B and C, but not A and C directly, then there will come about when A and C meet, special boldnesses (as if they were long acquainted) and also some special reserves (more so than if they had met without the mediation of B).

If, moreover, A and C now meet each other frequently, but always under influence of B, then there is likely to come about between them an unconscious sympathy without intimacy; on its negative side this relationship has been denied the richness of intimacy, while on a possible positive side it represents a stage beyond the necessity for intimacy, a kind of austerity in a realm, not of desire, but of contact. Eventually A and C may both experience of one of the happiest states:—A perfect balance between contentment with regard to the present condition of the relationship, and a prophetic and hopeful sense of the direct intimacy that may yet be—a margin being left for momentary yearnings and possible hopes and suggestions.

Finally, can we not find aesthetic effects in philosophy, in science, in religion?

A typical aesthetic effect in philosophy would seem to be one of Tension, as between the express anti-metaphysical *views* of the contemporary Logical Positives (Carnap, etc.) and the inevitably metaphysical *nature* of such an expression itself.

The aesthetic qualities of scientific and philosophic work appertain to such work as science and philosophy, not as art. Nevertheless, new aesthetic phenomena and types can be discerned through considering the artistic aspects of philosophy or science, just as they can be discerned through the process of translation and comparative identification (of interchange, in fact) between any other aesthetic units.

It may be said that art gives us truth, but unprovable truth; and that Science yields us beauty, but beauty unexpressible.

Not only philosophy and science, but religion also examples of Selection, of Circularity, of Interchange, of Virtuosity, of Compensation, of Wheels within Wheels.

For instance, the selectivities found in connection with the problem of *Evil* range round the following types:—

- (i) Selection of different kinds of evil—moral, intellectual, legal, physical, etc.:—on which to lay theological emphasis.
- (ii) Selection shown by those who *either* do not attribute evil to God, *or* who disbelieve in God because evil prevents their believing in Him as loving: this selection being that of Love as against other Divine attributes;
- (iii) The further selection shown by those who disbelieve in a God of Love, but not in God as such;
- (iv) The selection shown by those who, like the Moslems, divide the world into the faithful (in whose midst evil is scarcely existent) and the non-faithful (among whom, and because of whose infidelity, it is rampant);
- (v) The selection shown by the emphasis on evil rather than on good;
- (vi) The selection shown by the emphasis on certain relations (subordinating ones) of evil to good (as in Christian Orthodoxy) rather than on other possible relations.

And religion abounds in Circularities and compensations. Here are four examples, taken from diverse branches of the religious field:—

- (i) The compensations and circularities shown in the relation between mythological “fairy-tales” and ultimate common-sense and sanity, in one’s acceptance of a religion.
- (ii) Those shown in the alterations, and other relationships, between the sense of God being in the devotee and the devotee being in God.
- (iii) Those shown in the way that asceticism, while renouncing the love of creatures, succeeds in its maturity in loving all things intensely. There is the sense in which *Noli Me Tangere* is somehow the highest contact.
- (iv) “Whose service is perfect freedom.”

Whitehead has well written that “The canons of art are merely the expression, in specialised forms, of the requisites for depth of experience.”

Yet, after all, perhaps the crown—because so conscious—of æsthetic existence, is art. Applying Whitehead's saying, can we not find in the *Maids of Honour*, *Las Meninas*, of Velazquez, the expression in specialised (and vivid, because pictorial) form, the requisites for depth in any artistic achievement ? For in that picture Velazquez has painted himself painting the Infanta, who is indeed "selected" and "displayed," while in so doing he paints the King and Queen in a mirror, for they are in the position of spectators, and see themselves reflected, "imitated" ; and by the mirror is a courtier in an open doorway, which seems in the same perspective as the mirror, such is art's fusion of reality and metaphor ; and are not the two dwarfs symbolic of art, canonising the ungainly ? is not the pensive dog a key from which the picture's vivacity grows, and thus a pattern of art, her high vocation kissing her high gaiety ? finally there abound pictures and mirrors, while the doorway in which the courtier stands itself reveals another brighter mirror ; yet the lesser canvas is not shown only its back, on the greater ; and all is royal.

WHAT IS SURREALISM ?

S. N. RAY, M.A., PH.D.

THE term Surrealism which obviously means super-realism is not widely known in this country. Moreover its implications are not so simple as its English synonym seems to suggest. The French word *Surréalisme* whose Anglicised form is being used here was first employed by Guillaume Apollinaire, Parisian poet and critic, in 1919, but did not rise into popularity till the end of the second decade of this century when it began to acquire an increasingly growing connotation. It is still in a state of mobility and to describe its varied significances is no easy job. It is an all-embracing movement and has brought about an attitude of revolution in politics, society, literature and art. It seeks to give a new basis to our thought and life. Though it is a modern movement, the Surrealists claim kinship with Swift and Blake, Chateaubriand and Hugo and discover their own characteristics in Shakespeare and Dante. The Marquis de Sade, whose name has given rise to the expression Sadism, is one of their spiritual forbears. Poe in adventure and Baudlaire in morals were Surrealists. Surrealism has discarded old ideas of morality, sexual behaviour, marriage and family life. Its conception of reality is fundamentally different from the traditional one. Political freedom is not enough for it ; it aims at the liberation of man from his own self. The Surrealists have made a new use of the well-known aphorism of Rousseau: "Man was born free but is everywhere in chains." The chains are not forged with steel but are made up of those impalpable influences which lurk at the back of mind and shape our thought: Man is a bondsman of his pre-conceived ideas and environment. From his childhood, he has come to believe that the world he sees is the only real world. A sensuous creature, he is incapable of understanding things that are beyond the senses. As with Wordsworth, so with the Surrealist, the world is a prison-house where he is fettered with the chains of second-hand and second-rate ideas, the preconceptions and prejudices that go by the name of "civilization." He is, however, not without his moments of freedom which he enjoys in the world of dream. It is curious that though half of our life is spent in it, we attach so very little importance to dream. We regard

it as a useless part of our life, an escape from reality, a thing for the self-indulgent and lazy and for which a successful man of the world has no need. Surrealism is relentless in its opposition to reason and the chief aim of its activities is the freedom of imagination from its bondage. Poetry to-day is the work of a few because the imagination of the average man is in chains. When it will be free everyone will be a poet. "Poetry," as Lautréamont, a well-known French writer, has said, "should be made by all. Not one."

The scope of Surrealism has been widened by the researches of Freud. The sub-conscious in our mental life had hitherto been ignored. But modern psychology has hurled a bomb-shell in the midst of our cherished ideas and demonstrated that the greater part of our life and behaviour remains unexplained without reference to the hidden currents of thought that constantly rise from the region of the sub-conscious.

André Briton, the most prominent figure of the school, has defined Surrealism as "Pure psychic automatism, by which it is intended to express, verbally, in writing, or by other means, the real process of thought, thought's dictation, in the absence of all control exercised by the reason and outside all aesthetic or moral preoccupations." According to the *Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, Surrealism rests on the belief in the superior reality of certain forms of association neglected heretofore; in the omnipotence of the dream and in the disinterested play of thought. It tends definitely to do away with all other psychic mechanisms and to substitute itself for them in the solution of the principal problems of life. Thus there is no sphere of life which Surrealism does not seek to test with the discoveries of psychology. The fashionable theories of marriage, society and politics have been demolished and new approaches to the problems made. It demands maximum amount of liberty in every field including love and sexuality.

Non-conformism being the dominant note of Surrealism, one can very well imagine what its attitude should be towards literature. Here it seeks to nullify everything that is regarded as traditional and accepted. Logical precision and coherence is one of the conditions of good expression. But the Surrealist thinks differently. According to him the proper use of language is made only when it is spontaneous and automatic rather than logical and conscious. So when one replies to another irrespective of what the latter has said, one makes a

Surrealist use of language in conversation. Similarly unpremeditated images, like "the day was folded like a white cloth," or, chance combinations, like the meeting of a sewing machine and an umbrella on a dissecting table are apt instances of Surrealism. The old world prophesies of oracles in a mood of frenzy and the complete state of abstraction attained by men under the stress of profound passions are excellent examples of this mood. Defying the tyranny of logic, the Surrealists have refused to acknowledge any such thing as abnormality in mental life. Dream, lunacy, hysteria, all reveal some truth unknown to our ordinary processes of thought. It is no wonder that they attach to lunacy some special significance and are indignant at the treatment lunatics receive from society. They advocate a thorough reform of the asylums, for they consider lunacy not so much as a disease as an abstraction in which the subject is very near to true vision. They are not only interested in this but in that other form of insanity which is responsible for suicide. In the very first number of *The Surrealist Revolution*, the organ of the movement, the question, "Is Suicide a Solution?" was asked in all seriousness and at the foot of every other page there were press-cuttings relative to suicide. They celebrated the anniversary of hysteria, held frequent sésances and regarded clairvoyance with extraordinary wonder. An incoherent answer to a query gives them clue to the unfathomable mysteries of mind. For every act and word that is spontaneous, unpremeditated, and irrelevant, they have some mystical curiosity.

There is no doubt that Surrealism, like Dadaism¹ was the result of spiritual unrest which upset the mental equilibrium of the post-War world. Dadaism, of course, was an ephemeral manifestation whereas Surrealism has brought into existence a new outlook on life, a new approach to the problems that have aroused the questioning spirit of man in every age. This has led to new experiments with life, literature and art and departure from the well-known grooves of thought. Surrealist activity aims at the restoration of mental balance and establishment of political and spiritual peace. The answer to the question however has been sought through Karl Marx's philosophy of Dialectic Materialism. Like the Communist, the Surrealist does not allow the existence of private property, family

¹ *Vide Modern Review*, Oct., 1940, an article on the subject by the present writer.

life and the barriers between countries giving rise to eternal feuds, frequent wars, massacre, pillage and unspeakable horrors that brutalize the human soul. The second number of *The Surrealist Revolution* came out with an article by Bréton, "The Last Strike," and a declaration headed : "Open the Prisons. Disband the Army." The third number was more sensational than the previous ones in that it constituted a challenge to all accredited authorities. In this appeared letters to the Rectors of the Universities of Europe and Directors of Lunatic Asylums, addresses to the Pope and Dalai Lama asking them to set about their work from a new angle of vision. As Surrealism recognizes no private property, no family, no nationalistic state and no political frontiers, it has been characterized as anti-patriotic and subversive. "The Revolution Now and Ever" was the title of a manifesto issued with the fifth number of its journal which denounced the imperialist war in which France was then engaged against Morocco. It must, however, be remembered that though the principles of Marxism gave Surrealism unity and purpose, it was always viewed with suspicion in Moscow.

Between the years 1925 and 1929 a number of works was published and paintings exhibited in which the spirit of revolt reached a height of expression never before equalled. They refused to respect any inhibition imposed on thought by moral, social and political considerations. Thus René Crevel's *L'Esprit contre la Raison* Robert Desnos's *La Liberté ou l'Amour* put up a strong plea for the emancipation of thought and love from the bondage of reason and social conventions. Every issue of *The Surrealist Revolution* contained what is called "automatic texts." An automatic text is of the nature of a monologue in which the thought is spoken without any restraint. It pours out spontaneously so that the speaker's critical faculty does not exercise any control on his expression. The text thus obtained is claimed to be more striking and picturesque than what is regarded as normal writing. In this the Surrealist closely resembles the Spiritualist and believes, like the latter, in mediums and séances. According to him the thought that proceeds from the sub-conscious reveals the truth in a greater measure than our syllogistic way of thinking. This explains why Surrealist poetry has gone a different way and why it is so unintelligible. A few lines from Salvador Dali's *Love and Memory* will serve as a good illustration of this type of poetry :

There are things as still as a loaf.

In the endearing districts
 but not excessively endearing
 demarked very quickly and politely
 predisposed to colonial influences.
 a mask
 gathered in like a loan was
 practically
 upset
 without getting mixed up
 with
 this colonial district
 where
 there were
 several departmental
 wands
 etc., etc., etc.

It is evident that the poet is not anxious for any sense. A school of modern writers say that meaning is not the essential thing to be demanded of poetry. They lay more emphasis on (sharing the mood and emotions of the poet through his images and symbols. Innovation in technique) which Gerard Manley Hopkins taught the modern world is not within the reach of every rhymester who burns the mid-night oil nor the originality of Eliot and Pound. In consequence, we are presented with publications in the name of poetry, which, though highly praised by the coteries of the poets, are regarded by people brought up in the old school as worse than abortion. There is no doubt that modern literature has been greatly influenced by Surrealism. But so far it has given rise to chaotic effects. For beneficent results, we shall have to wait for some future time when the researches of Freud will interest not only faddists and cranks but also people of sound mind and intelligence.

On account of their hatred for the existing order, the Surrealists have introduced innovations even in their games and proverbs. The following are some of the examples of the latter:—

The further it is from the urn, the longer the beard.
 Beat your mother while she is young.
 All that fattens is not soft.
 A corset in July is worth a horde of rats.

The Surrealist game is also equally ingenious. Four or five persons sit round a table and pass a sheet of paper, each one writing in turn, the first an adjective, the second a noun, the third a verb, the fourth an adjective, the fifth a noun. In this way complete sentences are obtained. Obviously it is a harmless game but the Surrealists attach some mystical importance to it believing it to be the unconscious revelation of the group mind.

The Surrealist energy has expressed itself also in painting in its own characteristic way. It has introduced in art what is called *collage*, a sort of pictorial representation in which parts of various pictures are assembled. Thus illustrations even from calendars, cards and cigarettes are used for this purpose. The nature of Surrealist painting would be clear if we consider the works of Picasso, the originator of Cubism, Chiricò and Max Ernst whose position in the modern art world is very high. According to them, Surrealism represents the point at which poetry and painting merge into each other. If poetry can be made by all, it should be within the power of all to make pictures. All that is needed for the Surrealist work of art is an unshackled imagination and a few materials, *viz.*, paper or cardboard, pencil, scissors, paste, an illustrated magazine and a catalogue or newspaper. The marvellous is within everyone's reach. *Collage* and *papiers collés* are born of this idea. These are shapes cut out of newspapers and catalogues incorporated in a design or a picture and thus they combine the reality of everyday world with that constructed by the mind. But it would be wrong to suppose that Surrealist painting is more or less mechanical, for Chirico is the painter of those great deserted towns which we see in dreams. Max Ernst produced by rubbing paper with charcoal across the uneven surfaces of wood and stone, his mythology of birds, suns and infernal demigods, flowers and birds of dream. Man Ray caught the world of shadows by the lens of his camera and raised photography to the dignity of painting. But the school is criticised for its tendency to do away with technical skill, "fine drawing" and craftsmanship.

From the foregoing paragraphs it would be clear that Surrealism is a school of thought that attempts a revaluation of old beliefs, traditions and canons of taste. It seeks to revise the old scales of value in every field, reject worn-out customs and institutions and construct a form of society in which men and women will be able to make full use of all their faculties.

GESTALT PSYCHOLOGY AND LITERARY CRITICISM

AMİYAKUMAR SEN, M.A.

I

DURING the nineteenth century analytical psychology dominated the entire field of research. It used introspection as the only method of investigation, and sought to break up complex mental states into their constituent elements. It regarded human experience as built up out of simple sensations combined according to the laws of association. It was, however, observed by opponents of this school that the elements are not given in experience. They have to be separated out, and, as such, are themselves mental constructs. They are artificial, and so, "the whole analytic-synthetic problem in psychology is manufactured and not real." As early as 1890 psychological studies claimed to have discovered a "form quality" or "a property possessed by a whole which is not possessed by the parts making up the whole." It was pointed out that the "same patterns, forms, or figures could be formed by different elements" and "different patterns of the same elements." Psychologists of those days could not reconcile this "form quality" with their own system and, consequently, there soon grew up a school which sought to replace the old "element" by "gestalt" or "configuration."

Literature according to this school is an essentially new interpretation of life and criticism has to take into account the results of psychological investigations into reasoning. Their interpretation of the term "reasoning" is, however, different from the meaning commonly attached to it. The term "implies that past experiences have, in some way, been manipulated and that new relationships have arisen as a result." The reasoning process consists in seeing solutions to problems, and psychologists, in order to get an adequate idea of its nature, must enquire how such solutions are arrived at. Experiments, according to this school, have shown that 'mental trial and error' or 'past experience' cannot overcome the difficulty.

The mind of man, when he faces any problem, is in a state of confusion. The elements of the solution are, indeed, there before him but they are all in a state of chaos. In every problem there is a gap and tensions are generated in the individual mind which are not relieved till this gap is satisfactorily filled. Much now depends upon how he looks at the problem or what he considers to be the nature of the difficulty he has to overcome. It determines the direction, that is, the way the problem is attacked. If right, it leads to the solution: if wrong, man finds himself unsuccessful. "The Gestalt school of psychology describes the solution of a problem as the sudden formation of a Gestalt—a configuration, pattern, or a grouping. The disconnected experiences are integrated, and there at once flashes into the mind of man a definite pattern. The chaotic elements of experience fall into their proper places in this solution-organisation and, as they do so, they seem to gather round themselves a new meaning and a new significance. The elements of the solution-organisation had, in the past formed parts of other patterns and thus gained particular meanings. These habitual meanings might prevent them from becoming parts of a new grouping. They must be broken down before they can be formed into a new Gestalt. It is direction which, alone, can help on the formation of the correct configuration and inhibit others. "The elements which will satisfactorily fill in the gap are thus facilitated and all others kept out.

II

An unformed mass of stimuli rouses a mass of sensations a part of which is combined into a definite group while the rest "fall back and become the back-ground." The organism makes out this configuration and, in its creation, feelings of like or dislike often play a prominent part. The scientist tries to eliminate these affective elements as much as possible. Great Art, however, must always have a strong emotional appeal, consequently the artist cannot, and does not ignore, far less, reject, the strong subjective element which, "due to past conditioning normally exists in our interpretation of experience;" for it is as much a part of the data out of which the pattern is formed as sensations. Out of these data, subjective and objective, the artist or poet makes his interpretation, his pattern, his configuration. For his own experience no concrete medium is necessary; but he might desire to communicate it to his fellow-men. He has then to express

himself. He must present it in a grouping of symbols—words, colours, light and shade, musical notes—which act as *stimuli* to rouse in us similar, if not the same, configuration as experienced and formed by the artist. Great Literature is “a highly desirable interpretation” adequately communicated. A poet must arrange his symbols in such a way that his readers might form within themselves a similar experience. “If a writer has a great interpretation to communicate and his communication is inadequate no one will completely experience his interpretation. He is not an artist. If a writer makes only commonplace interpretations yet possesses an extremely adequate method of communication he too fails of artistry; for it is the successful combination of both factors that produces great works of art.”

The artist's configuration is the result of his confronting a particular situation. It is, more often than not, an unusual interpretation. Individuals, however, approach the art-work without actually passing through a similar experience. Their habitual and common configurations cling to them. The artist, in order that his work might evoke similar patterns in individuals, has to break down these configurations by skilful use of symbols. Language (in the case of poetry) must be arranged so dexterously that open-minded readers will see the artist's interpretations in spite of their ordinary and usual groupings. A proper use of direction will be of very great assistance to the artist so far as this question is concerned. Applying one direction after another he may gradually break down the inhibiting influences and help the reader on to the creation of the correct patterns. “Insight is the experience of the sudden formation of grouping the elements of which come from parts of different unified past experiences. A writer cannot achieve insight for the reader, the reader must do that for himself. He can, however, furnish the reader with facts, with proper directions, with adequate emphasis on important elements and thus bring the reader to the threshold of a new grouping.”

Imagination has, very often, been regarded as the ability to represent combinations of past experiences. This power technically called “imagery” is over-emphasised in psychological enquiries regarding the nature of imagination. Gestalt psychology, however, points out that mere “imagery” cannot produce art. Dreams and reveries are not art for, although they contain many images, these images are very rarely combined into desirable patterns. Imagination is creative and because it is creative, it implies something

more than mere combination and recalling of past experience. Creativeness in art involves a reorganisation, rather, an integration of experience.

Our experience is based upon sensations. The sense-organs are stimulated by the environment and the sensations that accompany such stimulation are felt as coming from external objects. "We experience the sensory qualities not as qualities of our sense-organs but rather as qualities of the stimulating object." They form the objective data of an experience. Along with these sensations there often arise vague and unlocalised masses of sensory data derived from changes in heart-rate, blood-circulation, etc. They are "the richest when we have affective or emotional experience." Unlike objective sensations which are very common to the race these sensory data which accompany emotional experiences depend on individuals. The same stimulus does not produce the same experience in the same individual at different times nor in different individuals at the same time. Being indirectly produced and, depending as they do on individuals, such indefinite and variable sensory data can be easily differentiated from objective sensations. Psychologists call them subjective.

The only difference between the two types of imagination—scientific and artistic lies in the nature of the data or elements integrated. The scientist uses objective sensations. Darwin had accumulated a large mass of facts, disconnected and inorganised which was without any real significance. The Malthusian theory seemed to open his eyes all on a sudden. It acted as "a proper direction," integrated his "great mass of inorganised data," and invested them with new meanings.

Creative art concerns itself with beauty. "A thing is beautiful or ugly not in its own right but because of the subjective reaction to it." Values have to depend upon "personal reactions to an object" rather than upon the object itself. Creative art has, consequently, to use subjective sensations; and "an artistic interpretation is a configuration largely made up of subjective data."

The inspiration of the artist can now be explained. "Certain experiences have been thought about; the artist has felt a problem; he has had vague reactions" and then all on a sudden some little thing integrates these feelings into a new interpretation. A new pattern flashes into his mind and sets him working. He calls

this inspiration. As we think in symbols such new patterns very often appear as integrations of symbols. Thus a Coleridge has the *Kubla Khan* written for him and a musician finds his melodies ready-made.

No artistic configuration can be wholly subjective. There must be some elements to which subjective data can adhere, which they can colour. Not to speak of a novel or a drama in which the objective story element plays an important part, even lyrics must have some objective data to give their feelings a solid basis. As a matter of fact, patterns usually consist of both kinds of data ; our classifications are largely artificial and "in designating the nature of any specific interpretation, the best we can do is to say that the data are essentially subjective or objective."

III

"All artistic configurations consist of subjective and objective sensations. When they are integrated and organised, thoughts and ideas are experienced." Criticism should have a utilitarian outlook. It should try to find out the value of these thought-patterns. It must ask "what difference a thought-configuration will make if it is acted upon." For purposes of such an estimate it is convenient to consider separately the objective and subjective data. The objective data may be called ideas and the subjective, interpretations.

Ideas have value if they are true. False ideas, because they are out of harmony with accepted facts, can but produce undesirable consequences. Contradictory ideas lead to confusion and, if acted upon, to painful experiences. Consistency or harmony, therefore, is another characteristic feature of a valuable idea. On a deeper analysis, it is found that true ideas are often dependent on various factors for their desirable consequences. Sometimes a true idea (like "evolution") is accepted by some and rejected by others. It has desirable consequences for these who accept it. It results in a "better understanding of life and the universe." When accepted by a large majority, it influences scientific and other investigations and, by reason of the progress it brings about, benefits even those who do not accept it. Sometimes, again, an idea ("Mendelian heredity") remains unnoticed for many years because its significance has not been caught by men. So long, however, as it is not definitely

utilised to integrate disconnected masses of materials into an organised whole it can have no value.

Ideas which explain "the facts of the day" but are afterwards found to be false may, for the time being, have desirable consequences. They not only harmonize disconnected experiences but may also lead to the discovery of a more satisfactory theory. "Truth is entirely a relative matter. One idea acts better than another and fits other facts better than another."

Ideas may be classified as having more or less desirable consequences. Generalisations, when acted upon, have greater consequences than particulars. Literature worth the name raises universal problems. Its personages and incidents might be particular but they are mere instruments utilised to create these problems and illustrate their consequences. It is, however, critics with a larger back-ground and subtler reflective powers who can fully comprehend the universal problems symbolised in great literature. There are also other problems, decidedly temporal in character, which "have great consequences for limited groups or in a limited period of history or in a certain locality." Such ideas have also value and can be universalised when their significance in the evolution of cultures and civilisations is brought out. An idea to be valuable must also be new, it must cover facts not interpreted before in a similar manner.

Interpretations or subjective ideas have the same criteria of evaluation as objective ideas. They must be "consistent with other subjective ideas." An interpretation to be true must be in harmony with other interpretations. Conflicting emotions, like contradictory ideas, lead to painful experiences. Not only must emotions be integrated but they must also be attuned to "the fundamental desires of the human nature. They have always a natural basis and so cannot be in a direction contrary to the more fundamental responses of the organism." These are much the same in individuals, but education, nurture, social ideals and behaviours and various other factors make the emotional life of individual and groups divergent. Owing to this divergent nature of emotional life, individuals and groups cannot react in the same manner to the interpretations they come in contact with. A certain subjective configuration, a pattern, may be consistent with the emotional life of one group and not with that of another. Hence it is necessary to assimilate the emotional patterns of a people before their literature can be fully appreciated.

The consequence of an interpretation must also be valuable. It must help to develop and integrate our emotional responses to an objective world and "break down conflicting emotion or emotions which are undesirable." It must also be universal in character, must get beyond particulars and present a new view-point. Like the objective, the subjective data can have no meaning unless they are integrated and organised. "To have a mass of conflicting impulses is not to have a clear understanding of one's emotional experience any more than it is to experience a group of contradictory objective facts." We must experience something definite, feel something definite. This experience of the integration of subjective data, this understanding is absolutely necessary for efficient communication. As in the case of ideas, interpretations are communicated by symbols—words, musical notes, etc. Words have feeling-tones about them but it is often felt that language, referring as it does primarily to objective data, is inadequate to express emotional experience. Hence the use of rhythm in poetry, for it is an admitted fact that musicians can communicate, through melody, interpretations that defy "verbalisation."

IV

In the case of literature the artist has to express his interpretation of experience by means of language-patterns. Words are the materials of a sentence. They must be chosen in such a manner as to communicate, clearly and adequately, to the reader elements which, when integrated, enable him to form the same, or rather similar, patterns as experienced by the writer. Objective sensations are different from subjective data and, as such, have to be expressed differently and, as a matter of fact, artists have developed a definite language, for communicating each type of data.

Words are, accordingly, denotative and connotative. Denotative words are those which "indicate precisely and accurately definite elements in the configuration." The scientist eliminates emotional reactions from his statements. The experiences he objectifies or describes are definite and clear and so the words he uses are denotative. The artist, however, has to evaluate and interpret some less definite inner experience. The pattern that he seeks to communicate blends subjective with objective data. Obviously, his task is subtler and more difficult than the scientist's. But he has an instrument

ready at hand. Emotional experience, specially those of a fundamental character, remains constant. Words which express them are, more or less, old and, during their long usage, they gradually gather round themselves emotional associations. Such words might be designated as connotative or "emotive." They imply something more than their primary meaning. They are suggestive and "stimulate the reader to fill in many of the elements of configuration for himself." The poet uses them to communicate the subjective elements in his configurations.

Figures of speech also are utilised by the poet and the literary artist, for they express "attitudes and opinions rather than objective references"; and, as such, "evoke in the reader many elements not actually found in language patterns."

The sentence is a "meaningful organisation" of elements. The meaning of its elements, *i.e.*, words, depends entirely upon the significance of the sentence. The words have to be so organised in a sentence that its meaning might be, clearly and with precision, communicated to the reader. But the sentence itself is an element in a larger configuration, *viz.*, the paragraph, which in its turn is a part of another organisation. The art of writing, therefore, is cumulative process—the building of meaning upon meaning in order to establish an idea or an interpretation in the mind of the reader.

The integrative process is the most fundamental fact in artistic creation. "The form is mechanic," observes Coleridge, "when on any given material we impress a predetermined form, not necessarily arising out of the properties of the material. The organic form, on the other hand, is innate; it shapes as it develops itself from within." Rules, by themselves, cannot ensure artistic unity. They might be valuable generalisations from artistic practice but, being external, they have no ultimate authority. "The literary critic must evaluate writing in the light of the experiential unity it produces. Further, he must examine writing to determine the extent to which the writer has skilfully arranged his materials by means of establishing and maintaining the proper direction, in order to induce the reader to experience his (the writer's) interpretation and no other."

The artist's personality is also expressed in his art. In literature, apart from the integration of experience and the technique of its communication, one can find the presence of certain other ele-

ments which exhibit the individual peculiarities of the writer. Such variations "depend upon the individual's freedom rather than on his ideas or skill." They form "the personal element" in writing. Criticism of literature, based entirely upon the critic's reactions to this personal element, has no objective standard of reference; and such criticism is a mere expression of personal likes and dislikes. "Taste" often helps a critic in his judgment of literature; but, being absolutely subjective and extremely variable, it cannot play any prominent part in literary criticism.

The critic must further remember that writing is a unitary organisation in which the idea, the technique and the personal element have all been fused together. As such, it need not have any of the characteristic features of these parts any more than common salt need have the characteristics of sodium and chlorine. The whole is always greater than the mere sum of its parts.

Over-emphasis on what has been called "style" is the result of inadequate appreciation of the function of criticism. Most examinations of style regard certain qualities as desirable, "these have been arrived at by finding the common characteristics in desirable styles." Before such isolation of desirable characteristics, 'good' styles must have been distinguished from 'bad' ones. How, it might very well be asked, were they so differentiated? What standard was used? Was not that standard far more fundamental than such generalisations from desirable styles? Are not new methods of writing developed with the change in the mental configuration of writers? Can they be judged with reference to these 'qualities' found desirable in the past? On deeper analysis it is found that the word "style" is used indiscriminately to denote any one of the three elements of writing. But all these factors are inter-dependent and no true evaluation can be made on the basis of one as isolated from others. If we consider some of these qualities it will be apparent that they enlighten us very little concerning the true nature of writing. To say that a writing lacks clarity is to say nothing, for lack of clarity may be a characteristic of the idea or of the technique. "Since good writing is the product of a clear idea and effective communication, no specificity is found in such labels as 'clear,' 'forceful,' 'sincere,' etc." "Writing can be analysed, understood and evaluated as a whole with no reference whatsoever to style." Criticism should always evaluate

literature according as it fulfils its distinct purpose, *viz.*, the formation in the mind of the reader of a configuration similar to that experienced by the writer. In order to be successful, a critic must have a clear and definite appreciation of the idea, the objective data of the writer's configuration. He must also be able to experience the artist's interpretation, his subjective data. Not only so, he must know the foundations of effective communication and recognise its degree of efficacy in presenting the artist's configuration. "Effective evaluation comes from the critic's own knowledge and sincerity and from an evaluation of each of the three elements which make up the whole of writing."

V

Great literature, according to the critics of this school, is "a highly desirable interpretation adequately communicated," but their description of how this interpretation is formed makes the art-process more intellectual than it really is. The artist is represented as facing a problem. He thinks about certain experiences. The configuration that he seeks to communicate might be revealed to him in a flash of insight as it were, but it is nevertheless the solution of his problem. Does the artist or the poet really face any problem before giving expression to his experience or does he communicate any configuration because it solves his problems? Is it not rather the case that his pattern "swims into his ken" from beneath the threshold of his consciousness as "a thing of beauty" which is "a joy for ever?" A pattern is valuable to the poet or the artist not because it gives him intellectual satisfaction by solving a problem but because it satisfies his aesthetic self. The intrusion of the problem and its solution motif in art leads to didacticism which is not art. The experiences of poets like Wordsworth, Shelley and others plainly show that art is far removed from the intellectual processes of the human mind. The theories they built up on the basis of their experiences might be wrong but the experiences are there and they must be adequately accounted for by any system of thought, psychological or otherwise, which presumes to explain the art-process.

It has been asserted that the artist or the poet after forming his interpretation or configuration does not require any concrete

medium for his own experience. It is only when he wants to communicate this pattern to others that he has to present it in a grouping of symbols. This view loses sight of the fact that art is as much self-expression as communication. When the artist experiences a pattern (to use the language of Gestalt psychology) his experience is not fully consummated so long as it is not objectified. The concrete objectification of experience is necessary even for the satisfaction of the artist. One may not go as far as Croce and regard art as intuition-expression but the fact remains that intuition always struggles into expression. And it is in this expression that it gains definiteness.

If the poet communicates merely a pattern revealed to him, literature becomes the representation of reality in its static aspect. It cannot give us the dynamism of life around us. Its world becomes dead and cold. However great the integration of experience might be, if the poet has to describe it in words he has to enumerate one after another its different aspects. He has to render the co-existent by means of the successive. The inevitable result of such an attempt would be a blurred and confused image. Lessing has pointed out in his *Laocoon* that literature, by reason of its materials and its mode of expression, has to be differentiated from other types of art. Not merely the "moment eternalised" but the gradual development and evolution of a mood, a character or a scene is also the proper subject-matter of literature. It is, therefore, not one single configuration that the poet communicates but a series of successive configurations, and the problem of communicating them is far more complex than it is represented to be.

They have not also adequately differentiated between artistic and other configurations. A configuration of concepts cannot be regarded as artistic because art is concerned with concrete experiences expressed through concrete imagery. A philosopher, for instance, may give us a complete configuration of his idea of the universe; that will not be art but philosophy pure and simple. The poet may not give us any such scheme of concepts, but if he expresses through images the concrete experiences of his life he is an artist.

In the analysis of the poet's configuration, again, the critics seem to lay equal emphasis on the subjective and the objective elements. Although they differentiate between the scientist's and the artist's configuration and assert that "an artistic interpretation

is largely made up of subjective data " they do not recognise the fact that in literature, specially in poetry, the world of reality has significance only in so far as it acts as a scaffolding for the emotional experiences of the poet. The poet and even the dramatist create what is after all a " mock-world." It is in this mock-world that the poet's emotions and interpretations are either directly expressed or objectified in the characters or situations that he conjures up by his imagination. It is the "interpretations" rather than the "ideas" which are of supreme importance both to the poet and to his readers.

Literature, again, is essentially subjective. Even in the story and the drama it is the artist's personality which clings like an aroma to the world that he creates. The characters he creates are stamped with his own self. The incidents take their significance from his own outlook on life. The world-order he represents is instinct with his own ideas and ideals. Shakespeare's *Othello* lives in the tragic world of Shakespeare and develops according to Shakespeare's own ideas of human character and human types. To ignore this all-important aspect of literature so as to relegate this personal element to a subordinate position in the world of art argues little appreciation of the true significance of art.

In their representation of the poet and artist, the critics of this school seem to regard him as absolutely isolated from the environment. But they do not consider the influence of the social ego on the mind of the artist. Man in relation to society, acting on and acted on by the social forces, is the proper subject both of literature and of criticism, and we cannot understand the true significance of art without reference to this social being, the artist. As a matter of fact no communication is possible unless the reader and the artist participate in the same social ego. Symbols are significant both to the reader and to the poet when they have common agreed meanings. Their analysis of the process of artistic communication is incomplete without proper consideration of this common social ego. Although the Gestalt School of Criticism makes some real contribution to critical thought by laying emphasis on the integrating principle in art and the aspect of artistic communication its theory is defective because it ignores important aspects of the art-process.

SOME CURRENTS OF HINDI AND ENGLISH LITERATURES

LALITA PRASAD SUKUL, M.A.

THEY say human nature is the same everywhere. This presents before us a problem of psycho-analysis, i.e., a scientific examination of the motives, passions, thoughts and feelings of men. The universality of human sentiments is an outcome of such an examination, and even commonsense would lead to the same conclusion ; because a man would perhaps naturally act in the same manner under the same circumstances, whatever part of the world he may come from. There may be a difference of style or method or even of time ; but ultimately the results must be the same. This ' sameness ' of human nature can be best examined in studying the ' currents of any two great literatures. After all a literature is a channel through which the pent-up spirit of an age manifests itself ; and the energy of the race discharges itself. The thoughts and feelings, aspirations and ideals, doubts and struggles, faith and hope reveal the complexity and intensity of an epoch through its literature alone :

It is well known that literary influences do introduce new currents of tastes which carry even the most independent writers along with them. And often the influences that most profoundly affect literature are not literary : they are influences which belong not to books and scholarship but to general life, politics and society. Whatever brings fresh interests and ideas into the life of an age, whatever tends to modify its ways of thought and feeling and to change its attitude towards men and things must of necessity enter as a vital factor into the making of its literature. We must never think of a book as though it were written outside the conditions of time and space. We must think of it as the work of a man who living in a certain age was affected according to the nature of his own personality by the atmosphere and the movements of that age. But then in its own turn literature has also got its hand in moulding the age, the society and the times.

The same is the relation of literature with an individual. Although Taine says "the individual is subservient to the 'Time Spirit,' is completely a sample of the race and the epoch," yet, I believe, a really great man is as much the creator as he is the creature of the time in which he lives, moves and breathes. In this respect Goethe's maxim 'every man is the citizen of his age as well as of his country'—is much more to the point.

Although we have decided not to consider the outward literary garb for the present, yet the rational importance of a language necessitates a passing consideration of its growth. From the very beginning of our study we find striking similitudes in the two literatures: and this adds to the interest of the subject-matter.

700 A.D. has been fixed by some scholars to be the birth date of Hindi.

The older opinions about the growth of Hindi were that it was directly a degenerate and corrupt form of Sanskrit. Thinkers of this school did not take into consideration the other two stages, namely, the Prakrit and the Apabhramsa. But a modern linguist knows that Hindi is the most natural evolution from the Apabhramsa which was in vogue after the Prakrit stage.

The first productions of Hindi literature were the very best specimen of heroic poetry. The whole of Raso literature abounds in heroic sentiments. If Chanda wrote his Prithwi Raj Raso, at least seven more Rasos were written by other poets like Jagnik and Raghupati.

Looking to the social and political conditions of both the countries we find the level was almost equal. In India if one clan of the Rajputs was ready to pounce upon the other, in England too, the Barons of this age were not less turbulent. If India was not free from foreign invasions, England was still less free. The period of the beginning has always been unpeaceful with every nation: and it was so with us. Such a warry atmosphere could not be suitable for any other type of literature except that of the heroic. But in the general delineation of themes we do perceive some difference. For instance the Raso literature of India is not merely a collection of eulogistic tales of the kings and heroes. They also contain the valuable history of the times. But on the other hand the English literature of that period is little more than mere tales.

In connection with the Raso literature some people thought the mohamadan invasions to be the cause of its production. If it were

so there would have been no chance for the production of Jagnik's *Alhakhand* in *Bundelkhand* which remained unaffected by mohamadan invasions for so many years to come. This fact well refutes the above theory. As a matter of fact it was the Rajput 'temper' responsible for the production of this class of literature.

This vast period of so many centuries was hardly over when the conditions began to change. In England the foreign dominance was being replaced by the government of the people; and in India the foreigners, i.e., the muslims were coming in to replace the Rajputs. This effected a change in politics, society and in religion alike. In this moment of change Chaucer was born in England and his life itself was a witness to so many important changes. By the time Chaucer could hold his pen, Renaissance with the spirit of 'Humanism' had secured its firm hold in the country, and with the new learning of Renaissance and the influx of a fresh and very different spirit, came in the quickened sense of beauty, the delight in life and the free secular spirit which continued to appear tremendously in English literature and in the words of Emile Legouis "all the writers of this time reveal some aspect of contemporary life and of prevailing feeling and thought."

Now if we look to the conditions of Northern India, the chief centre of our literary activities, the changes in the social and religious conditions were not less remarkable. Dis-satisfaction against political, religious and social corruptions was one of the chief forces that inspired the sects of Ramanand, Nanak and Gorakh. Social reform was one of the features of the Vaishnavism of Ramanand. This developed still more in the hands of Kabir. The whole literature of this period reflects the religious and social conditions of our country. Besides these few homogenous religious sects a new branch was developed under the Mohamadan influence and it was of 'Sufism.' It had its very mystic interpretations of thoughts and a very complex machinery of practical application. Mulla Daud, one of our first Mohamadan poets was a follower of this new religion. In his love-romance '*Nurakhanda*' he gave vent to some of his Sufistic fancies. Thus a new type of 'love-romance' was introduced in our literature which later on developed very well at the hands of Jayasi, Kutuban and Usman. These love-romances were more or less allegorical and in this much they were different from those of Chaucer. But even in England these Chaucerian romances developed into allegories in the hands of Spencer in the early sixteenth century. His '*Faery Queen*'

may be cited as an example. But let no one think that at this stage there was no difference between the allegories of India and those of England. They differed from each other at least in this respect that the English allegories were chiefly ethical while in India they were metaphysical. In spite of this slight difference we perceive an inherent similitude in both and we might well say that both these currents were the outcome of a religious revival.

The fifteenth century opens with a new and very important chapter of life of the Englishman and of an Indian alike. With its novelty all around we cannot help seeing in it the marks of the old foundation under the entire fabric that was erected now. Only a little above we have seen that in the times of Chaucer 'Humanism' had its sway all over England; now again a still newer influence was brought in by Wyatt and Surrey from Italy. It was a love poetry or 'amourist' poetry as it was called which Petrarch and his followers had made popular and with it the form called the sonnet. The publication of Tottel's Miscellany—a collection of songs and sonnets in 1557—marks a definite beginning of the new era of love-lyrics in English literature and we see the subsequent age abounding in such a poetry.

The above state of affairs was equally applicable to the Hindi world, where, only a little while ago, we had seen the establishment of Vaishnavism and Shaivism in their various forms. But the times were not quite favourable to Shaivism and hence it could not flourish. Only Vaishnavism was left in the field and on account of a very congenial atmosphere it could maintain its hold for a very long time and upon a very wide circle. As has already been mentioned above in these religious revivals the idea of social reform was always present. While introducing his new sect Ramanand also emphasised on social reforms; but in main he preached to his disciples to be true 'worshippers' (उपासक) of Ram—an incarnation of Vishnu. Kabir—a disciple of Ramanand—was a greater social reformer. In respect of worship he had chalked out quite a new plan for himself and his followers. Although he had declared himself a devotee of Rama, yet his Rama was neither the incarnation of Vishnu nor the prince of Ayodhya. His Rama was the all-pervading Nirgun Parabramha. Just at this time another incarnation of Vishnu was introduced and it was Krishna. Vallabhacharya was one of the chief persons to introduce this worship in the Northern India. These various reli-

gious sects differed from each other not merely in form alone ; but also in their spirit. For instance, the creed of Ramanand was to worship the God like a servant : while the creed of the Krishnaites was that of devotion to their God in a friendly manner (*सखा भाव*) : and that of Kabir prescribed a complete devotion combined with some Yogic practices. But inspite of these material differences there was a common string running through all these sects and this was the supreme principle of ' love and peace ' binding all these sects into one. The yearning for love, devotion and peace had almost become universal. The very tone of our literature of this age suggests as if the current of love was flowing through the channels of *Santa-Rasa*. Only a passing glance on the literature of that age is enough to give us an idea how love and devotion had entered into our very souls.

This is how we see this high tide of love coming into both the literatures in the same order and more or less at the same time. But it would be a positive mistake to think that these currents of love in both the literatures were the same. In reality they were the two different aspects of one and the same image. The love in English literature was purely secular while in Hindi it was devotional, worshipful, and to a great extent spiritual. To one who knows the political conditions of the two countries, it would not be very difficult to find out the causes of this difference. Unlike India, England has never worn the chains of slavery ; nor had it ever experienced the pinch of a foreign domination. Contrary to the religious movements of England our religious upheavals in India, inspite of their number and variety, have been unanimously peaceful and devotional and their growth has been almost simultaneous. Apart from the activities of social reformers there were other reasons too which necessitated their growth. It was a time when social degeneration and political tyranny had reached their climax ; and in such a plight people had no alternative left except praying for their emancipation ; and it has been aptly said that " Religion is the last and the best source of consolation to the oppressed " Even in this devotional literature art was not totally absent : but its development and completion was yet to be achieved.

The chapter that now opens before us contains the history of such literary jewels as have been illumining their countries for so many centuries past and even today they are considered to be the

pivot of our culture and literary achievements. Their lustre is eternal and undiminishing. The advent of the sixteenth century was an age when the ground was quite prepared to receive the new plant of love which had only recently been implanted by such skilled gardeners as Wayatt and Surrey, Ramanand and Kabir, and Vallabh and Vidya-pati. Then the happiest coincidence was that this tenderest yet the the loveliest plant was entrusted to the care of those who were in no way inferior to their predecessors. If they were Spencer and Shakespeare and Drayton in England, India had also the honour of producing Surdas, Tulsidas and Mirabai. By virtue of its wonderful fertility and the variety and splendour of its productions this period as a whole ranks as one of the greatest in the annals of the world literature. We observe that sometimes the average mood of a nation is sluggish and dull and sometimes it is exceptionally vigorous and alert. Fortunately this was a world in which the tides of life were at their highest. Influences were everywhere at work which tended to expand thoughts, stir the feelings, dilate the imaginations and lay nourishing as well as stimulating genius to give breath and energy to the literature produced. In England it was the time of Elizabeth which was renowned for its peace and prosperity, and in India it was the time of Akbar which was none the less known for its cultural advancement. In the works of Shakespeare we study love in "human nature, human emotions, and human passions ;" but its remarkable development was achieved in painting the love of Britain. A dominating note of patriotism in literature was an outcome of this. In this very period the next stage of the development of love was John Dunn's metaphysical current. Now again Daniel and Drayton and Shakespeare—in his sonnets—had given it a new turn by writing "their love poems in the Italian manner, which trace the movements and fluctuations of passions: while in some cases the experiences and sentiments are real, in others they are feigned." But in all these various channels of literature we do feel the force of creative genius at the back of the whole age and the poppy of love bearing so many lovely flowers of so many different colours at one and the same time.

This age in Hindi literature was nonetheless glorious. The plant of love established in by Ramanand and Kabir and Vallabha had now transformed itself into the affections of Nanda and Yasoda and Radha: while in the hands of Tulsidas it had melted into a

'mansarovara' of filial fondness and love of duty. Then Kabir and his disciples in their own way gave it a serious and spiritualistic tinge of mysticism. But this mysticism of Hindi was quite different from that of Donne and Crashaw. Dr. Johnson, while characterising the metaphysical poets, has very well said that "they were men of learning and to show their learning was their whole endeavour. They cultivated ingenuity at any cost, substituted philosophical subtleties and logical hair-splitting for the natural expression of feeling." But in our mysticism there was invariably an effort to solve the mystery of ātmā and Paramātmā and māyā and in it the Yogic phraseology had found its fullest play. Before this sort of mysticism came to be popular we remember to have seen the introduction of 'Sufistic' love-romances in Hindi and these sufistic ideas naturally had their influence on our mystic literature.

Now for sometime in place of a close similitude we shall find a slight difference in the order of currents in the two literature. So far as we know the tendency of English literature had been through and through 'secular'. But action and reaction is an inevitable law. Now in English literature the reaction had set in against the secular tendency. In every phase there was a burning demand for something moral, ethical, and religious to be brought into the literature. Here comes the epoch-making age of Milton. The whole production of this age bears the stamp of 'puritanism' on its forehead and in a very short time it reached its limits. So much so, that it began to give out a stench of 'puritanic religiosity,' on the other hand the result of the reaction in Hindi literature was that the characteristic spiritual and devotional tone began to yield place in favour of 'secularisation.' So to our astonishment we see that when the time-honoured secular tendency of English literature was fast flowing towards religion and morality, our devotional literature was rapidly decaying into 'secularism.' But this difference did not last long. Soon after in England there grew a surfeit against puritanism and a counter-reaction in favour of secularism commenced. And thus again we see the two currents running parallel.

Inasmuch as Dryden and Pope came on the literary stage of England to make it 'artistically artificial, Keshava Deva and Matiram were not far behind them in Hindi literature. In consequence of these personalities we at once begin to perceive (1) that gravity was losing ground from both the literatures and a demand for light litera-

ture was fast approaching (2) the outward form was assuming a greater importance and (3) equally in both the literatures a new branch of criticism was developing. As Saintsbury remarks: "In this growth of criticism and of the corresponding tendency to check and guide production by time and rule, we have another illustration of the spirit of an age which was far stronger on the side of analysis than on that of imagination and in which the intellectual predominated over creative powers." This remark of Saintsbury is equally applicable to the criticism of Hindi literature of that age.

"The essay of dramatic poesy," "the essay on criticism," the 'Kavipriya,' and the 'Lalit Lalam' and the other so-called literary codes, were the outcome of this new tendency. These drove the literature far away from being natural. At least in England it was thoroughly an age of 'good sense' which meant a love of the 'reasonable and the useful' and a hatred for the extravagant, the mystical and the visionary. Now there was a supremacy of logic and reason; "there was no attempt to stir the sluggish conscience through the feelings but to convince the intellect." Even in theology we find the writings of the eighteenth century down to the beginning of Westley's Evangelistic revival, they are characterised by this rationalistic and utilitarian temper. In a word the marked tendency of the age probably in both the literatures was towards shallowness in thought and formality in expression. It was a literature of intelligence, of wit, and of fancy, quite destitute of emotion, passion or creative energy. In the whole of it spontaneity and simplicity are sacrificed to the dominant mania for elegance and correctness.

Apart from these the moral tone of the literature was also at its lowest. Very much like the "restoration-immorality" the *Nayaka-Bhed* and *Nakh-Shikh* are also proverbial. If the rigid "puritanic religiosity" was responsible for "Restoration-immorality" it was our royal courts in India responsible for the other. Our poets chiefly lived in such royal courts, which had by now drunk deep the wine of degeneration and lust in the same glass of their Muslim conquerors. And a 'singing bird' of such a court could not afford to sing anything better or nobler.

But even this stage did not last long. With the fast changing political and social conditions the change in thought was also inevitable. Only a little below we see that now the course of the two currents was not exactly similar. But all the same their ultimate attainments

were something more than similar. Obviously people were sick of long continued artificiality. They began to crave for something more natural and spontaneous in thought and language. Side by side now there was a rapid growth of individualism and independence and naturally there was a craving to liberate the literature from 'Augustan bondage' and as such 'love of nature' was a natural consequence. In every phase of literature there was an effort to bring in a radical change: but such a change can come in only gradually. Hence in the age of Johnson we see a great 'conflict of the old and the new'. Then comes the age of Wordsworth which is known in the history as the age of the 'Romantic revival.' Its object was to make literature a property of the common people as well and not merely of a learned few. "That poetry's standards were fixed long ago by certain inspired writers, whose authority it is no longer lawful to call in question, was no longer recognised as the cardinal principle of poetry. In its place the standard fixed now was as Keats says, "The genius of poetry must work out its own solution in a man. It cannot be matured by law and precept, but by sensation and watchfulness in itself. That which is creative must create itself." Now this was the stamp borne by every leaf of literature produced in this age.

'Chaos and Cosmos' is another inevitable law of nature. After these long periods of struggle and revolution peace and quiet was the need of the time. But this peace was not of a tired and spent up brain. It was a peace that one enjoys at the fullest attainment of one's ideal; such was the age of Tonnison. But as Bandes says, "The two great dominant movemants of the times were in the political and social spheres the progress of democracy and in the intellectual sphere the progress of science." It was no doubt an age of social interests and practical ideals. The writings of Carlyle and Ruskin and Mrs. Browning give us ample proof."

Meanwhile the progress of science kept pace with the progress of democracy. By now the ancient intellectual order was shaken at its foundation and this new age was marked by the spirit of enquiry and criticism; by scepticism and religious uncertainty and by spiritual struggle and unrest. Under these existing circumstances the development of realism was one conspicuous result. But soon after it began to display too much of 'materialism' which necessitated the growth of a counter current to check it.

After covering this vast field of English literature so far, if we turn now to our own literature we shall see a further proof of the 'sameness of human nature.' A change in our political and social conditions had also commenced. The days of the old corrupt courts had passed away and with them the fondness for novel Nayikas. The first rays of awakening had reached us and this was the time when Hindi had assumed a graver and a more important air than continuing to be a thing of mere recreation. Raja Sheo Prasad and B. Harish Chandra were endowing it with a divine and patriotic spirit. And vigorous efforts towards self-emancipation were visible in every branch of our literature. But for the present social amelioration had occupied its attention more than any thing else. The 'criticism of Johnson' and the 'age of Romantic revival' was yet to come in our literature ; but not very late after. All this was a preparation to that end. The close contact of the west had its considerable influence. The present researches in Hindi literature and development of its various new branches are an outcome of the western influence, *e.g.*, the tendency of popularising our literature through magazines and journals. Hindi literature is although late in creating its great critic in Mahabir Prasad, Divedi, yet it is welcome—"better late than never." If Johnson had any hand in moulding the English literature, our critic had yet a greater hand in moulding the modern Hindi literature ; inasmuch as Johnson had so many to precede him while Divedi Ji had none. The resemblance being so huge and in so many respects, our touchstone could not be different from that of 'realism.' In this age of ours any and every piece of art and literature ; be it prose or poetry—is tested on this. Although 'Romance' has not quite vanished from our literature, yet its test is also 'realism' inspite of its being a romance. If it is not close to the real life, it may lose its high place. But this fondness for realism in Hindi literature has not yet reached its limit, *i.e.*, it has not yet degenerated into materialism.

So now casting a glance on the literary production of the two great literatures we do perceive that their currents and their flows have been very much similar ; even some of the periods ran almost parallel. But whenever they were not parallel at least the order of their succession was invariably the same. An undisputed similitude of this nature at last leaves us convinced of the fact that 'human nature is the same every where, and that 'great minds think alike.'

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad]

Assam University

A resolution strongly protesting against the proposal for a separate University in Assam and asking the members of legislature to oppose the University Bill was passed at an extraordinary general meeting of the Habiganj Pleaders' Bar Association.

Maratha University

A resolution urging the establishment of a Maratha University with colleges and other institutions affiliated to it, so as to give the fullest scope to the Marathas and meet their educational requirements was passed by the All-India Maratha Educational Conference under the presidency of His Highness the Maharajah of Sandur.

Grierson Commemoration Volume

The Vidyapati Hindi Sabha, Darbhanga, has resolved to publish a commemoration volume in memory of the late lamented Dr. Sir A. Grierson. Every body interested in the cause is requested to send all available materials to the Sabha office at an early date. The names of all such persons will be published.

Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University

At the annual meeting of the Aligarh Muslim University Court, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed was elected unanimously as Vice-Chancellor of the University. About 125 members attended.

During the course of the election some members put forward a plea that the election of Vice-Chancellor be postponed, but the proposal was turned down by an overwhelming majority, whereupon about thirty members staged a walk-out.

Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman Khan and Azmat Ilahi Zuberi were elected Honorary Treasurer and Registrar respectively.

Ramkrishna Medical Education Society

The Government of Bengal have sanctioned the payment to the Ramkrishna Medical Education Society of a grant of Rs. 5,000 towards the construction of the front block of the proposed building of the Society.

Plan for Indian War Museum

A *communiqué* states: The Government of India have decided to appoint a committee for the collection and organization of exhibits for an Indian War Museum to form a record of India's contribution to the war effort of the Empire. The trustees of the Imperial War Museum in the

United Kingdom, of whom Lord Birdwood is the India Office representative, have agreed to exchange with the Indian War Museum exhibits of mutual interest, and it is hoped similar agreements will be reached with representatives of the Dominions and of Allied Powers.

The collection is intended to be a record of the experiences and equipment of the armed forces of India, and also to illustrate such effects of the war on civil life in India as the industrial development and the development of civic guards, of air raid precautions, of war gifts and charities, of legislation, etc.

Exhibits will include articles of equipment issued to the armed forces and to civilian organizations, trophies captured from the enemy, models, drawings, photographs, and original documents. Gifts or loans from private donors will be welcomed.

Mr. R. C. Jeffreys, I.P., Under-Secretary, Defence Department of the Government of India, New Delhi, has been appointed Secretary to the committee of the Indian War Museum, and, pending the final constitution of the committee, is authorized to communicate with all authorities and persons who may be in a position to supply exhibits.

The Vincent Massey Scholarship

On the recommendation of the selection committee, His Excellency the Viceroy has awarded the Vincent Massey Scholarship for the year 1941-42 to Dr. Jaswant Rai Gadeock, M.B.B.S., of Lucknow University, for study of Pathology and Bacteriology.

Training of Air Force Mechanics

The scheme, under which the Civil Aviation Directorate will train 2,000 mechanics a year for the Indian Air Force, is now well under way with approximately 750 trainees distributed between centres in different parts of India.

In addition to those under training at the end of March, 1941, about 270 candidates had been enrolled and were awaiting posting to training centres, while a further 1,240 had been selected for interview by recruiting officers.

In order to accommodate the increasing number of trainees and provide training facilities for the total of 2,000, other centres will shortly be opened.

Although training has been in progress for only a short time, reports from the centres describe the results as "very satisfactory." College authorities have given enthusiastic co-operation and the trainees are showing great keenness. Much interest, however, has ensued from the careful planning of the syllabus and selection of the instructional staff and the immense amount of "ground work" which has been done during the past nine months in selecting and equipping the training centres and examining the applications of nearly 40,000 candidates.

The staff selected for the training centres are all highly qualified. The instructors on aircraft and engines are licensed aeronautical engineers who have been given an intensified course of instructional training at an Air Force Technical School.

While the object of the scheme is to provide a reserve of trained mechanics for the Air Force, the course of instruction has been so planned that it may count as engineering experience for the grant of a civil ground engineer's licence.

Research Committee at Patna

The constitution of a provincial Scientific and Industrial Research Committee of seven, with Sir Sultan Ahmed as Chairman and the Director of Industries as Secretary, is announced in a Government resolution.

The function of the Committee will be to bring to the notice of the Central Board of Scientific and Industrial Research problems that may arise or be proposed in its area with suggestions for investigations at laboratories.

The Committee will also advise the provincial Government on matters that arise out of the proceedings of the Central Board that are referred to it and make suggestions for further researches.

A New Vidya Mandir Scheme for C. P.

The problems presented by the "novel" scheme of "Vidya Mandir" are discussed in a press note, which states that it is impossible to predict at this stage how the scheme is going to work until the experience of its working for about three to five years is gained.

The problems, if they are not inherent in the scheme itself, may be tackled on the light of experience as they arise.

One difficulty inherent in the scheme arises from the fact that the scheme is based on a single teacher. The basic syllabus, however, which has been adopted in the "Vidya Mandir" requires more strenuous work from the teachers than was anticipated when the scheme was planned.

If, therefore, extra teachers are not supplied to the "Vidya Mandir" then education of the pupils attending them suffer; if extra teachers are provided the Vidya Mandir will be unable to exist on the income from its land which does not increase as the school expands.

Steps are now being taken to bring into force the "Vidya Mandir Act" which obtained the assent of the Governor in March, 1940. The Act could not be brought into force so far because receipts of "Vidya Mandirs" had to be placed into a common pool to minimise the total deficit. Such pooling of receipts has now been stopped.

Campbell Medical School

The students of the Campbell Medical School, Calcutta, will soon have two more hostels, one for Hindus and the other for Mohammedans. The Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal has proposed that two houses be rented for use as hostels for the students for one year in the first instance with effect from July. The houses will accommodate about 120 students each. The proposal has already been approved by the Government.

Miscellany

POLITICAL IMPERIALISM *VIS-A-VIS* IDEOLOGICAL IMPERIALISM

These Hindu spheres of influence were so many "Greater Indias" in Asia. The expansion of India consisted in the establishment of the ideological imperialism of Hindu cult and culture throughout the length and breadth of the Asian continent. These colonizing, missionizing or proselytizing enterprises of the Indians outside the Indian frontiers may be said to have commenced in the third century B.C. The active period of the *digvijaya* (world-conquest) or *charaiveti* (march on) of Hindu religion, arts and sciences continued until the thirteenth or fourteenth century. During these sixteen or seventeen hundred years India witnessed military-political vicissitudes of all sorts almost identical with those in contemporary Europe. The ideological dominations of the Hindus established in the different regions of Asia were not necessarily the functions of their military and political activities at home and abroad. This is an important item in connection with the ideological imperialism of the Hindus in ancient and medieval times which must never be lost sight of.

We have said before that the ideological empires of the world, *viz.*, Christianity, socialism etc., have no necessary connection with military-political imperialism. The two imperialisms are mainly independent of each other. If there is any contact between the two, that contact is often an accident. But, scientifically speaking, it is impossible to demonstrate that political imperialism has been the cause and the only cause of ideological imperialism. The same is to be observed about Hindu ideological imperialism *vis-à-vis* Hindu political activities. The Hindu conquests in Asia from one end to the other were in the main non-political, non-military. Our ancient Indian culture went to Japan and was accepted by Japan but the Japanese knew hardly anything of Indian political and military achievements. If you take the case of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo and other islands where Hindu culture still persists, you will find that they were not, if at all, under the political domination of the South Indian Cholas for any long period. Political imperialism was hardly ever the basis of the ideological imperialism established by the Hindus. Indeed, militaristic-political domination may be removed almost entirely from the picture. No matter how many large, medium or small states were being established on Indian soil during this millennium and a half, no matter how many times we were fighting among ourselves, the conquests made by Hinduism as a religion and as a culture were going on from one country to another. The authors of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, Manu and Kalidas were all the time conquering the world, very often supremely indifferent to the militaristic-political fortunes of their compatriots. The story of all these ideological imperialisms or dominations proves beyond question that almost invariably their progress is independent of political imperialisms or dominations. In order to be established as a dominant world-force an ideology does not have always to be backed up by a powerful political people or party. Indeed, the

opposite picture is prominent on several occasions when "captive Greece captured Rome." Even a political slave can ideologically conquer the master.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

PLUTOCRACY AND NOT DEMOCRACY

In G. T. Garratt's *Europe's Dance of Death* (London, 1940) democracy, as factually functioning in Great Britain during the last decade under Baldwin and Chamberlain, is considered to be essentially plutocratic. The influence of Lenin's "finance-capital" on the administrative system is too patent. The French democracy likewise is demonstrated to be equally if not more plutocratic. The steel magnates of the *Comite' des Forges* are some of the "two hundred families" which virtually rule France. In both these democracies public opinion is consciously or unconsciously nothing but the vested interests of a few powerful moneyed men. Newspapers are proved to be the organs of these few individuals. Political parties are likewise misnomers being virtually the salons of such dominant financiers and social despots.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

LABOUR AND LAND CHANGES DUE TO MECHANIZED AGRICULTURE

It is estimated that 350,000 to 500,000 farm workers will be displaced in the next decade, but the number of workers displaced by mechanization depends not only on the type of equipment but also on the kind of farm, says the *Agricultural Situation* (Washington, September, 1940). Displacement is not necessarily in proportion to the time saved on a specific job. On large farms operated with a flexible supply of hired labor, equipment that reduces the time of performing work by half may at the same time reduce the working force by half. But on the family farms the labor force represented by members of the family may not be reduced by labor-saving equipment. Less additional labor may be hired, but the actual reduction of workers would be considerably less than working time saved.

The influence of changes in equipment on the use of labor is more apparent when it is expressed in terms of the labor required to handle crops with different sets of complementing equipment, or in terms of the labor required to operate a farm of a given size and type with different sets of equipment. For instance, with the machinery and power in common use in the central winter wheat areas about the year 1900, the approximate time to prepare land, seed, harvest with a binder, shock, thresh, and haul wheat to the granary was 8.8 hours per acre. With the use of a tractor, tractor equipment, and a 12-foot combine, the time for comparable work was reduced to 3.3 hours. The time required for corn production in the Corn Belt was reduced from 15.1 hours to 6.9 hours an acre.

In the Corn Belt a shift to tractors, and to some extent to combines, reduced labor requirements for wheat nearly 5 hours an acre. One of the factors influencing the reduction in man-hours used per acre of other important crops is a gradual shifting of production to areas where less labor is used. This has been most pronounced in wheat and cotton.

No mechanical developments now under way seem likely to affect the use of labor in the near future as drastically or on as large a scale as did developments in wheat machinery in the 1920's. However, perfection and adoption of the cotton-picker or the use of sugar-beet tillage and harvesting machinery would have effects comparable to the recent mechanization of wheat production.

Although the small tractor placed in service on a livestock or general farm would reduce the time required for field labor, the usual adjustment of increasing the numbers of productive livestock as work stock are displaced would tend to maintain the total amount of labor used. Labor displacement in cash corn areas seems likely to continue, and in the cotton areas it may be large in proportion to the degree of mechanization.

The traditional plantation and share-cropper system of farm organization in parts of the South are passing even without the mechanical cotton-picker. Prices of cotton and wages of labor have given an income advantage to the operators using hired rather than share labor. The result has been an increase in the proportion of cotton grown with wage labor. This has been particularly true where additional economies in cost of operation could be achieved through the use of wage labor and power machinery.

On the plantations shifting toward mechanization during 1932-38, 36 tractors were put into use for each 10,000 crop acres; 91 families, or 22 per cent of the original number, were displaced from 10,000 acres of cropland. The second group, on which tractors per 10,000 crop acres increased from 18 in 1932 to 24 in 1938, displaced 65 families, or 16 per cent. The third group, on which tractors were not used, displaced 22 families, or 6 per cent.

The introduction of tractors in the South will release for other purposes land that has been used for corn, hay, and pasture for mule feed. Most of this land has grown corn. It may continue to grow feed for other livestock, but some of it may be shifted to cash crops. The relative profitableness of the different alternatives and the extent to which special inducements are provided for shifting will determine the choice.

Further adoption of tractors and complementary equipment in the North Atlantic States will release land formerly used to produce feed for work stock and make it available for other uses. In view of the importance of dairying and the relative shortage of feed crops, it seems likely that a large part of the released land will be used to produce feed for dairy cattle.

The probable shift to more dairy feed resulting from mechanization must also be relative to the adoption of soil-improvement practices. The agricultural conservation program appears to have encouraged dairymen to step up the normal rate of adoption of soil-improvement practices. In other words, the conservation program seems to be hastening a desirable adjustment, but it is an adjustment which means more dairy feed. Increased use of lime and fertilizer is bound to affect hay and pasture yields over a period of years.

What are the implications of such changes? Will it mean too much milk? Will farmers really adjust their rations to take advantage of increased home-produced feed? Perhaps not, for some recent farm records indicate that dairymen are slow to adjust their purchases of grain when more roughage is available.

Reviews and Notices of Books

India Shall Be Literate.—By Frank C. Laubach. Printed by F. E. Livengood at the Mission Press, Jubbulpore, C. I., India. 1940. Price Re. 1-12.

The work under review has been sponsored by the National Christian Council, Nagpur, C. I. It was written by Dr. Laubach in the Philippines and was slightly changed by Rev. E. W. Menzel who acted as field-editor checking up facts and figures and adding a few words by way of bringing the book up to date.

Dr. Laubach has greatly stimulated the spread of literacy among India's masses by his visits to this country. His methods explained in the present work have provided a psychological and practical basis for dealing with adult illiterates who are able under his system to take long strides towards acquiring mental equipment so that, as it has been well said, 'this month's illiterate can become next month's proud "man of letters".'

We are shown the colossal problem of literacy in India and also the futility of the slow progress achieved in the normal course. Nearly one-third of all the illiterates in the world live in this country. The cause of democracy and that of literacy are so closely linked together that the one cannot succeed without the other. The fact was appreciated by the Congress ministries when they launched their literacy campaign in different parts of India. A short chapter in the present work deals with the history of Adult Literacy in India. This movement has no long history. The largest intensive adult literacy campaign began in the Punjab in 1921. The Congress Government was responsible for a literacy movement on the widest scale ever known in this country. The book proceeds to discuss various methods found useful in imparting instruction such as the alphabet method, the story method, the key-word method. Key words and pictures proved both popular and successful on experiment but others like the picture—word—syllable method have also been found serviceable. The book contains many practical suggestions for field workers. Dr. Laubach's long experience and insight are everywhere seen in the light that he throws upon the problem. It is clear that he has understood the nature of India's educational needs. The observations he offers are always sane and helpful and give evidence of a large and resourceful mind. This is a book which is invaluable to every one interested in removing the appalling illiteracy of India.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

India: Bond or Free ? A World Problem.—By Annie Besant, D.L. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Pp. 246. Price As. 14.

Dr. Besant's name acquired almost a magical potency in India in the days when she inaugurated the Home Rule Movement and although in later years the popularity of Gandhiji's doctrine of non-co-operation threw her teaching into the shade, her personal fame and the sincerity of her intention remained unaffected by all the mutations in India's political life.

She came out to this country in 1893 and lived here until her end some years ago. During all this time she worked strenuously to awaken India from her slumber by reviving her culture and religion and by urging the necessity of Home Rule for India in her speeches and writings as the sole remedy for the misery into which her multitudes are plunged.

In "India: Bond or Free?" Dr. Besant is able to show with the help of a convincing body of evidence that "England found India an educated nation and has reduced her masses to illiteracy, that England found the Indian people free, prosperous and rich, and has reduced her to terrible poverty." England in governing India did not care to remember what Woodrow Wilson had said and her own statesmen admitted, namely, that every nation must constantly keep in touch with its Past. The Village System in India had an uninterrupted history of thousands of years. The occasional raids into the country by foreigners, the fall of a dynasty or the rise of a new one only touched the fringe of her life. These great political changes scarcely had any repercussion in the villages which carried on their normal activity under a system of wise rural economy, providing for the masses all the necessities of life and an education which was accessible to all. This system was swept away by the British Rule and nothing was put in its place. From this wanton destruction of the Panchayat, looking after the interests of the villagers, with knowledge, foresight, and ability, has flowed countless evils which can be removed only by making India an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Dr. Besant has collected evidence from both ancient and modern sources to show that this country has through her long history never suffered from poverty or famine—that it was only with the advent of the British that its economic distress began and that India is slowly wasting away and will inevitably perish unless she regains the right to rule herself. There is no question that she lacks the ability to do so. For Sir John Lawrence said as long ago as 1865, "The people of India are quite capable of administering their own affairs and the municipal feeling is deeply rooted in them."

In describing the poverty in India Dr. Besant quotes the view of Sir Charles Elliot according to whom seventy millions of peoples in India do not know what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied even once in the whole course of the year yet Phillimore said of India in the 18th century that "the dropping of her soil fed distant regions." From the evidence of Sir Thomas Munro before a Committee of the British Houses of Parliament in March and April, 1813, quoted by Dr. Besant we get a very clear idea about the social and economic condition of the country at that date,"..... if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either convenience or luxury, schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other, and above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect, and delicacy, are amongst the signs which denote a civilized people—then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe." Light is thrown on how some of India's industries were destroyed. Indian built ships, carrying Indian produce, we are told, "created a sensation among the monopolists which could not have been exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thamesan obliging Government saw to it that the Indian industry perished."

Britain's record in India as patron of education is also shown by Dr. Besant. The expenditure per head on education in England and Wales is 10s., in India, barely 1d. !

Dr. Besant has repeatedly quoted Asquith's words as to the "intolerable degradation of a foreign rule" and in her close analysis of India's past and present socio-economic life, she has shown how there has been a decline in every sphere of life in India as a result of British rule. Dr. Besant had a profound knowledge and understanding of Indian conditions and her book would be an invaluable guide to those who wish to hear sober good sense combined with the widest information and sympathy on things Indian. The book is written in a lucid style and is convincing in its exposition. Even well-informed Indians will have much to learn from it.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The High Purposes of War.—By Annie Besant, D. L. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Pp. 110. 1940. Price As. 8.

The booklet contains passages taken out of Dr. Besant's speeches and writings during the last European War in which she has endeavoured to offer her interpretation of the War aims of the Allied Powers. It cannot be said that the events proved the truth of her assertions. Her ideas are nevertheless inspiring and may be applied to any war which seeks to make right triumphant over might. Her message has not lost its force although the occasion which called it forth has long disappeared.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Truth About Gandhi.—Printed at Mody's Diamond Printing Works, 164, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. Pp. 87.

In these days when the Gandhian leadership is being challenged from many quarters, it is refreshing to come across a sturdy exposition of the Gandhian creed and the Gandhian outlook from a presumably disinterested source. The mission of the greatest apostle of peace in modern times is explained with the help of copious and carefully selected extracts from the writings of the Mahatma which materially increase the value of this book. Obviously, the limits the author has set himself preclude discussion in any except the barest outline of Gandhiji's philosophy. I commend this book to all desirous of familiarising themselves with Gandhism as interpreted by an earnest follower of Mahatma Gandhi.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Kavyanusasana: by Ācārya Hema-candra, Vol. II. Part I (*Introduction*), by Rasiklal C. Parikh, late Professor of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History at the Gujarat Vidyapith, Secretary to the Post-Graduate and Research Department of the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad; Part II (*Notes on the Text*), by Ramchandra B. Athavale, Professor of Sanskrit, S. L. D. Arts College, Ahmedabad. With a Foreword by Dr. Anandshankar B. Dhruva, late of Benares Hindu University. Published by the Honorary Secretaries, Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalyaya, Vidyalyaya Buildings, Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay 7. 1938. Price Rs. 6 for the two volumes.

Kalikāla-sarvajña—‘the omniscient of the Kali Age’—Ācārya Hema-candra or Hema-candra Suri (1089-1173 A.D.) was one of the greatest scholars and religious men of Gujarat and India whose achievements have added lustre to the Sanskrit scholarship of Medieval India and to the Jaina religion in both its philosophical and devotional sides. The ordinary student of Sanskrit and Indology sees in him primarily a philologist—a great grammarian, lexicographer and rhetorician, and naturally his work as a Jaina teacher has its restricted appeal to those who are interested in Jaina history, hagiology and philosophy. Hema-candra’s works on grammar, metrics and lexicography and on rhetoric are all authoritative and are widely studied, and he has a special eminence as a grammarian of Prakrit and as the compiler of the celebrated *Deśi-nāma-mālā*. The anthology of Western Apabhraṃśa popular poetry given in his Prakrit grammar is something unique in Indian literature and is of inestimable value in the study of the development of New Indo-Aryan. Hema-candra’s work on rhetoric, the *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, has been republished, since its first publication in the Bombay Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press edition, in a splendid form by Professor Rasiklal Parikh. The text has appeared with the connected commentaries and glosses in the first volume; and in the second volume under review, which is of more general interest, and is in English, Professor Parikh has given his *Introduction* to the work, in two parts, both equally valuable—the first part gives a History of Gujarat as a Background to the Life and Times of Hema-candra. The First Half of this second volume (over 300 pages) is taken up with this *Introduction*, and the Second Half (some 276 pages) gives *Notes* in English by Professor Ramchandra Athavale. These two volumes, it may be hoped, give the text of the *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* and a good deal of ancillary material for the study of the work in a definitive form for some time to come; and they form a very fine expression of Sanskrit and Indological scholarship of Gujarat and Western India at the present day.

We are not so familiar with the philosophical and devotional writings of Hema-candra, unless we are specially interested in Jaina philosophy and religion. The voluminous character of a work like his *Triṣaṣṭi-Salākāpuruṣa-Carita* or ‘Lives of the Sixty-three Excellent Men’ perhaps forms a drawback, but a good edition of it is a desideratum. One of Hema-candra’s philosophical works, the *Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā*, has been brought out recently in a learned edition with Hindi translation by Pandit Sri Sukhlalji Sanghavi in the well-known *Singhi Jaina Series*. The *Vitarāga-stotra*, Jaina devotional and philosophical poems of a rare beauty, should also be made available in a critical and annotated edition.

The present reviewer is not a specialist in Sanskrit literature, much less in Sanskrit rhetoric, and he will not try to appraise this work and its value for the study of the subject. The editing appears to have been done carefully, basing the text on very good MS. material and on the printed text as issued from the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, and adding helpful notes and a number of appendices. Professor Athavale’s *Notes* appear to be full and detailed, and will certainly be a great help in the critical study of the book. The reviewer feels particularly grateful for Professor Parikh’s general *Introductions*. The history of Gujarat from the earliest times to the age of Hema-candra, which synchronised with the rule of two puissant and illustrious Kings of that part of India, viz., Siddha-rāja Jaya-simha (1094-1143) and his successor Kumāra-pāla (1143-1174 A.D.). This forms a valuable bit of historical research, giving in a continuous narrative the history up to the end of the 12th century of an important Indian province,

and I think, with the mass of information gathered in it from both literary and epigraphical sources, it may conveniently be published as a separate book. Professor Parikh shows how the present-day Gujarat tract includes the ancient territories Lāṭa or Aparānta, Svabhra, Anarta and Surāṣṭra. The name Lāṭa which as Professor Parikh says means the southern part of mainland Gujarat (to the east of the Gulf of Cambay) undoubtedly had a much wider application in very ancient times. It included doubtless both mainland Gujarat and peninsular Gujarat, now called *Kāthiawād* and *Sorath* (= *Saurāṣṭra*), for the Greeks round about the time of Christ knew Kathiawad as *Larike* (from = **Lādikā*, *Lāṭikā* = *Lāṭa*), the capital of which was *Barakhē* (= *Dvārakā*, with the characteristic South-Western Prakrit change of *dv-* to *b-* recorded by the Greeks). And it is not unlikely that the name *Lāṭa* extended even to South Sindh in ancient times: for at the present day the southern part of Sindh which is contiguous to Cutch and is in close proximity to Gujarat is still known as *Lād* or *Lār*. About the ancient maritime activities of *Lāṭa* or Gujarat, Professor Parikh has something to say, of course, but this matter might have been treated in greater detail. In this connexion, I may state that in my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (Calcutta, 1926, pp. 72, 73, 176) I expressed the opinion that Vijaya-simha and his companions, who stand for the Aryan-speaking colonists who established the Aryan language in Ceylon, were from Gujarat rather than Bengal, my grounds being partly the references in the old Pali texts and partly linguistic.

The history is detailed forth from Maurya times, through the Bactro-Greek and Saka periods, the period of the Gupta Empire and the post-Gupta dynasties—the Valabhi Kingdom, the Bhinnamāla Kingdom and the Anahillapura Kingdom under the Cāvuḍas and the Cālukyas, the latter dynasty being in possession when Hema-candra lived. Naturally Siddha-rāja Jaya-simha and Kumāra-pāla are given fuller treatment. Siddha-rāja Jaya-simha, who is still a popular hero of Gujarat living in the folk drama performed by the Bhavaiyās or actors as *Sadhāro Je-sung*, was a remarkable ruler whose name was made known to the outside world by Forbes in his *Rās Malā* as early as 1856. His connexion with Hema-candra and other Jaina writers has been the reason of his being gratefully remembered by them in their works, and Hema-candra called his great Sanskrit grammar after his patron. Siddha-rāja conquered Mālava and established himself as paramount ruler over the whole of Gujarat. He was a Saiva, but he endeared himself to Jainas also. Kumāra-pāla showed his preference for the Jaina faith and accepted Hema-candra as his *guru*, but he continued his patronage to the Saiva faith of his fathers while promulgating some Jaina ideas and ways of life in his kingdom. His reign was certainly the golden age for Jainism in medieval times in Western India.

Professor Parikh should bring down the history to the establishment of Muhammadan rule in Gujarat, developing in full what he has given in outline. And I would suggest a thorough rearrangement of the material he has got ready, presenting it in proper form with such typographical and other aids to good lay-out of his facts as can make it easy to follow and appreciate.

In 1889, Georg Bühler published from Vienna his monograph on Hema-candra. It was a great study of a great scholar and religious leader and of his work, and it has quite deservedly been rendered into English by Dr. Manilal Patel and issued in the *Singhi Jaina Series* in 1936. Professor Parikh, following Muni Jina-vijayaji in his Preface to Patel's

translation of Bühler's Hema-candra as general Editor of the *Singhi Jaina Series*, has mentioned new sources for the life and works of Hema-candra which have come to light since 1889 and has corrected some of the views and opinions of Bühler himself. Professor Parikh mentions these new sources, and he gives his own review of the life and works of Hema-candra, with a detailed study of the *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*. I think Professor Parikh ought to give us a complete book on Hema-candra embodying all up-to-date information about him and giving descriptive and critical accounts of all his works, and studying him with reference to his own times and to the history of the Jaina Church as a whole. Such a work will have its permanent place in the history of Indian literature and culture, and Professor Parikh, with proper attention to the manner of presenting his facts and his views, should take it up—he has shown in the present volume, which gives us the most up-to-date information about the early history of Gujarat and about Hema-candra and his life and work, that he has both the equipment and the capacity to do it.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Ourselves

[I. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.—II. Prof. Bireschandra Guha.—III. Stephen Nirmalendu Ghose Lectures.—IV. Asutosh College, Chittagong.—V. Indian School Sports Association.—VI. The Tagore Law Lectures for 1941.—VII. Government on discipline in Colleges.—VIII. University Training Corps.—IX. A. H. College, Bogra.—X. Jagannath Barua College, Jorhat.]

I. SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN

In a letter which Sir S. Radhakrishnan wrote to University, he explained the circumstances which made it necessary for him to resign his post as the George V Professor of Philosophy and added: "If in the course of my service here (The University of Calcutta) such coveted distinctions as the Hibbert Lectureship, an Oxford Chair, Fellowship of the British Academy and Fellowship of All Souls at Oxford came my way, the credit is due mainly to the facilities offered and the encouragement given to me by the University authorities from the time of the great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who selected me for this post in 1920."

The Syndicate in accepting the letter of resignation placed on record their deep appreciation of the services rendered to the University by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, one of the most inspiring teachers of the University and recommended to the Senate that he may be appointed Emeritus Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy of the University with effect from 1st July, 1941.

Sir Sarvapalli was entertained at a dinner by the Arts Faculty Club, of which he was the Founder-President, on the eve of his departure. Sir Sarvapalli said in an address which he gave to the members that his association with the University would not be severed although he was leaving for Benares and that during the next six months he expected to visit Calcutta twice every month in connexion with some business in the University. He gave very high praise to the intellectual atmosphere of the University and suggested what teachers could do to give a shape and direction to the wider life of the country.

The staff and students of the Post-Graduate Department organised a meeting to bid him farewell. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., D. Litt., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., presided. There was a very large and

distinguished gathering and many speakers paid tribute to Sir S. Radhakrishnan's inspiring character and profound learning.

Sir Sarvapalli has brought fame to our University by his illuminating expositions of Indian philosophy as well as by his own original views which by their breadth and comprehensiveness have justly earned the admiration of the world. Professor Joad's books on him testify to the enthusiastic reception accorded to him in the West.

II. PROF. BIRESCHANDRA GUHA

Prof. Bireschandra Guha, Ph.D., D.Sc. (Lond.), has been recommended by the Syndicate to be re-appointed Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry on the expiry of his present term of appointment till he completes his sixtieth year.

III. STEPHANOS NIRMALENDU GHOSE LECTURES

Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D., Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghose Lecturer, will deliver his lectures in August next.

IV. ASUTOSH COLLEGE, CHITTAGONG

Sir Asutosh College, Kanungopara (Chittagong), has been recommended to be affiliated to the I.A. and B.A. (Pass) standards in the following subjects in addition to those it is already teaching, from the commencement of the session 1941-42:—

I.A.—Pali ; B.A. (Pass)—English, Bengali, Mathematics, History, Economics and Political Philosophy, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic.

V. INDIAN SCHOOL SPORTS ASSOCIATION

Rev. Allan Cameron, M.A., B.D., has been appointed a representative of the University on the General Committee of the Indian School Sports Association, Calcutta.

VI. THE TAGORE LAW LECTURES FOR 1941

Sir N. N. Sircar, who has been appointed Tagore Law Professor for 1941 to deliver a course of twelve lectures on "The Law of Arbitration with special reference to British India," requested that the subject might be changed to "The Law of Arbitration in British India."

The University has given its consent to the change proposed by Sir Nripendranath.

* * *

VII. GOVERNMENT ON DISCIPLINE IN COLLEGES

The Education Department, Government of Bengal, has proposed that the Principals of colleges managed or aided by Government, may be authorised to issue Transfer Certificates without transfer fees to students whose presence in the college is undesirable. This power which will be resorted to very sparingly will be utilised in maintaining discipline in the colleges.

The University has informed Government that it is prepared to accept the suggestion provided the action taken against the student or students concerned is approved by the Governing Body of the college and the matter reported to the University with a brief statement of the case. The reason for the transfer, our University has suggested, should in each case, be clearly stated in the Transfer Certificates.

* * *

VIII. UNIVERSITY TRAINING CORPS

The University has recommended extension of Command of 2nd (Calcutta) Bn. U.T.C., I.T.F., by Major D. N. Bhattacharyya whose office will expire on the 16th April, 1941.

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IX. A. H. COLLEGE, BOGRA

The Syndicate has recommended to the Senate that in extension of affiliation already granted to the A. H. College, Bogra, it may be

affiliated in the following subjects to the I.A. and B.A. standards with effect from the commencement of the session 1941-42:—

I.A.—A Special Period of the History of the Hindu Colonial Expansion and a Special Period of the History of Islam Outside India.
B.A.—English (Pass), Political Economy and Political Philosophy (Honours), Bengali (Compulsory), History (Pass), Mental and Moral Philosophy (Pass), and Islamic History and Culture (Honours).

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X. JAGANNATH BARUA COLLEGE, JORHAT

The Jagannath Barua College, Jorhat, has been recommended to be affiliated in the following subjects to the B Com. standard in addition to those it is already teaching with effect from the commencement of the session 1941-42:—

English, Assamese, Accountancy, Commercial Geography, General Economics, Indian Economics, Commercial Law, Business Organisation, Advanced Accountancy and Auditing, Currency and Banking.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Kamala Lectures, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A., B.L.,
Vidyaratna. D/Demy 16mo pp. 119 + ix.

Rabindra Sahityer Bhumika, by Dr. Niharrajan Ray,
M.A., D.Litt.Phil., Dip.Lib. F.L.A. Royal 8vo pp.
490 + 15. Rs. 3-0.

Khandakhadyaka, an Astronomical Treatise by Brahma-
gupta, edited by Mr. Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A.
Royal 8vo pp. 168 + x.

Old Persian Inscription of the Achæmenian Emperors, by
Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp.
290 + xi.

The History of Indian Labour Legislation (Readership
Lectures) by Dr. Rajanikanta Das, M.A., Ph.D.
D/Demy 16mo pp. 378 + xv + 11.

Early Career of Kanhoji Angria and Other Papers, by
Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. Demy
8vo pp. 226 + ix. Rs. 2-0.

Poetry, Monads and Society (*Sir George Stanley Lectures*,
1941), by Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.). Demy
8vo pp. 204 + x. Rs. 3-0.

Dharma Sadhana, by Sm. Swarna Prabha Sen, B.A., B.T.
Demy 8vo pp. 113 + 9.

Ramdas and Sivaji (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures*) by
Mr. Charuchandra Datta, I.C.S. (Retd.). Demy 8vo
pp. 373 + 4.

Hegeler Darsanik Matabad, by Mr. Nagendranath Sen-
gupta, M.A. Demy 8vo 98 + 13. Re. 1-0.

Buddhi-o-Bodhi, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A. • Demy
8vo pp. 78.

Gitar Bani, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray. Demy 8vo pp. 198. Re. 1.

Upanisader Alo, (Revised Edition), by Dr. Mahendranath
Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 668.

Mano Bijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A. Demy
8vo pp. 426.

Books in the Press

MAY, 1941

1. Gleanings from My Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. Philosophical Essays, by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
4. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, edited by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
5. Adam's Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, edited by Mr. A. N. Basu, M.A., T.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, by Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Studies in the History of British in India, by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
9. Post-Graduate Volume (Arts and Science), 1939.
10. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
11. University Question Papers, 1937.
12. Krishni-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
14. Negative Fact: Negation and Truth, by Dr. Adharchandra Das, M.A., Ph.D.
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharatiya Banaushadhi Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc., and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Nyayamanjari, Part II, Edited by Pandit Panchanar Tarkavagis.
19. Prohibition in the Kali Age, by Mr. Batuknath Bhattacharyya.

20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.
21. Rivers of the Bengal Delta (*Readership Lecturss*), by Mr. S. C. Majumdar, M.A.
22. Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India, by Dr. Narayanchandra Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil., D.Litt.
24. Siddhantasekhara, Vol. II, by Pandit Babua Misra.
25. Kabita Sangraha, III, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. K. N. Mitra, M.A.
26. An Administration Study of the Development of Civil Service, by Dr. A. K. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.
27. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. History of Bengali Language and Literature, by Late Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
29. Calculus of Finite Differences, by Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A.
30. Industry in India, by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.
31. Din-i-Ilahi, by Prof. Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A., B.L.
32. Lectures on Art, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E.
33. Some Modern Trends in the Evolution of Human Institution (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures*), by Mr. P. C. Basu, M.A.
34. Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, by Mr. Atindranath Basuthakur, M.A.
35. University Question Papers for the year 1933.
36. Bharater Deb Deul, by Mr. Jyotishchandra Ghosh.
37. Manasamangal, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A.
38. History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, by the late Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D.
39. A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions. by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.
40. Orthographical Dictionary, edited by Mr. Charachandra Bhattacharyya.
41. Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
42. Journal of the Department of Science, Vol. I, No. 3.
43. Vedantadarsan-Advaitabad, by Dr. Asutosh Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.
44. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.

45. Rasekharer Padavali, edited by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., and Dwareschandra Sarmacharyya.
46. Bkah Babs Bolun, by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
47. Narayana Pariprecha, by Mr. Anukulchandra Banerjee, M.A.
48. Manjusrinama Sangiti, by Mr. Durgadas Mukerjee, M.A.
49. Padma Puran, by Kabi Narayan Deb, edited by Dr. Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
50. Haramani, by Mr. M. Mansuruddin, M.A.
51. Lectures on Fuels and Furnace (*Extension Lectures*) by Dr. A. K. Saha, D.Sc.
52. The Development of Hindu Iconography, by Mr. Jitendra-nath Banerjee, M.A.
53. University Regulations.
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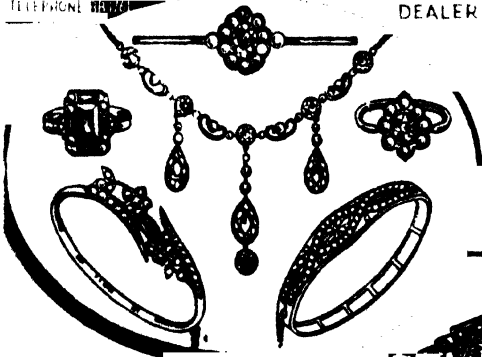
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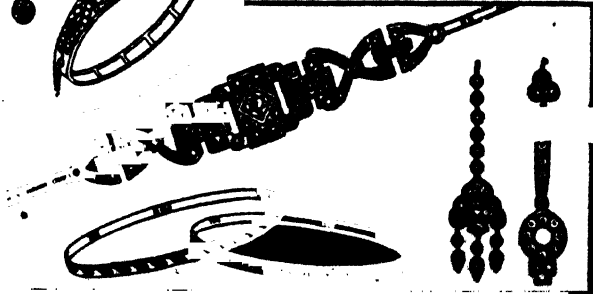
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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GANDHIJI'S CONCEPTION OF APPLIED CHRISTIANITY UNDER MODERN CONDITIONS

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THE Sermon on the Mount, the life and death of Jesus summon humanity to a life of wholesome poverty with simplicity as its keynote and inspiration. This does not in any sense imply that destitution which leads to demoralisation. The disciples of Jesus are expected to have an implicit faith in the goodness of God and in His love for His children. They must identify themselves with man to the extent that they will meet wrong and oppression from all quarters with invincible patience and love. They have to take for granted that their success in winning over their opponents is certain provided they are prepared to suffer and die rather than meet violence by violence. Success is sure because in adopting this method, they are following God's way which is to change wicked into good men by the help of divine love. It is in this way only that they can realise the supreme aim of humanity—the winning of life eternal.

Most unfortunately very few of the followers of Jesus seem to have assimilated and acted on this precept. There are certain passages even in the New Testament which may be interpreted to mean that it is the function of God and the State to use violence as a justifiable way of meeting violence though individual Christians are forbidden to do so. When states came to be governed by Christian rulers, they adopted this principle the more so because it squared completely with their own predilections and offered a satisfactory way of meeting political discontent and quelling armed resistance to their authority.

Many Christians are not aware that in the first three centuries the Christian Church which still felt the glow and warmth of its proximity to the Lord and Master, his immediate followers and those who had come under the influence of the latter, did not countenance war. We are told that during this period, many Christians were put to death because they refused to join the army. I am also informed that the earlier race of the apologists of Christianity such as Justin, Martyr, Tertullian, Clement, Origen and Lactantius as well as others whose names I am unable to recollect held that taking part in fighting is inconsistent with professing the faith of the Prince of Peace.

But this faithful following of the teachings of Jesus was gradually replaced by a compromise with the demands of secularism so that to-day we find a number of established Churches in the West which are divided among themselves on account of differences in their theological doctrines. But in spite of these differences, they are all or nearly all united in countenancing the use of force for the defence of what they consider right. It has of course to be remembered that they may and do occasionally differ with regard to the interpretation they put on "right." But the fundamental fact which is of interest to us is that the use of force under these circumstances has obtained the official sanction of some, if not all, the organised Christian Churches. Who does not remember the clergy of the different contending countries offering prayers for the success of the arms of their armies? This happened not so very long ago during the last war and is probably happening to-day.

Let us be fair and admit that there have been many men of God whom I would describe as His saints, who have practised what National India calls *Ahimsa* in their daily lives but the glorious example they have set has not been followed to any appreciably large

extent. These have been as voices crying in the wilderness either unheeded or misinterpreted when heard. It is, therefore, that Western organised Christianity has been described by one of its critics as a religion "smothered" by the vested interests which, like weeds, have checked its growth.

And what was the attitude of Christ whom Mahatma Gandhi has called "the Prince of Satyagrahis" in the matter of non-violence? In order to arrive at a correct view, we must turn to his own pronouncements and, particularly, to the Sermon on the Mount as recorded by his immediate disciples where the fundamental teachings of the Lord and Master are fully set forth. These words which have rung down the ages and which have been an inspiration and a principle of action with every one of his sincere and genuine followers are as follows: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also."

It may be said here that so desperately wicked is the human heart that when one tooth only is knocked out, man's natural inclination is to knock out as many of his oppressor's teeth as he may be able to do. The Jewish law held that this attitude is unjust and it, therefore, limited the retaliation to knocking out "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Jesus standing on a higher plane and preaching higher ideals forbade revenge altogether. He commanded his disciples not to resist evil but to meet it by active love or *Ahimsa* as Gandhi calls it. Passive resistance would say that if a man smites you on one cheek, do not resist him when he smites you on the other cheek. But Christ says "turn to him the other also." In offering the other cheek for a blow, the genuine follower of Christ deprives his opponent of the advantages accruing from taking the offensive, selects his own battle-ground and chooses his own weapons for conducting this novel type of warfare. The oppressor is faced with a technique with which he is totally unfamiliar and is asked to handle a weapon to the use of which he is a stranger. This cannot but nonpluss him. And this weapon can be used under all conditions and at all times. We are told that Christ was struck at the Judgment Hall. We must all admit that he was fully justified in striking back. In refraining from doing so, the Lord and Master was showing by deeds his strict adherence to the principles he had asked his disciples to follow.

Mahatma Gandhi referred to this aspect of the matter many years ago when in the "Young India" for October 8, 1925, he said, "I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, not by putting up against it a sharper-edged weapon, but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. The resistance of the soul that I should offer instead would elude him. It would at first puzzle him and at last compel recognition, which recognition would not humiliate, but would uplift him. It may be urged that this is an ideal state. And so it is."

Where will one see to-day a more faithful follower of Christ than our national leader who has all along been true to the principles laid down by our Lord and Master. Has he not more than once called off the Civil Disobedience Movement and characterised it as a "Himalayan" blunder when his followers departed from these Christian principles?

That the non-violence of Christ was in a sense militant may be inferred from the fact that when the time came for ending his pilgrimage in this world, he went to Jerusalem in order to be present at the Passover though aware all the time that he was going to his death. The risk involved in doing so was not only known to himself but also to his disciples for St. Mark says, "Jesus was going before them: and they were amazed; and they that followed were afraid." Here we have a picture of the Lord and Master going forward to meet a cruel, agonising death without the slightest hesitation. This, in my view, was due to genuine fearlessness, absolute reliance on God coupled with a sense of duty, for are we not told that in the agony at Gethsemane he had prayed: "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt." There is an echo of this in Mahatma Gandhi's dictum, "To the God-fearing death has no terrors. Bravery on the battlefield is impossible for us. But fearlessness is absolutely necessary, the abandonment of all fear of bodily injury, of disease or death, of the loss of possessions, of family or of reputation. Nothing in this world is ours. *Ahimsa* requires true humility, for it is reliance not on self, but on God alone."

Let us make an attempt to clarify the position a little further. In the Bible, we are told that his disciple Peter cut off the ear of the servant of the High Priest who was one of those who had come to arrest him thus using the same weapons which his enemies were prepared to use. Jesus rebuked Peter saying, "They that take

the sword shall perish by the sword." These people had come to take him to his doom and the surprising thing is that it was he who condemned them to death. Was the Lord and Master referring to the siege of Jerusalem by the Roman army under Titus when thousands of Jews met with death under exceptionally cruel circumstances ?

But the matter did not end there, for he returned good for evil by healing the wounded man. The helpless prisoner becomes, for the time being, the giver of bounty and that not to a friend or a well-wisher but to one of his persecutors. Taken before Pilate who tried, as far as he dared, to save Jesus, he " answered him never a word " to his numerous questions. Pilate called him a just man and refused to have anything to do with his death in proof of which he went through the symbolical ceremony of washing his hands because in the language of the Scriptures " he was the more afraid." When on the Cross, he did not ask mercy for himself but forgiveness for those who did not know what they were doing.

Let us not forget in this connection that Jesus believed what he said when he observed : " Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels ? " Believing as Jesus did that he could always summon supernatural agencies to his aid, and that he refrained from doing so up to the very end, preferring to rely on the example he had set for influencing the future conduct of mankind, does it not seem that Mahatma Gandhi has caught the very spirit of Christ when he laid down the law for the true *Satyagrahi* in the following terms ? "*Ahimsa* means the largest love. It is the supreme law. By it alone can mankind be saved." And again " Non-violence is the weapon of the strongest and the bravest. The true man of God has the strength to use the sword, but will not use it, knowing that every man is the image of God." Here we have the highest and best example of *Ahimsa* or active love resisting evil in the most effective of ways but without deviating from its ideals even to the slightest extent. It is, therefore, that a Christian thinker has given it as his considered opinion that " the willingness to encounter opposition is the very breath of the Christian life. If the Cross means anything, it means that."

The conscious acceptance of a cruel death by Jesus which I regard as the supreme instance of *Satyagraha*, carried along with it the whole-

hearted and cheerful adoption of certain principles which may be regarded as forming the basis of *Ahimsa* in thought and in action. The Lord and Master had faith in the guidance of God in every one of his acts and he regarded Him as the Controller of his fate. According to the Gospel of St. Luke, Christ accepted this guidance of God even when he was not in a position to comprehend its necessity or meaning for he is reported to have prayed: "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless not my will, but thine be done." The intensity of the spiritual struggle he was undergoing was such that we are told that even after an angel from heaven had appeared and strengthened him, "being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly, and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground." It was this faith in God which enabled him to submit to God's guidance.

We are told by Dr. John R. Mott, the President of the World Missionary Conference, who is probably the most outstanding figure in the Christian world to-day, that when he inquired of Mahatma Gandhi as to what had brought him the deepest satisfaction and the greatest consolation whenever he was faced by difficulties, doubts and despair, the answer he received was "Living faith in God." Continuing Gandhiji is reported to have said that if a man dedicates himself to doing the will of God as revealed to him, God Himself will give him all the guidance, that may be necessary. Alluding to his personal experience of God's guidance Mahatma Gandhi observed, "I have never found Him lacking in response. I have found Him nearest at hand when the horizon seemed darkest in my ordeals in gaols, when it was not all smooth sailing for me. I cannot recall a moment in my life when I had a sense of desertion by God." It is not, therefore, strange that when in the course of this interview with Dr. Mott he was asked as to whether the social, the political or the religious motive controlled his activities, he observed, "My motive has been purely religious . . . I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind: and this I could not do unless I took part in politics. The whole gamut of man's activities to-day constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, political and purely religious work into water-tight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a thing of 'sound and fury, signifying nothing.'"

The other equally fundamental fact on which the attention of the world is focussed by the example set by Christ is that the human heart must respond to sympathy and love. An English critic of this technique has observed that *Ahimsa* resembles a pair of scissors with its two blades, the *Satyagrahi* and that of his oppressor. His view is that this method has succeeded with the British administration in India not merely because the Indian *Satyagrahi* has, on the whole, observed the rules of its use as laid down by Mahatma Gandhi but also because the British are, on the whole, a people who love justice and fair play and who feel an innate objection to witnessing the sufferings of humanity. The force of this argument seems to depend on the assumption that the British are superior to other nations as for instance the Fascist or the Nazi nations so far as their national moral code is concerned. Mahatma Gandhi and his followers hold a different opinion. They maintain that however cruel the oppressor, if *Ahimsa* or love of the active variety contemplated in *Satyagraha* is expressed in such a manner as to impress the opponent, it is a certainty that he must return that love. The nation to which he belongs will not make any difference for even the cruellest of men can be conquered by love.

Under these circumstances, it has to be admitted that *Ahimsa* or *Satyagraha* is a definitely Christian method of settling differences and righting wrongs. While ordinarily, we attempt to achieve our purpose by attacking our opponent, in *Satyagraha* we try to do the same thing by, so to say, attacking ourselves. Mahatma Gandhi has said, "In *Satyagraha*, we expect to win over our opponents by self-suffering, that is by love." It is something more than passive suffering and may rightly be regarded as an adventure in love which not only does not even dream of destroying the opponents but, on the contrary, of bringing about a radical change of heart in him so that he becomes a better and a more spiritual man than he was before. If, on the one hand, it is a protest against the continuance and practice of an evil way, it is also a protest which has consciously abrogated the use of violence in thought, word and deed. Even Napoleon recognised the superior utility of this method for in Emil Ludwig's study we find him saying, "There are only two powers in the world, the spirit and the sword. In the long run, the sword will always be conquered by the spirit."

It is therefore that Gandhiji has said, "If blood be shed, let it be our blood. Cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing."

And again, " Human nature is in its essence one, and therefore the aggressor unfailingly responds (that is, in the end) to the advances of love." The essential to success is an undying faith in the radical goodness of human nature. Only those who have lost this faith have recourse to violence as a means to achieving their ends. As against this, the true *Satyagrahi* believes in man to the very end, makes his appeal to even the most depraved and wicked among men in the hope that, in the long run, it must evoke a corresponding feeling. Let me, as a Christian, state here that the response in every age from every part of the world and from every nation of the earth which this message of Christ has called forth bears ample testimony to the correctness of this opinion.

The explanation for this is found in the statement of Mahatma Gandhi that " Religion is not a thing alien to us: it has to be evoked out of us. It is always within us ; with some, consciously so, with others quite unconsciously. But it is always there." The adoption of *Ahimsa* as the most satisfactory way of meeting oppression will be possible only when man has come to realise the presence of this divine element in him. The *Satyagrahi* calls forth this innate divinity of man which is lying dormant by his willing acceptance of suffering, and this can be done only if he possess sufficient courage and patience " to endure unto the end."

From a time when history as such was unknown, this method of overcoming evil was preached by the great teachers of mankind. After Christianity had come to be recognised as one of the world religions, the same lesson has been emphasised by many of the followers of Christ. Such a follower of Christ was St. Francis of Assisi who lived in this world in the 13th century. We have the account of his seeking audience with the Sultan of Egypt at a time when war was going on between all the prominent Christian nations of the West and the Mahomedan powers under the leadership of this potentate. His plan was to bring this struggle to an end in a peaceful way. It is no doubt true that his efforts were not crowned with the success they so rightly deserved. At the same time, we should not forget that blood thirsty and cruel as the Muslims were reputed to be, the Sultan showed him every possible consideration and gave him an opportunity of pleading his cause.

James Naylor, who lived in the 17th century was a Quaker, who had his tongue bored through and through with a red-hot iron

after which he was pilloried. Then came whipping at the cart's tail through the streets of London by the hangman after which his forehead was branded with the letter "B" as he had been condemned as a blasphemer. The cup of punishment was full when he was put to solitary confinement without ink and paper till such time as Parliament took pity on him and gave him his release by legislation. And yet so filled was this man with the spirit of Christ, with *Ahimsa-Satyagraha*, that even after such inhuman treatment he could write as follows:—

"There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end; its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned; it takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow and brought forth without any to pity it; nor does it ever murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone, being forsaken; I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal holy life."

In the 18th century we have John Woolman, another well-known and saintly Quaker, who, learning that the Red Indians were murdering the colonial settlers under the impulse of what he calls "a pure moving of love" in his Journal, paid a visit to these blood-thirsty savages. His intention in his own language was "to feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in, if haply he might receive some instruction from them, or they might be in any degree helped forward by his following the leadings of truth among them." He came across a war party and persuaded them to give him a hearing in the course of which he informed them why he had come to pay them a visit concluding with a brief prayer which he offered to God. It was on this occasion that one of the Red Indian chiefs

observed, " I love to feel where words come from " and persuaded his companions to make peace with the whites.

With such examples before us, we cannot but regard Christ as on the side of those who meet oppression by *Ahimsa* and we also maintain that the following of this path is not an impossibility for man. In our own country, the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi may be regarded as a re-interpretation of this message of Christ once more bringing into prominence its importance in the present-day world. While it is not held that we have here an absolute identity of the methods and teachings of these teachers of mankind, I do maintain that there is sufficient resemblance between the two to warrant us in holding that the same love animates both with the spirit which we find in our All-Father who is equally kind to the virtuous and to the wicked. It was only the other day that Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged his indebtedness to the teachings of Christ in the following terms:—" Though I cannot claim to be a Christian in the sectarian sense, the example of Jesus suffering is a factor in the composition of my undying faith in non-violence, which rules all my actions, worldly and temporal Jesus lived and died in vain if He did not teach us to regulate whole of life by the eternal law of love."

Everyone who had made a close study of the life and writings of Mahatma Gandhi is aware that the idea of self-sacrifice leading to self-purification is always present in them. In one memorable passage dealing with this aspect of his teaching he has said, " God insists on purity of the cause and an adequate sacrifice therefor." The adoption of this truly Christian principle was recognised in an article entitled "The Significance of Gandhi" which appeared in "The Church Times." Here the writer observed, "In Russia a new society is being evolved with persecution, killing and the preaching of hatred. In Italy, a new society is developing under the protection of distinctly coercive measures. In India, men and women are being taught that if they would be free, they must first be good." It is, therefore, that I am of opinion that *Ahimsa-Satyagraha* as evolved by Gandhiji is the method of the Cross adapted to the everyday problems of modern civilised existence and as such it is an extension in practical life of the teachings of the Lord and Master.

It has to be acknowledged, however unwillingly, that in the West, many humble and God-fearing men and women fired with the

teachings of Christ have lived in the spirit of *Ahimsa*. These have not failed in proclaiming from the house-tops the inconsistency between the profession and the practice of Christianity in their part of the world. Such people have condemned in the strongest of terms the social and economic injustice which has characterised Western nations as well as wars for national aggrandisement into which their countries have entered time after time. These have been like voices crying in the wilderness and have remained unheeded. On the whole, it would not be incorrect to assume that they have concerned themselves more with the salvation of individual souls rather than with making any attempt to preach the gospel of universal love as a divine call for the reconstruction of the existing social organisation and the radical reformation of the present world-order.

The message of Christ has gone forth but it has not been embodied or implemented in the way suggested above and that is why we are witnessing that disintegration which is taking place before our eyes to-day. At such a time has appeared in India, herself torn asunder by social and religious differences, a little frail "half-naked fakir" who has devoted his life to make once again the fundamental teaching of Christianity—the conversion of man by self-chosen unresisting, uncomplaining suffering—a vital message for sinful humanity. A Hindu has shown himself to be far nearer the truth of Christ, the truth of the Cross, than Christians who are known after the name of the Man of Sorrows. Before our eyes, the Cross has come to a new life and its creative triumph is borne testimony to by thousands of men and women who are not familiar with the teachings of our Lord and Master. This man has called his followers to a new kind of warfare in which the soldiers keep themselves from defilement by the use of weapons of destruction, a warfare in which the arms used are soul-force, where love is shown even to the cruellest of enemies. The soldiers engaged in this new kind of warfare have accepted the crown of thorns set in mockery on the head of Christ believing that it will redeem both victors and vanquished into a newer and a higher life. When will so-called Christians learn what their own religion means and when will they live Christianity in their daily lives and actions so as to make the world a better place to live in?

In conclusion, let us hear what Mahatma Gandhi has to say about the fundamental teaching of Christianity and the effects which its adoption in actual practice will lead to if we are convinced about

its utility, and adopt it as the future principle of our conduct and life. This is what he says, "I have an implicit faith—a faith that to-day burns brighter than ever, after half a century's experience of unbroken practice of non-violence, that mankind can only be saved through non-violence which is the central teaching of the Bible, as I have understood the Bible."

THE EQUATIONS OF WORLD-ECONOMY

DR. BENOYKUMAR SARKAR, DR. h.c.

IN 1890 was published the earliest of all the papers which have found place subsequently in Mahadeo Govind Ranade's *Essays in Indian Economics* (Bombay, 1898). But down to 1915 the output from Indian professors or other academicians in economics was rather poor in quantity. It is during the second quarter of a century since then that Indian economists have been somewhat in evidence as writers of economic essays, tracts or books. Virtually each one of these publications is a contribution to Indian economics. The treatment is, generally speaking, either descriptive or historical. The political bias is likewise almost universally patent. The entire output may be regarded scientifically as belonging to the field of applied economics. Exceptions to these general features of the economic literature produced by the economists of India are few and far between, and at any rate may be noticed only in very recent years.

The present author's approach to economic questions, Indian or non-Indian, theoretical or applied, has been from an angle rather different from that of Indian economists in general. The interest of his economic studies has lain chiefly in the analysis of international problems and more or less universal topics in which economic India has her part. In a general manner it may be described as world-economic or comparative. The equations of world-economy, the subject of this paper, may be regarded as some of the by-products, although not the less significant items, of these investigations.

THE METHODOLOGY OF COMPARATIVE STATISTICS

The chief object in this paper is, first, to describe as briefly as possible or illustrate the methods of analysis, and secondly, to enumerate very barely some of the conclusions. It will not be possible to go into details. The mind should be left open to the modifications or exceptions such as may legitimately be considered worthwhile. The considerations that are likely to militate somewhat against the acceptance of the conclusions in the form in which they are presented

are being overlooked for the time being. It is only the broad lines of argument that are being developed in a most general manner.

For the purposes of the present discussion we are avoiding the question as to how far the world is or has been a unified economic theatre for the play of economic forces, competition or co-operation in supply and demand, such as the concept of world-economy generally involves. Attention is being focussed on a comparative study of the economic structures and economic developments of the diverse regions of the world. We are interested in the inter-racial, inter-regional or inter-national analysis and comparison of economic creativities. Fundamentally speaking, these analyses should be quantitative, i.e., statistical. But it so happens that for long, very long periods, to be measured by thousands of years the comparisons are bound to be exclusively qualitative. It is only for the last two or three generations, nay, for the last half-century that figures are available and comparative statistics can be treated in a somewhat scientific manner. This consideration should be regarded as a chief limitation bearing on the study of the equations in world-economy.¹ Not less important is the consideration that the figures brought together by the authorities of the different regions are often hardly comparable with one another because the components in each system of figures may not be identical.

In so far as figures are available and comparable, the methodology of comparative statistics may be indicated as follows. It is not enough to quote the quantitative data for whole regions. These are but absolute figures. For the present purpose they do not possess much significance. In order to be of real worth they have to be worked out per head of the population inhabiting the regions in question. Sometimes it may also be necessary to calculate the figures per square mile of the territory considered. It is the relative figures thus derived that are important in international comparisons. They furnish the economic indices that have to be placed in the perspectives of one another in the comparison of the regions whose values are under examination.

Economic indices as thus interpreted are to be worked out along the entire front of economic life.¹ The bank deposits and bank assets,

¹ For some of the charts and indices see B. K. Sarkar : *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* (Calcutta, 1932, 1934), *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World-Economy* (Calcutta, 1934), *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta, 1936), and *Economic Development*, Vol. I, (Madras, 1926, 1938), Vol. II, (Calcutta, 1932, 1938).

the insurance premia and the insurance funds, the passenger-miles and the ton-miles, the steam engines, the dynamos, the kilowatt-hours, the notes and coins in circulation, the clearing house transactions, the infant mortality rates, the expenses on primary education, the sanitation, budgets, the housing subsidies, the municipal areas and their inhabitants, the maternity benefits, the sickness premia, the old-age pensions, the occupational diseases, the industrial accidents, the agricultural loans, the land mortgages, the exports and imports, the output and consumption of coal and steel, the output and consumption of sugar, eggs, fruits, etc., the trade unions and their members, and such other items have all to be exhibited in *per capita* and *per square mile* values. The larger the number of items considered, the more adequate and scientific the basis for studies in comparative economics or world-economy.

By applying such economic indices it is possible to detect three orders of parity, identity or equation existing between different regions, races and nations of the world, namely, the following:

1. $A (1940) = x B (1940)$
2. $A (1940) = x A (1905)$
3. $A (1940) = B (1905).$

The first equation of world-economy says that in 1940 the region A is x times the region B. This is to be understood item by item. According to the second equation the region A in 1940 is x times the same region in 1905. The region in question has gone ahead or down in economic indices. In the third equation we find the region A in 1940 equal to the region B as it was in 1905. That is, A is lagging behind B by 35 years in economic creativities. Each equation is evidently important in its own way for certain purposes.

In every instance the equation, identity or similarity is to be understood as approximate sameness or nearest approach.

Palaeolithic Technocracy and Economy

The equations of world-economy are palpable at the very outset. Mankind everywhere was economic and technocratic. The earliest specimens of the *Pithecanthropus* (Java) or the *Heidelberg* and the *Neanderthal* (Germany) races have been found to be experts in discoveries and inventions. Perhaps the very first or one of the first

manifestations of man's spirituality, soul-force or the like consisted in the discovery and application of tools, instruments and machines. Pragmatically considered, the most prehistoric men and women,—and of course the Strepvans, the Chelleans, the Acheuleans and the Mousterians who may be singled out as some of the "great powers" of the Lower Palaeolithic Age,—were hedonists, to use a modern category. That is, they were used to the calculus of pleasures and pains, gains and sacrifices, profits and losses. These ultramodern terms are of course to be interpreted in their orientations to the palaeolithic *Gestalt* or pattern. Maximum outturn with minimum sacrifice was the guiding principle of their materialistic-cum-spiritual creativity. They were used to the avoidance of pains, wastes, losses etc. Indeed, their every day. life was the theatre of rationalization in every item. In modern times economy or economic enterprise does not imply any thing else.

We are then to understand from the records of tools and implements that economic creativity is as old as mankind. So also is technocracy. The first human beings were self-conscious materialistic agents. Nay, they were capitalistic too in so far as they were used to save and plan for the future. Economic policy was in their very breath. The time-sense was thus an integral part of their economic *psyche* or spiritual logic. In the second place, they were users of tools and implements too. They understood the value of economizing labour and appreciated the emergence of, nay, researches into, labour-saving appliances. They were perpetually bent, perhaps no less consciously than unconsciously, on making changes in the tools and implements, thereby consummating a large number of "industrial revolutions" from epoch to epoch. Inventiveness was the very *differentium* of man as a zoological being.

The most fundamental equation for all the races of palaeolithic men, no matter how they were geographically distributed, can then be delivered in two formulae as follows:—

I. The Equation of Materialism—

1. No economics, no man,
2. No planning, no man.

II. The Equation of Inventiveness—

1. No technocracy, no man,
2. No rationalization, no man.

It is not yet safe to enter into a quantitative examination of the materialistic and technocratic achievements of the diverse peoples of the palaeolithic age. Indeed it is hardly worth while to establish a synchronism between them or attempt anything more than a rough chronology. Evidently, although the spirit or soul or man was materialistic and inventive in all the races of those millennia there were the differences in degrees or grades between them not only in different epochs of evolution but in the same epoch as well. The distinction between the superiors or go-aheads and the inferiors a backwards cannot be overlooked in the analysis of these equations of materialism and inventiveness as the very foundation of human creativity.

From millennium to millennium it is possible to detect changes, improvements, transformations or progress in tools and implements. But during each successive stage some sort of a qualitative equation between the diverse palaeolithic men appears to have been a fact of technocracy.

By employing modern and ultra-modern terms to primitive and prehistoric phenomena we are to understand, of course, that the phenomena of today are coeval with mankind. But at the same time it is implied that the phenomenon has not remained identical all through the ages, but that from epoch to epoch it has changed its contents and substances. These considerations are to be duly weighed while evaluating, for instance, the many "industrial revolutions" of the Palaeolithic Age.

The Eur-Asian Parities

For certain purposes it is the convention among scholars to divide the world-economy (as world-culture generally) into two halves, eastern and western. This is scientifically open to question. These two halves cannot by any means be demonstrated to represent two qualitatively distinct economies or economic ideologies? The prehistoric, i.e., the lower and the upper palaeolithic stages of technocracy and economic creativity exhibit, as we have seen, the basic identity, similarity or equality between the races in regard to economic *psyche* and materialistic and technocratic attainments. We encounter here the fundamental equation of world-economy.

So far as the world-economy of the earliest historical periods is concerned, we may place it in the neo-lithic or chalco-lithic age,

say, somewhere between 3500 B.C. and 1500 B.C. About this time it is possible to detect the following economico-technocratic equation :

Mohenjodarian-Assyro-Babylonian economy (East)

= Egyptian-Cretan-Mycenean economy (West).

It is implied that in Mohenjodarian times Indian economy and Western economy were more or less identical. The distinction between East and West did not exist in materialism or the spirituality that is automatically involved in economic creativity and technocracy. Economic and technocratic parity was the fact of Eur-Asia on the threshold of history. This is another fundamental equation of world-economy.

For subsequent periods the more or less approximate materialistic and technocratic parities, identities or similarities may be roughly indicated as follows: ²

(1) East (c. B.C. 700-c. A.C. 1300) = West (c. B.C. 700- c. A.C. 1300) institutionally as well as ideologically.

(2) Renaissance in the East (c.1400-1600) = Renaissance in the West (c. 1400-1600).

(3) c. 1600-1750. The new physical or positive sciences in the West constitute a special feature of the European Renaissance. The Asian Renaissance produces fine arts but no new positive science worth mentioning. All the same, no genuine economic or materialistic differentiations between East and West are preceptible as yet. We may then institute the following equations:

(a) Asia in positive science (c. 1600-1750) = Europe in positive science (c. 1400-1600).

(b) Asia in socio-economic life (c. 1600-1750) = Europe in socio-economic life (c. 1600-1750).

(4) c. 1750-1850. Industrial Revolution in the West creates a new civilization, the "modern world". East and West differ substantially for the first time. Thus, Asia (c. 1850) = Europe (c. 1750).

The "industrial revolution" referred to here is but one of the many industrial revolutions of economic history since the earliest epochs of the Palaeolithic Age.

About 1850 the "East" is behind the "West" by nearly a century,—in technocracy, economic institutions and general culture.

² B. K. Sarkar: *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Allahabad, 1914-1937), *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922, Calcutta, 1939), *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Berlin, 1922, Calcutta, 1939).

ASIA AND EUR-AMERICA

Notwithstanding the divergences of latitude and longitude and notwithstanding the differences in the make-up of the blood among different races, economic anthropology as well as the history of inventions furnish us with what may be described as parities, equations or identities and at any rate similarities in the ideals as well as technical and other attainments of the diverse races of the world.

It is necessary at this stage of world-reconstruction to focus the attention of scholars on some of these parities or equations in the field of economic structure and materialistic civilization. In the place of the traditional ideas regarding racial and geographical differences in the so-called types of culture we are presented with differences or distances, *i.e.*, "lags" in time only. The fundamental features of world-economy, pragmatically considered, are found to be the same in the different peoples. It is only proceeding step by step or rather stage by stage from epoch to epoch: the differences between the peoples are in the main but differences in the stage or epoch. The equations that can be established reveal but the distinctions between earlier and later, go-ahead and backward peoples. The same economicotechnocratic features are appearing today in one race or region, tomorrow in a second, and the day after tomorrow in a third.

The "curves" of life in economic theory and practice as manifest in the modern East are more or less similar to those in the modern West. If one were to plot out these curves diagrammatically one would notice that the Asian series ran almost parallel to the Eur-American. The "trends" of economic evolution would appear to be nearly identical in the most significant particulars and incidents of thought and experience.

The exactnesses of the mathematical and "positive" sciences, are, however, not to be expected in the human and moral disciplines. But certain "equations" may still be discovered in a comparative estimate of East and West in modern times. By placing the Asian curve in the perspective of the Eur-American one might establish a number of identities for the modern period—although, of course, not without "buts" and "ifs".

But, in any case, taking Asia as a whole one would come to the conclusion that the economic endeavours in the different regions of the Orient are mainly but repetitions of modern Eur-American

developments in their earlier stages. The following economicotechnocratic equations may be established on the strength of postive data :

- (1) New Asia (c. 1880-1890) = modern Eur-America (c. 1776-1832).
- (2) Young India (c. 1935-1940) = Eur-America (c. 1848-1840).

In the first equation, Asia comprises Turkey and Egypt, indicating that the entire Orient from Tokyo to Cairo was witnessing a technical and social transformation roughly corresponding to the re-making of the West during the epoch of the "Industrial Revolution" as defined in the previous section.

The second equation has special reference to India, indicating that Japan and Turkey as well as China, Iran and Egypt will have to be comprehended by separate, perhaps five different equations. There are likewise to be separate equations not only for Hedjaz, Palestine, Syria and Iraq but also for Afganistan which has for some time been enjoying lime-light as a somewhat serious and sincere youngster attempting the alphabet of modernism in technocracy and economic life.

The modern East is about two generations behind the modern West in technocracy and socio-economic polity. New Asia is born through (1) contact with and example of modern Western progress, (2) industrialization, however slow and halting, and (3) antipathy to foreign domination, intervention or concession.

The inspiration derived from the economic, political and cultural achievements of ancient and medieval Asia is another formative force in the New Orient. This "romantic" appreciation of the past is, however, intimately associated with modern historical, archaeological and anthropological scholarship. Nationalism, in so far as it is an aspect of romanticism, is thus ultimately to be traced, therefore, in the main to Western education such as began to bear fruit among the pioneers of the new life and thought in Asia between 1850 and 1886 and has been more or less democratized filtering down to the masses since then.

The process of Asia's rebirth may be said to have begun c. 1850 and taken about one generation or so, thus:—

1. Western Asia (Turkey, Egypt and Iran): 1857 (Crimean War) to 1876, 1882, 1890.
2. Southern Asia (India): 1857 (Mutiny) to 1886.

3. Japan: 1853 (Commodore Perry) to 1867-1889.

4. China: 1842 (Nanking Treaty) to 1898.

Although economico-technocratic modernization began to influence the Asian continent at different points more or less simultaneously during the decade from 1880 to 1890 the rate of growth for different regions since then has been different.

For instance, the distance or lag of some 50 years that existed between Japan and Eur-America, say, about 1886, has been made up to a very considerable extent ; so that the approximate economic equation of world-economy would perhaps be indicated by the following statement :

Japan (c. 1935-40) = Eur-America (c. 1910).

That is, while India continues still to be some two generations or so behind the modern West in industrialism and its allied philosophies, the distance that existed during the decade 1880-1890, Japan has succeeded in catching up with the go-aheads by more than a generation. And to that extent Japan today is ahead of contemporary India.

INDIAN ECONOMY AND WEST-EUROPEAN ECONOMY

It is not the place here to go into details about the technocratic and economic transformations of the modern world. But those transformations may be indicated in four successive periods beginning with the new conquests of technocracy in which England commenced pioneering the world about 1760-85. The following scheme exhibits the West-European Economy and the Indian Economy in four periods of transformation, which, however, from the nature of the case cannot be synchronous or identical. In regard to West-European Economy the British-German equations are being shown for each of these periods. The French equations with Germany or with England are being given for the first two periods only. In regard to India it is the equations with Germany as a "relatively late" comer and with England as the pioneer in the domain of modern technocracy and industrial revolution that are chiefly pointed out while the relations with France are indicated only incidentally. It is to be observed that the categories, "industrialization," "first industrial revolution" and "second industrial revolution" have reference to different degrees in the intensity and extensity of the socio-economic transformation

as measured by *per capita* or *per sq. mile* values. In any case, they are vague and scientifically anything but definite. International statistics, besides, are very incomplete and very uncomparable, and therefore, must not be made too much of. And yet some amount of precision for general purposes can be obtained,—provided we take care to guard ourselves against the monistic economic determinism of Karl Marx,—from an examination of the equations of comparative industrialism as tabled below :—³

West-European Economy

Indian Economy

I

I

1785-1830.

1793-1853.

The first "Industrial Revolution" of modern times is consummated in England. The age of modern technocracy commences its career. But France and Germany (1830) = England (1800).

From the Permanent Settlement in Bengal to the first cotton mill in Bombay. "Commercial revolution" in India on account of contacts with Europe through England. No new "industries." India (1853) = England (1785) = almost France (1830).
= almost Germany (1830).

II

II

1830-70

1854-85

The first Industrial Revolution progresses in France and somewhat later in Germany. But Germany (1870) = England (1830-48).

Rising birth-rate in the West-European economy (1841-80).

"Industrialization" (but not in industrial revolution) commences slowly and in a weak manner.

India (1885) = France (1848).

= Germany (1848).

= England (1815).

³ Cf. H. Hauser : *Les Débuts du Capitalisme* (Paris, 1931), pp. 42-44, 309-23, where the terms "industry," "revolution," "capitalism," etc. have been subjected to careful sociological criticism. The strength and weakness of the economic interpretation of history have been examined at length in R. Michels—*Corso di Sociologia Politica* (Milan, 1927), pp. 15-17, 47-52, 81-85.

III

1870-1905

In modern technocracy Germany catches up with England. Germany (1905)=England (1905). The epoch of "world-economy" in its most pronounced phases commences with the opening of the Suez Canal (1869).

The decline commences in the birth-rate (1881-90).

III

1886-1905

Industrialization continues at a slow rate. The *intelligentsia* is growing self-conscious and works to achieve a veritable industrial "revolution" of the modern pattern. The economic sentiments of the Indian National Congress (1886) lead upto the Swaraj Boycott-Swadeshi revolution of the Bengali people (1905).

India (1905)=Germany (1850-60).
=England (1830).

Rising birth-rate in India (1881-1910).

IV

1905-40

The "second" Industrial Revolution of modern times progresses in Germany, England (the U. S. A. and some other countries). "Rationalization" and Technocracy of the latest patterns paramount.

The epoch of world-economy intensified, among other factors, by the opening of the Panama Canal (1915).

The decline in birth-rate continues. But anti-birth control movement commences in France and Germany (c. 1920-30) and England (c. 1935).

IV.

1905-40

Industrialization somewhat accentuated on account of the *Swadeshi* Movement and the Great War of 1914-18 as well as the present war (1939-) to a certain extent and yet hardly constitutes an industrial "revolution" of the modern West-European pattern in terms of *per capita* or *per sq. mile* values.

In technocracy India (1940)

= Germany (c. 1865-70)

= England (c. 1848).

The decline in the birth-rate commences (1910-30).

In the above *tableau économique* the processes of transformation are identical on both sides, the West-European and the Indian. The chronological backwardness or sociocultural lag of certain regions in the West-European economy in relation to England the pioneer is quite clear. Equally clear also is the chronological backwardness of economic India in relation not only to England but to the

West-European economy as a whole. In technocracy India at 1905, i.e., when the *Swadeshi* revolution of the Bengali people commences, is about 45-55 years behind Germany and about 75 years behind England. The general economic and social conditions of the Indian people, as well as their material standard of life and efficiency, are at this time on more or less the same level,—allowing for the differences in climate and manners,—as in these West-European countries between 1830 and 1860. There is nothing extraordinary, therefore, that the birth-rate tendencies, namely, in the direction of ascent, which prevailed in these regions in those earlier years should manifest themselves along general lines in the Indian economy during this later period (1886-1910). It is under the more or less identical conditions of “temperature and pressure,” to use a phrase from physics, that the more or less identical birth-phenomena, namely, the rising birth-rates have taken place. Only the periods of time during which the conditions have developed are some three decades apart from each other, the third period of the Indian Economy corresponding with the second period of the West-European.

The next phase in both these economies is a declining birth-rate. The decline commences in the West-European in the third period but in the Indian in the fourth period. This decline, is, however, quite a curious phenomenon.

The third and fourth periods of the West-European Economy are, if any thing, but continuations of the previous two periods in technocracy, industrial revolution, etc. We have here indeed the beginnings of real “world-economy” and what may be called the “second” industrial revolution of modern times, altogether an expansion and intensification of the economic prosperity which commenced about 1760-1830. And so far as the Indian Economy is concerned, the fourth period has likewise witnessed nothing but the accentuation of all the technical and financial forces which operated in the third. The progress of industrialization in India has certainly embodied itself during this period in such productive enterprises and items of consumption as sharply distinguished it from the third as moving on a higher plane. Material prosperity has grown in India as in Western Europe, although undoubtedly at different rates, in recent years.

Should the growing economic prosperity be a concomitant factor with the rising birth-rate in certain periods of West-European and

Indian life-history, the birth-rate ought to continue to rise during succeeding periods which witness the continuity, nay, expansion of the economic prosperity. But the actual facts of international vital statistics happen to be the exact opposite of what is logically expected. Instead of the birth-rate rising higher or at any rate maintaining a higher level with the larger doses of industrialization, technocracy, world-economy, and material prosperity, it has actually fallen and has been going down lower and lower. And the decline is patent as much in the West-European Economy as in the Indian.⁴ The results of the anti-birth control movement are not yet mentionable.

WESTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKAN COMPLEX

Within the limitations to which all economico-technocratic equations as attempts at measuring magnitudes bearing on "un-exact" sciences are bound to be subject, it should be equally possible to indicate, for the purposes of comparative statistics, the rates of growth in the line of modernization for different regions of Eur-America as well. The entire West is not one in industrialism, technocracy, economic planning, socialism or the corresponding philosophies. There are Europes and Europes as there are Americas and Americas. To take one instance, that of Germany, we should find the following equations:

(1) Germany (c. 1870) — Great Britain (c. 1830-48).

but (2) Germany (c. 1905) — Great Britain (c. 1905).

The first equation says that about 1870 Germany was tremendously behind Great Britain, say, by a whole generation. But by 1905, i.e., in 35 years, she, first, made up the distance, and secondly, caught up to the latter. She was indeed on the point of crossing the equation-limit. The war of 1914-18 should appear socio-philosophically to be nothing more than the dramatic demonstration of this disturbance of the economico-technocratic equation or societal equilibrium in the international field. The war of 1939—is but a continuation of the same armageddon of the twentieth century constituting its second round.

⁴ The present author's *Quozienti di Natalità, di Mortalità e di Aumento Naturale nell'India Attuale nel Quadro della Demografia Comparata* in the Proceedings of the International Congress for the study of Population (Rome, 1961); "The Trend of Indian Birth Rates" (in the *Indian Journal of Economics*, Allahabad, April and July 1964).

The equations discussed here involve two fundamental considerations in the problem of economic progress. The first has reference to the fact that during historic and even pre-historic periods the evolution of mankind has been continuous, although not without ups and downs, cuts and breaks. And the second invites us to note that the development has been in the main along uniform lines, although not without diversities in regional and racial context.

An analysis of economic life in the Balkans would lead to the result that Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, etc. represent almost the same stages in technological evolution in which India finds herself at the present day. Almost each one of the states that lies between the German and Russian spheres and between the Baltic Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean is an India in miniature. Economically speaking, each of these states embodies the efforts of semi-developed and more or less chiefly agricultural peoples at imbibing the culture of the more advanced Western Europe and America. They represent the processes of "acculturation" by which Eastern Europe is tending to bid adieu finally to the lingering vestiges of the feudal-agrarian system, the mediaeval economic organization and technique, which disappeared more or less partially in England, the U.S., France, and Germany between 1750 and 1850.

In point of industrialization, technocracy and capitalism the British, German and American standard is the highest in the world. Nearly two-thirds of the European continent are in the more or less undeveloped and mediaeval conditions of Spain. That is why the people of India should make it a point to study the methods and achievements of Spain, the Balkan Complex and other second-rate and third-rate countries of Eur-America. It would be a wrong policy for Young India always to talk of England, Germany and America while organizing industrial and other economic movements.

Modern economy has been advancing from the West to the East. There is no region today more significant for the development of India than the Balkans, Central-Eastern Europe, the Baltic states and Russia. The problems that are being fought over and settled in these territories,—generally described as the "Balkan Complex" by the present author,—are identical in many ways with the problems that await solution and are challenging the industrial experts and social workers of India.

The conclusion from an examination of the earlier stages of "modern" banking in France and Germany from the stand-point of comparative bank-statistics is equally significant with reference to the equations that are being discussed here. When one studies the European figures with special reference to Indian conditions one should suspect that in banking, as in other branches of economic and social (perhaps also cultural) development, India has yet to commence mastering the ideas of 1870 or thereabout and traverse the ground covered by the moderns since then.

The cumulative effect of all these investigations may be embodied in the following futuristic equation:—"Whatever has happened in the economic sphere in Eur-America during the past half-century is bound also to happen more or less on similar and even identical lines in Asia and, of course, in India during the next two generations or so." The problem before applied economics or economic statesmanship, so far as India is concerned, consists in envisaging and hastening the working out of the "next stages" in technical progress as well as economic life. Economic planning, rightly considered, cannot mean anything else for India.

Socialism is the obverse of capitalism both in the medieval and the modern phases of this phenomenon. Factory legislation, labour movement, trade unionism, protection of workingmen and such other forms of state intervention as constitute the essence of modern socialism are virtually as old as the modern steam-engine, machinery, and workshop. The comparative appraisal of industrial-cum-capitalism in and through the equations of economic indices furnishes likewise almost automatically the comparative evaluation of socialism. For instance, the strength of the trade-union movement in an economic region is an index as much to the power of its capitalistic as of its socialistic economy. The equations of world-economy are, therefore, to be taken as valid for the entire capitalistic-socialistic complex in every region, Asian, African or Eur-American.

THE EQUATIONS OF COMPARATIVE INDUSTRIALISM IN THEIR BEARINGS ON ECONOMIC PLANNING

The practical significance of the equations of world-economy with reference to "Economic Planning" is not to be overlooked.

Comparative industrialism discovers that in orientations to the "world-economy" economic India exhibits the features of an economically young, undeveloped or semi-developed people *vis-à-vis* the industrial "adults" of the day. In the interest of economic legislation and other aids to economic developments, it may perhaps be quite one's worthwhile in India to try to cultivate up-to-dateness in the world-statistics, the world-techniques, and the world-ideals of economics. But for the more "practical" considerations of "realizable" ideals and methods of economic statesmanship India will have to devote special attention to assimilating intensively the achievements in theory and practice such as the economic adults were contributing to the world, say, a generation or two ago. It is easier for a certain number or rather a handful of intellectuals, considered as individuals, to advance "ideologically" than for an entire race or some substantially large sections of the population to grow in terms of institutions and get used to new techniques, habits and usages.

The banking situation in India today, to take an instance of current interest, can be aptly described in the words of the National Monetary Commission (1908), which sat to examine and report on the defects in the financial organization of the U.S.A. In 1911, we are told, the Americans exported about \$ 650,000,000 in value of cotton. It was largely financed by 60 or 90 day bills drawn on Liverpool, London, Paris or Berlin. And this business was "practically all done by foreign banks or bankers." In regard to domestic trade also the American methods were "crude, expensive and unworthy an intelligent people." The Commission observed as follows: "The man who raises cotton in Mississippi or cattle in Texas, or the farmer who raises wheat in the North-West cannot readily find a market in Chicago, New York or London for the obligations arising out of the transactions connected with the growth and movement of his products because the bankers of these cities have no knowledge of his character and responsibility."

Factually, perhaps, from the standpoint of comparative development, in spite of the modest language of the Commission the American conditions three decades ago were not literally as "crude" and "disgraceful" or "young" as the Indian conditions today. But "generally" speaking, the two conditions are similar, if not identical. And Indian bank-reformers have, therefore, more to learn of pre-1914 than of post-1914 America or the Rooseveltian "New Deal" of post-

depression (1933) years. We should have to begin at, say, the American stage of 1908. It is to be observed, however, in the interest of precision that the American economic indices of 1908 or thereabouts were already much too high, as representing quite an "adult" phenomenon, for the Indian indices of 1935-40. Statistically, there are indeed reasons to believe that for all practical purposes, the present Indian conditions hardly register anything beyond the Western-European or American growth of the 70's of the last century. Altogether, when we in India speak of pre-1914 Eur-America as a general guide for our present purposes we should really have in our mind the second half or rather the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

That is why, with a view to the pressing requirements of Indian commerce, manufacture, agriculture, labour and economic legislation bearing on these practical aspects of life, *i.e.*, on "economic planning" as known today, we should often be at liberty to overlook or ignore the latest developments in the Western world. Indian studies relating to the twentieth century and especially the post-1914 phases of Eur-American experience—rationalization, trustification, "planned economy"—are mainly to be evaluated as academic investigations into the possibilities of mankind's economic evolution and as scientific researches into the "next stages" of the world's development in technical and national lines. To that extent such investigations would possess indeed a dynamic value of no mean order, fraught, as they are likely to be, with suggestions of a practical character.

On the other hand, the methods and policies of economic India today should appear to be almost akin to, nay, identical with, those of the other economic youngsters of the world—in Southern or Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa. The industrialization of India and other young regions can be appreciated at its proper worth—technocratic, commercial, social and political—only by those who are prepared not to overlook or minimize the importance of the "new industrial and commercial revolution" through which the adults have been passing for the last three decades, especially during and since the Great War of 1914-18. Once these perspectives of international economic life and the new world-order were grasped in their due proportions, it might perhaps be possible to discover the proper scientific approaches to the regulation of the economic and other conflicts between the "young ambitions" and the "vested interests."

The world-economy as patent today is the system of economic institutions and ideologies prominent since, say, 1920. In a concrete manner they may be said to be embodied in organizations like the League of Nations, the International Bureau of Labour, the International Chamber of Commerce, International Cartels, "planned economy," etc. It is clear that India is already a part of this complex and willy-nilly has been trying to rise up to the methodology and technique of the new world-order. But the discrepancies lie no less on the surface. These consist in the attempts of a junior that is furnished, as it evolutionally is, with somewhat semi-medieval paraphernalia, but is compelled none the less to observe and follow the up-to-date standard of the comparatively advanced members in the society of nations. This compulsion perpetually to aim at the highest and attitudinize oneself to the socio-economic *mores* and codes of the seniors may, to a certain extent, undoubtedly hasten the developmental processes in the juniors. But the frictions due to actual maladjustment and absence of natural harmony in the economic *Realpolitik* cannot fail to be the source of internationally tragic situations. The lack of adaptation between the economics of youngsters and those of the adults constitutes the greatest stumbling block, technically considered, to international concord in the epoch of world-economy.⁵

THE WAR-ECONOMY AND INDIAN INDUSTRIALISM

An illustration of the equations of world-economy as well as their practical significance in economic statesmanship may be furnished from the position of Indian industrialism *vis-à-vis* the war of today (September, 1939-).

The *swadeshi* revolution of Young Bengal (1905) would have failed to grow into the great power it has become today had there been no war of 1914-18. That war was a god-send to Bengali, nay, all-Indian industrialism and capitalism. The industrial revolution or transformation of India was intensified and extended by the economic enterprises attendant on that first "*Kurukshetra*" of the twentieth century. On that occasion as on many others in all the ages of history

⁵ See the discussion on the relation between the "second" and the "first" Industrial Revolutions—the 'adults' and the "youngsters"—in connection with the analysis of the world-economic depression in Sarkar's *Economic Development* Vol. II. (Calcutta, 1932, 1938).

since the Mohenjodarian, indeed, since the Palaeolithic ages war-economy acted as a powerful factor in the promotion of industrial and commercial life. It is war that has always been a creative agent in inventions and discoveries. It is war that has ever been considerably responsible for new industries, trades and business. No war, no science. No war, no technocracy. No war, no progress. No war, no civilization. These statements need not, however, be taken in the *advaita padi* or monistic method of functional determinism.

One has only to observe the economic indices of India about 1923 and place them in the perspective of those about 1913 in order to be convinced how tremendously India's industrial progress was influenced on account of the direct and indirect contributions of the last world-war. Banks, insurance companies and transportation societies such as today are being run by Indian financiers and manned by Indian talent, are all every day conscious of that war as a beneficent agency in Indian technocracy and capitalism. And of course the industries, large, medium or small, nay, the cottage arts and crafts, the exports and imports as well as the agricultural occupations, all felt the impacts of the war in an exceedingly favourable manner. No greater tonic has been administered to the *swadeshi* revolution of the Indian people than the war-economy of 1914-18.

In regard to the present war also, which is really a continuation of the last war, being but the second round in what may turn out to be a hundred years' armageddon between the two dominant peoples of the modern world students of economic statistics, especially in their bearings on Indian industry and commerce, can reasonably look forward to similar consummations. The economic indices of 1950 *vis-à-vis* 1938 are tending to be at least of the same magnitudes as those of 1925 *vis-à-vis* 1913. Another god-send to the industrial *swadeshism* of India is being furnished by the present war. No shrewd business-man can afford to be misled by the panicky observations or interpretations of the man in the street. The objective facts are telling their own tale. The war-industries and the war-trades have already been functioning in India in a palpable manner. The news-agencies of the present war are undoubtedly not as generous as those of the last in furnishing information about the smallest or the largest new ventures or enlargements of old enterprises, such as are taking place in order to feed the war-machine. Nor do they always appear to be keen enough in reporting on the non-war industrial establishments

that are emerging in order to fill in the gaps created by the disappearance of the peace-time foreign suppliers of India's normal requirements. The factual changes in the direction of Indian exports, i.e., the shipments of Indian manufactures, semi-manufactures and raw produce to new countries within and outside the war-regions do not likewise appear as yet to have claimed the attention of the publicity bureaus. But the noses of hard-headed business-men do not depend exclusively on the flavours catered by the official or non-official news agencies. They must already be aware of the slow but steady transformations in the industrial and commercial structure of India engendered by the war-economy of today.

The demand for the goods produced by the Indian *swadeshi* manufacturers is so great that no advertisement is necessary for them to market the stuffs. The buyers are at the doors of the factories even before the goods are ready for delivery. The absence of publicity on the part of the manufacturing companies is easily understandable. Economic theorists and the lay public should orientate themselves to this aspect of the present industrial situation in India.

Nobody is blind enough to believe that during the period since the outbreak of the war in September 1939 India's war-preparations in men, material, technique and so forth have failed to influence the Indian agriculture, manufacture, commerce, transportation and technical education to any extent. The economist has but to visualize these preparations in a realistic manner and the businessman but to depend less on newspaper reports or rather on the absence of such reports and more on his eyes and ears, and both are likely to be convinced that the present war is repeating the experiences of the last in regard to the progress of industrialization, technocracy and capitalism in India. All this has to be visualized, further, in the background of, say, a seven-year, or at any rate a five-year war. The advances in engineering, chemistry, electro-technique, aviation, land-transportation, manufacture, cottage industries, as well as agriculture, on the one hand, and in the growth of technical heads, business experts, and skilled workingmen on a somewhat considerable scale on the other may then be presumed to be the realities of economic India about 1950. Compared to that prospective consummation the developments of 1913-25 might even appear to be rather inconsiderable.

The panicky climate of the Indian markets since September, 1939, is in the main due to the uncertainties about the prospective

duration of the war. Those observers who attach extraordinary importance to the *Blitzkrieg* tactics have been nursing every morning the ideology of a three-week to three-month war.

This is too naive an ideology. A war in which are being decided the boundaries of every people in Europe as well as the fortunes of many races, if not of every race in the two hemispheres, can hardly ever be the plaything of a few days, months or years or settled by a negotiated peace of any sort. Not to envisage a pretty long war in the present instance is the height of unbusinesslike mentality and unrealistic historic sense. But once the ideology of a somewhat long war (five to seven years) be accepted in the business world the markets will begin to function in all their boom manifestations. Perhaps today the psychology of the business world is gradually getting used to the prospects of adequately long-period military, naval and aerial requirements for the Indian people and the British Empire in general.

It is in this connection that the activities of the Eastern Group Conference acquire a special significance. Neither the economist nor the businessman can afford to take the purely political or journalistic view of this conference. It is reasonable to start with an elementary postulate, namely, that it is not with the direct and avowed object of promoting India's industry and commerce or helping her forward along the lines of economic autarchy that the Conference was convened. Its function is primarily to organize, consolidate, unify and rationalize the British Empire resources in this part of the hemisphere with a view to the most efficient carrying on of the war. Every industrial, agricultural or commercial measure that may be projected by the Conference will have to be subordinated to this single mission. The financial and industrial power of the British Empire, so far as Asia is concerned, may be said to be virtually vested in this Conference.

Not all the pet hobbies of the Indian economist nor all the financial interests of the Indian businessman can evidently come to be taken care of in the fulfilment of this mission. The Conference is really to be envisaged as nothing but the British Empire in its economic aspects especially deputed to utilize Asia as the most effective instrument for the war. The economist as well as the businessman have to be prepared for the situation that among the overseas suppliers of goods for the Indian market Australia and South

Africa will occupy a larger and larger place. Any slight acquaintance with the *bazars* of Indian towns and villages will leave no doubt about the increasing rôle of these two Dominions in Indian economy during the last few months. This rôle is going to be more and more influential, nay, dominant during the next few years. The rule of British capital in India bids fair to be exercised in very large proportions from Australia and South Africa, as representatives of the United Kingdom.

While taking due note of the rôle of these Dominions as the supplier of goods for India neither the economist nor the businessman can afford to be bamboozled into the idea that all the war-requirements of India, the Persian Gulf region, Western Asia and North East Africa up to the Eastern Mediterranean or of Burma and the Chinese and Far Eastern or South Asian battlefields can be, first, manufactured in Australia and South Africa, and secondly, shipped safely to India across the seas. British capital cannot afford to depend exclusively on these two Dominions in regard to the supplies required on the present and the prospective war-fronts in and around India. The exigencies of Empire defence are bound to counsel the British war-magnates willy-nilly to invest larger doses of their finance in establishments on Indian soil than they may have been contemplating. Apart from the direct war-industries there is the question of supplying India as well as her neighbours with the industrial goods of all sorts, such as used to be imported from abroad. The problem of these normal supplies cannot likewise be trusted exclusively to the factories and workshops of far-off Australia and South Africa. The financiers and business experts of the United Kingdom are, therefore, being forced by the pressure of circumstances to take India and the Indians more into confidence than they probably wanted to. These are certain aspects of war-finance such as no economist and businessman in India can afford to overlook if they care to be realistic and objective.

Evidently there should be a good place for Indian capital and business ability to function in these circumstances. In so far as a great deal of war industries as well as non-war industries is bound to be promoted or enlarged in India as a necessity of British war-strategy the chances for Indian financiers, businessmen and technical experts co-operating directly or indirectly with the British personnel and institutions should appear to be of somewhat large dimensions.

In other words, although neither the industrialization of India nor the promotion of economic autarchy in India belongs to the terms of reference of the Eastern Group Conference, the expansion of India's industry and commerce, technocracy and capitalism can be depended upon as one of the inevitable consequences of the projects likely to be taken in hand according to its suggestions.

The statistician who is interested in the economic indices and in the equations of world-economy should not, however, fail to point out, at once that in point of technocracy and capitalism both Australia and South Africa are much higher developed and rationalized than India happens to be at the present moment. In regard to the pressing problems of the war, India, generally speaking, is, therefore, likely to be much less efficient as an industrial and technical supplier than either Australia or South Africa. Besides, it is Australia and South Africa that may be expected in much shorter time than India to get prepared for the new technocratic and industrial developments required in the present conjuncture. India's part in the war-economy of the British Empire may not, therefore, be as spectacular or phenomenal as that of these Dominions. Her progress may likewise fail to be as rapid and as high as that of theirs. This should be taken as perfectly normal. The amount and rate of progress or advance that an economic region can exhibit depend naturally on the actual economic condition at the moment of start. Absolutely considered, also, the rate of India's progress is perhaps likely to be low. But the industrial, technocratic and capitalistic expansion of India bids fair to be a solid economic reality all the same. The reasonable attitude for the Indian economist, businessman or economic statesman should not be to compare India's absolute or relative progress with Australia's and South Africa's during the next few years except as a theoretical study. The chief concern from the Indian side ought to be to watch from month to month or year to year how far India has been advancing in the modernization of technique, business establishments, agriculture, workingmen and other personnel in reference to the perspectives of 1938.

It may be found that there is hardly any chance of India being exploited by Australia and South Africa in the sinister sense. On the other hand, there are opportunities presenting themselves before India for enriching herself and advancing her own interests with and without British finance and technical co-operation along the entire

front covered by what is known as "economic planning." It is hardly to be doubted that the shrewd businessmen of India will know how to utilize the *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) generated by the war-economy in order to promote the expansion of India as an industrial power not only at home but also in the two hemispheres, especially wherever there were markets for British goods down to 1939.

A NEO-VEDANTIC CONCEPTION OF REALITY*

MAHENDRA NATH SIRCAR

TWO other volumes of "The Life Divine" by Sri Aurobindo appear in quick succession. Though they form two parts of the same volume, still in matter and content, they can be regarded as two separate volumes. In the volume under review Sri Aurobindo introduces metaphysical and epistemological problems of moment and maintains a high level of discourse inspired by a singular creative imagination.

Metaphysics on the Indian soil has been associated with epistemology, for in Vedantic systems where consciousness is reality, epistemology has its unique and native importance. A theory of reality has been built upon an epistemological analysis helped by an inward vision into the different ranges of conscious life. The author's position becomes easily intelligible if the distinction between the knowledge and the ignorance is sufficiently understood. Sri Aurobindo as a Vedantist is keenly alive to it. He does not find any contradictory opposition between the two. (Ignorance is not the absence of knowledge, it is only a lower and lesser degree of it specialising or particularising our knowledge. This exclusiveness is the very essence of ignorance. It is a non-perceiving principle as opposed to the truth-perceiving vision and knowledge. "Ignorance is the absence of the divine eye of perception which gives us the light of supramental truth." "This ignorance is indeed the power of the knowledge to limit itself, to concentrate itself on the work in hand. All conscious self-limitation is a power for its special purpose, not a weakness. All concentration is a force of conscious being, not a disability." The present status of human knowledge is not final, there is a secret urge in it to replace it by all comprehending vision of integral awareness. The nature of ignorance is to supersede itself in knowledge because it is at its root-basis a deformation of it.

Usually ignorance is considered as primary and secondary. The secondary ignorance pertains to the finite knowledge. It screens the

* The Life Divine by Sri Aurobindo, Vol. II. Published by the Arya Publishing House, 68, College Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 16.

different status of finite experience in sleep and waking. It draws a dividing line between the different universes of experience. Such ignorance has a relative existence true in the order of relativities. Extreme emphasis on the either side, the author thinks, accounts for the absence of a concord in Metaphysics. Reality in supreme withdrawnness in self-concentration is an appearance different from Reality in its self-expression in diffusion. But the two are not different. The one integral existence has these appearances which are apparently divergent, but complementary to each other in the indivisible whole. Absolute consciousness in its nature is absolute power. Consciousness and power are indivisible existences. This power is the *chit*, and the *chit* is the primal force, generally called *maya*. This *tapas* or *chit* represents the urge of self-concentration and the urge of self-expression. Brahman is locus to both.

Sree Aurobindo has dwelt at length on the bearing of this implication on the theory of knowledge. With his occult insight he sees directly the whole span of our conscious life from the subconscious to the superconscious and erects a theory of knowledge befitting his experience. He draws a distinction between the separative knowledge consequent on the operation of the sense and the external contact and the knowledge by identity and self-vision. Separative knowledge gives us the knowledge of partiality and limited experiences of the concept-ridden consciousness, which cannot rise to the immediacy, either of the superconscious or of the subconscious.

A similarity exists between F. H. Bradley and Sree Aurobindo. F. H. Bradley has not developed the nature of subconscious immediacy. Sree Aurobindo has dealt with this range of experience almost in detail and has shown how herefrom the direct knowledge is possible of the cosmic sub-conscious, the cosmic physical and the cosmic vital. At the other end of immediacy in the superconscious, he has traced out the overmental, the supermental and the transcendental ranges of consciousness. Bradley speaks of the riches of content in the absolute experience which is felt but not known.

Sree Aurobindo's world of overmental knowledge is immediate but this immediacy presents the distincts along with unitive experience and is different from the supermental unitive where the distincts as distincts are not perceived. Both the overmental and the supermental intuition are beyond mental or logical knowledge. In the

immediacy of knowledge he traces out the four stages of immediate apprehension.

(1) Self-awareness in its supreme status is immediate. It needs no reference even to itself. It is pure awareness. Existence and awareness are here identical.

(2) The next form of immediacy is the all-inclusive awareness, which is knowledge by inclusion, indwelling and identity. It is immediate because it requires no act or operation of knowledge, no relation of subject and object. The identity is maintained evenly throughout, which knows or is simply aware of all itself.

(3) In the next stage knowledge emerges out as an act of knowing; the supreme awareness becomes the subject and the object of its self-knowledge. The polarisation is incomplete. The subject and the object cannot miss the central reference to the supreme awareness, and though knowledge passes from its supreme abstract integrity to concrete integrality, still, since on both sides of reference there is the identical being, it is regarded as another form of immediate consciousness. It is knowledge of knowledge by knowledge. This is a movement within the self, but no reference to anything besides it. There is projection but no outward reference.

(4) Still, there is another form of immediate awareness in which there is a spiritual penetration into the object and a direct spiritual contact with it. Here the object is given a prominence. The spiritual expression takes place through perception, conception and emotion, not in their ordinary application, but as spirit seeing spirit, spirit conceiving spirit, spirit feeling spirit. This becomes possible when the potentiality of spirit expresses itself through definite formations.

All these experiences are immediate because they have no reference to anything, besides self. Bradley's immediate experience conforms to the second form of all-inclusive experience. The other forms of immediacy refer to the concrete act of spirit. They never exceed the self-reference and the self-movement.

In separative knowledge there is the underlying identity, the self cognising its identity with the object, but it is overshadowed by reciprocity and mutuality. The sense of distance and division makes out the otherness rather than the identity. There is the urge to go beyond the division and feel the identity, for the native tendency is to feel the object not as distinct from the self but as its other. When the human consciousness has the surface knowledge, it takes the other

as not-self, but, when it feels deeply, it realises the not-self as its own being and its essence. Knowledge does, therefore, never report the existence of anything foreign to itself, and, if there is apparent divergence between the self and its object, it dissolves in psychic perception where the challenging foreignness and the ungulfable distance of the object are mellowed down, and the unity of existence and the immanence of consciousness are clearly felt and realised.

If immediacy is true of the superconscious and of the normal perception, it is equally true of the subconscious knowledge. It is immediate in all its layers. The subliminal consciousness has a wide range and, what is more, it is possible to pass through it unto the cosmic subliminal stirring. This unconscious immediacy can be raised to conscious immediacy. The immediate experience has, therefore, the access into the superliminal, subliminal and the conceptual.

This theory of knowledge by identity is different from ordinary perception in this that here is a direct connection between the subject and the object by psychic influence. The sense contact which is involved in ordinary perception is not necessary in this kind of knowledge, for the psychic is so powerful a reflector that it can easily reflect the very core of our object. The Vedantic theory of perception (as developed in Neo-Vedantism) has the implication of the psychic element; it accepts the streaming out of an influence from the subject to the object. Knowledge by identity implies a process and an identification. This identification takes place through the psychic process. A height is reached when the sense contact, native to ordinary perception, is not found to be necessary. But this does not mean that it introduces us to illusion.

There are subtler heights which are attained when the limitations of mind are overcome. Vyasa, in his commentary on the Patanjali, says there is no least touch of doubt in this kind of knowledge. The psychic perception sees through the intractableness of matter and exhibits the possibilities of finer evolution in knowledge. The two extremes of existence appear as almost similar because of the absence of active stirring in the immobile self-awareness of the one and of the immobile inertia and ignorance of the other. Intermediate between the two, consciousness exhibits integral unity and multiple diversity. In the author's scheme the absolute integrality nowhere suffers for the concept-ridden mind is in the habit of differentiation but the superconscient is Reality in its universality and individuality.

Sree Aurobindo as a poet and an occultist—his philosophy is loyal to these instincts—cannot give a refusal to the Silence as well as to the Music of life. His philosophic formulation exhibits a conformity to life and experience rather than a pattern of mentalised thought. It affords freedom from the rigid logic of identity and difference which cannot see the architectonic uprising of spirit in its creative poises and formation; these formulations cannot delimit the infinite which does not lose its self-exceeding.

Error and evil are consequent on a limited knowledge and restricted adaptation and are possible between the two extremes of the super-conscious and the inconscient. Naturally error and evil are actualities where the promptings of the evolution reach the scale of mental formations fit to receive and interpret in terms of categories. They have their meaning there. Philosophy in evaluating them make them either illusory in the absolutistic scheme or permanent in the dualistic scheme. The one evaluates them from a too transcendental status, the other from the undenial actualities that face us in existence.

Sree Aurobindo evaluates them as factors involved in evolution: "The evolutionary intention acts through the evil as through the good. It has to utilise all. Confinement to a limited good would imprison it in the intended evolution."

The evolutionary force has no special preferences for either of the opposites it uses for its purpose. They control the evolutionary urge and there is no absolute distinction between them. Our tendency is to make them categorically different and this is because the mental valuation cannot enter into the secrets of the urge, leading on to the emergence of the Eternal Good. Error and evil serve economy in the scheme of life and have that way a meaning. They are not pure negatives, not pure positives, they are the inevitable consequences of life starting from ignorance and proceeding towards the emergence of a beatitude in which they are transformed. Every step in higher evolution offers the key to the transformation of error and evil. A. C. Bradley in his Gifford Lectures points out that evil is consequent on a too much individualistic viewpoint of life which disappears on the emergence of a wider vision where the loss is compensated by the new promise. The acuteness of suffering is burnt up in the fuller flame of life, the tears of grief becomes the drops of delight. A. C. Bradley thinks that suffering in its noblest form may survive, and be changed and transformed but it may

not be so neutralised as to totally disappear. Sree Aurobindo thinks that in the progressive transformation the sting is taken away completely from life which comes out in its divine brilliance and completeness. Evil makes its appearance as a tension to heighten the moral and spiritual evolution to finally disappear in the plenum of absolute reality.

Transformation is an important, almost the central, theme in Sree Aurobindo's teachings. Man in his essence of being is one with the divine in wisdom and power and nature in its economy, provides for such transformation as will make man realise divine status of its being. F. H. Bradley's transformation is more an education of the intellect to transcend its natural limitation and to view things in the absolute setting. Sree Aurobindo's conception is more concrete and positive and it influences our concrete personality. In Bradley our immediate experience is merged in the Absolute. In Sree Aurobindo creative force through transformation exhibits the divine symphony in concrete modulation. Transformation in this sense is also referred to in Vyasa Bhasya on the Patanjali (Ch. 2.12).

Sree Aurobindo does not lend his acceptance to energism and illusionism. The former makes the world process a mechanical make shift, the latter an illusion. Illusion is neither non-reality nor partial reality. It is a mental construction and naturally a fruit of limited knowledge or half ignorance. When mental views of things are supplemented by richer visions the so-called error finds a place in the fuller setting (not after the Bradleyan sense of the loss of historicity) relating its individuality in the graded expression of creative reality. Thus ignorance proceeds, however stumblingly, towards knowledge finally liberating into truth consciousness.

The consideration of dream and deep sleep throws a light upon the theories of knowledge indicating how behind the limited experience of waking consciousness there are stretches of experience equally or even more meaningful; and if with persistent care and watchfulness one can enter into layers of conscious life, it is not impossible to obtain an ordered working in these ordinarily inaccessible depths of our being and to being then under the conscious guidance and direction. The study of the psychology of dream and sleep adds a meaning to the theory of illusion and its relation to reality. All mental hallucination or sense-illusion may proceed falsely upon a possible content of knowledge misrepresenting or misplacing it or making impossible combination out of it. But the cosmic illusion is of a different sort

where there is no imposition or superimposition, for that would imply dual existence. It cannot, therefore, be interpreted in epistemological sense. It must be supposed to mean that illusion has some real basis originating out of it or subsisting in it. It is called illusion because our mental construction and experiences are partial. Mind naturally regards universe as its own imperfect construction and traces out the connection between transcendental reality beyond time and the cosmic creation in time.

Sankara thinks rightly that the mystery of creation is not explicable in terms of reason and has eventuality to posit an *unreal* reality. Sree Aurobindo thinks that Sankara does not step further and does not appraise the world from the superconscious awareness that maintains and sustains it. The problem of creation cannot be solved unless one can see beyond creation. To reason it will always remain a mystery, for reason is an evolute in the process of emergence. If one can get beyond reason and see the unfolding of creation from a height which is not in the least touched by creation it will be felt to be a self-projection of the transcendental Absolute perpetual and eternal in its being. The cosmic dream is a projection in space and time of the Absolute by which Absolute is not in the least affected. The world process is necessarily associated with the Absolute which it assimilates. The Absolute projects itself in the creative process, and the creative process finds its ground, meaning in the Absolute. To quote Prof. Whitehead, "the theme of cosmology is a story of the dynamic effort of the world passing into everlasting unity and of the static majesty of God's vision accepting its purpose of completion by absorption of world's multiplicity of effort. The infinite of being must also be the infinite of power containing itself an eternal repose and quiescence capable of eternal action and reaction. The super-conceptual rises into a conceptual unity in the process of emergence and realises its concreteness. The emergence of the concrete determination and the formation of concrete centres involved in the process is spontaneous. This kind of evolution is different from the Emergent evolution of Prof. Alexander. Sree Aurobindo thinks that in the course of evolution the unity is diversified, still it maintains its integrity and is revealed in the initial and not in the last stage of evolution. The initial is more concrete and more unified because of its connection with the whole process.

The duality of spirit and matter is avoided by conceiving them as two poles of an identical existence. The one pole is the spirit's

supreme affirmation in its uppermost superconsciousness. The other pole is spirit's apparent diminution in its self-oblivion and self-limitation. The divided vision sees the determinism in nature missing the divine presence and the spirit's free functioning in it. The truer unity is not to be evolved but is to be revealed or realised in the ascent of our consciousness from its present status to cosmic *Purusha*.

The antinomies to which the conceptual working of the mind is committed are removed in the united vision of the supermind and the opposition that is seemingly evident between spirit and matter, Brahman and *Maya* and the different status of Reality as the transcendental and the cosmic, between the personal and the impersonal, is reconciled there. The supermind is not committed to the logic of antithesis. It reveals the sempiternal movement of the spirit in the infinite rhythm and modulation through the different status of being.

The individual in its essence is something more than a limited synthesis for the temporary utility of life in a particular body. It determines the body and its vehicles. It maintains through the inner spirit an active union with the oversoul and through the vehicle of composite body a relation to the enveloping physical and mental surrounding, enlarging the orbit of his being as it rises in inner and outer rhythm.

The liberated individual can enjoy the divine in the transcendence united with him and enjoy at the same time the divine in the other individuals and in the cosmic being.

The process of self-explication, called *Lila*, is not thought by the author an unaccountable mystery. It is a movement in delight which has its expression through self-concealing and self-revealing, through self-forgetfulness and self-discerning. "There is," according to the author, "an attraction in ignorance itself because it provides us with the joy of discovery, a surprise and great adventure of the soul." It is because of this that there is plunge of the self-stirring of spirit into the inconscience of matter in order that the new affirmation of *Saccidananda* can be established in its apparent opposite.

The book will be welcome as a neo-interpretation of the classical thought of the Vedanta inspired by rare psychic and occultist experiences formulated in a synthetic structure of thought. It is thought-provoking and should find a place in curriculum of studies for the M.A. Examination in Philosophy of Indian universities.

MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA

AMALESH GHOSH, M.A., B.T.

VI

ADULT EDUCATION

ACCORDING to the estimate of the Hartog Committee, no less than a sum of Rs 14.4 crores representing about 60% of the total expenditure on Primary Education in British India, had been wasted. It was found that large numbers of scholars left the schools after 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 years of schooling, and, only 10% of those entering the Primary schools were to be found in the 5th. The waste was and still is, heaviest in Class II. The present figures for this wastage have improved a little and now from 15% to 28% scholars only reach Class V and the waste of money is roughly Rs. 3 crores annually out of a total of Rs. 6.5 crores for British India. Mr. Arthur Mayhew was the first to draw attention to this "Wastage" and the Linlithgow Commission and the Hartog Committee reiterated the appalling wastage of money and energy.

Scholars who reach Class V of a Primary school, may be presumed to have gained permanent literacy but those who leave the schools earlier, possibly do not care to keep up their knowledge of the three R's. Since the number of those who leave the schools in the early stages is very much larger than those who go up to Class V, such facilities should be provided which will enable them to retain their knowledge and should not be allowed to relapse into illiteracy. About 14% of the total population of India are of school-going age. Only 5.2% of them attend the Primary schools, etc. About 8.8% of them, therefore, have to be brought to the school besides teaching millions of illiterate adults who have had no education and who now form a great weakness in the body-politic and the State owing to the fact that they are unaware of the greater responsibility and wider powers which have been passed on to them recently.

At present about 8% of the people of India can read and write. It stood at about 7% before the Reforms of 1919. The Reforms of 1935 have placed us in a position whence we have to look round to find

people who may judiciously guard their interests. That means that the people should have that education which will comfortably adjust them to the world outside : which will develop their abilities to conceivable capacity and which will give them that knowledge which will help them to live the best life of which they are capable.

In England, the Adult Education Movement has gained greater success since 1850, with the growth of political consciousness. When the franchise was extended in 1867, it received more stimulus and with the introduction of Universal Primary Education in 1870, the movement stood on a sound footing. We have, perhaps to wait for the time when Compulsory Universal Primary Education would be introduced in our country.

The history of the Adult Education Movement in England is linked up with something else. With the expansion of the industries in England, a desire grew up in the minds of the workers themselves to improve their knowledge. In framing a scheme for the purpose, they insisted on their right to have a say in drawing up the curriculum and in the choice of the tutors. The characteristics of the movement were, therefore, its voluntary character; its freedom from external control and the initiative of the students themselves. The standard of education in the industrial areas is sometimes as high as the Honours Degree of a University, but in the Rural areas the course of studies centres round the life and immediate surrounding of the villagers. We may not find its parallel in our country. We may not find workers themselves demonstrating their desire to have schools to spend their leisure hours profitably but we may show those who have not the benefit of a liberal education, how best they can utilise their spare moments by enlarging their scope of knowledge.

Grappling the problem of the extension of education in the primary stage, is itself a great question in India. The existing arrangements for the expansion of adult education here is far from satisfactory, in so far as organisation and direction are concerned. There are Night schools and Part-time institutions in our country in the Urban areas only. Although these schools are primarily meant for the adults, they admit those children also, who, for some reason or other, cannot attend the day schools. In 1936-37, there were 2,016 schools with 62,691 male scholars and 11 schools with 946 female scholars, for the adults only. In 1928, the Hartog Committee estimated that there were 6,700 Adult schools in British India.

From this discrepancy in the figures it appears that there is no system in their expansion and no central organisation to control them, and so, without a definite policy, the official and non-official attempts are being ineffective. Knowledge and information on various subjects during the Mont-Ford Reforms used to be propagated through the various departments on such subjects as Health and Sanitation by means of Lantern Lectures; by opening village Libraries and village Schools for Men and Zenana Classes for Women and by helping qualified medical men to settle down in the Rural areas. Other means of propaganda and publicity were also tried.

A host of small and big welfare centres which have been established with the object of doing social service are giving a part of their attention in imparting knowledge and information to the masses, specially for the backward classes. The special characteristic of all these institutions is their absence of co-ordination.

The Departments of Public Health of almost all the provinces get films produced for publicity purposes on such subjects as the Prevention and Cure of Diseases; Personal Hygiene and Epidemic Diseases. Attractive Posters and Placards are also produced by them. Lantern Lectures and Moving Exhibitions are now-a-days sent out to tour in the interior parts of the country. These forces undoubtedly are doing some work in this field.

Since 1937, tremendous activity has been evident in all the provinces for the re-organisation of the Departments of Rural Reconstruction and the Central Co-operative Banks. The Officers of these Departments are given training in suitable centres to carry on the administration of the Departments with efficiency and to the best interests of the country. Along with the duty of administration of their Department they may be given some charge of the supervision of the education of the Masses of India. In the centres for the training of these Officers, such subjects like the Uplifting the Masses and Educating the Masses may be included along with the instruction on the Principles and the Methods of Rural Reconstruction.

Various methods have been tried and many schemes have been prepared in the course of the last three years to liquidate illiteracy. The special features of these attempts have been Drives on literacy through "Weeks;" through (mildly forced) voluntary efforts of School and College students during their long vacations; through Adult Education Committees; through the agency of Registration

Officers of Government ; through the Central Co-operative Banks and through the Poster and Radio Broadcasts and the other modern methods of Publicity. Leaving aside the educative value of these efforts, one may ask, how far they are capable of producing results. It is known that people, who have no knowledge of the three R's, write their names (with practice) for the purpose of receiving their monthly pay for years together, till retirement. Would instances of this nature, advance literacy in any way?

Following the example set by Mr. F. L. Brayne of the Punjab, as early as 1930, broadcasting has been tried to serve the double purpose of educating the Masses by giving them some knowledge and useful information through entertainment. At the present moment, almost all the stations of the A.I.R. (All India Radio) set apart a certain period, specially in the evenings, for Rural Programmes. As in the Western countries, so in ours also, the purpose may be debatable and even questioned. The reasons are not altogether negligible. Anyway, the Talks, if they are regularly attended to by the villagers, will improve their knowledge considerably and may gradually foster in them the desire to know more for improving their status and financial affairs.

The Hartog Commission observed in their Report that it would be futile to adopt broadcasting as a means of educating the Adults or any section of the Rural population because of the multiplicity of the problems which appeared to them to be insurmountable. Mr. Brayne had shown that it was possible even with limited resources to take to this as a means of educating the Masses. The Madras Corporation had produced a scheme to start their work in this direction and were about to launch upon their programme of work when the Broadcasting Service was taken over by the State in 1932. Since then, fairly powerful stations have been installed in the provincial capitals and the village broadcasts on an organised basis have been the regular features of their programmes. In one of the districts of Bengal and in the villages around Delhi, the Rural Programmes have been utilised to entertain the village-folk. We may find Public Parks and the other places in the cities fitted with loud-speakers for the entertainment of the people of that locality. Broadcasting as a means of entertainment, education and propagation of knowledge has come to stay and we have to make the best use of this modern instrument.

Then, there is the other and perhaps more effective appliance than the Radio as an instrument of entertainment-cum-education in the form of the Films. The Cinema which is so frequently utilised by the Departments of Public Health to educate the people in the Principles of personal Hygiene and Sanitation has similarly become a thing of necessity. The advent of the "Talkies" has revolutionised their scope of work. The Eyes and the Ears may be simultaneously utilised with its help to communicate the matters of educative value to the audience. The function of the Cinema is to impart a certain amount of polish in manners, customs and thoughts to the Public. It may be made a more useful medium of instruction. The minds of children are plastic and they may be assuredly moulded as is desired by this form of entertainment with a good and properly directed material. Every Film may not be found to produce good results. Only those pictures which have been prepared with a distinctly educative purpose may be exhibited to the pupils and the public so as to form a distinct adjunct to the normal work in the Class-room. The Films should be "Educational."

France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Japan and England have made arrangements for producing and exhibiting Films of educational value in the schools of all grades. The schools in Japan exhibit these Films once a month at least. Films are now produced on subjects like History, Geography, Literature, Sciences, Medicine, etc. The necessary apparatus and the places of exhibition are either shared by a group of schools or they make suitable arrangements amongst themselves to derive the greatest advantage out of the existing facilities. An organisation similar to that prevailing in those countries may be evolved in our country also for their regular use in the Primary Schools and in the Adult Education organisations.

The governments of those countries have either given the lead in this direction or have subsidised the Film Producing Companies or have monopolised the educational branch of this Industry by instituting a Department of Educational Film Production attached to the Educational Head Quarters. There are Film Producing Companies here who may be asked by the governments to prepare Educational Films on their behalf and under their guidance. If that arrangement does not work satisfactorily, they may start their own Departments of Educational Film Production. The activities of the different Departments of the Government which are carrying on any

work in this direction may be consolidated and placed on a smoothly workable basis. The necessity of Co-ordination, Gradation of the subject-matters and of willing co-operation of the departments may not be over-emphasised.

The Indian Cinematograph Enquiry Committee of 1928, made valuable observations on this point and recommended that the Indian Film Producing Companies should be encouraged to prepare Educational Films. The Conference of the Directors of Information of the Provinces of India passed a resolution to the effect that government should take steps to see that the Film Companies operating in India produced Educational Films before granting them the permission to carry on their Industry. It is time perhaps for the Amendment of the Indian Cinematograph Act 1918 accordingly.

Such Films may be the ideal instruments for educating the Adults by the least possible effort by the Instructor as well as the scholar. If the provincial governments produced the Films it would be far easier for them to co-ordinate the activities of the Instructors of the different bodies by arranging to send round the Films and Projectors to the local centres in the districts. The services of the workers in the field of Adult Education and of those engaged in the duty of Rural Reconstruction work may be fully utilised as and when necessary according to the needs of each centre and according to the requirements of the villagers. The tendency of the growth and the line along which the Movement is showing signs of improvement, may be made full use of in tackling the problem.

The supreme need is, therefore, of consolidation and of a suitable course of studies to which all the organisations should subscribe. There should be a *Code* similar to that of England to the provisions of which the organisations must conform so as to be eligible for the purpose of receiving grants-in-aid from the provincial funds. In England, the expenses of Organisation, Direction and the Fees of the Tutors, which are the principal items of expenditure, are met partly from the funds of the Voluntary Bodies and the Universities. The major portion comes from the grants of the Board of Education and of the Local Education Authorities. It amounts to about £ 70,000 annually. The introduction of a Code will imply proper inspection of the educational organisation of this nature. There may be a Central Body like the Central Advisory Board of Education of the

Government of India to direct the Adult Education Movement with the provincial Branches and a suitable Inspectorate to see to the smooth working of their duties.

It has been found that the most profitable types of propaganda are those which reach the people through the groups of which they are members and thus they link up with their existing interests. In our Urban areas it may be easy to find people who have by their own efforts derived some benefits from further education. Such persons may be entrusted with the task of helping their fellow brethren. Similar efforts may be made in the Rural areas also. Enthusiastic villagers with some education may not be wanting there. Having gained some knowledge by their persistent application, industry and perseverance, they would, given the proper encouragement, willingly volunteer to do this work.

The task is enormous. Sufficient funds are required for carrying out the scheme. Very little may be expected from the provincial allotments and in the face of this great handicap, a big and intensive enterprise has to be launched. Therefore, the greater part of this urgent Movement will have to rely on voluntary efforts of the Official and the non-official. Teaching the adults who may have gone beyond a certain age when the learning process is slow, requires the devoted attention of the teachers, and a good supply of special Books, Charts, Models, Diagrams, etc., should be available to obtain good results out of these efforts. Here, unlike the progressive countries, the question is to teach the adults to read and write their own language first and then to enlarge upon their knowledge in gradual stages. The process of education will move along the desired track by presenting the suitable materials to the adults only when they are literates.

When that stage is reached the question of suitable Literature and Periodicals will automatically come in. These booklets and newspapers should be specially prepared for use in the Adult Education Centres. The Universities may be able to help in this direction a great deal more than the efforts they are making at present for assisting the schemes of Social Reconstruction in general and the Literacy Campaigns in particular. They may institute special courses* for the training of workers in this field more intensively either by making them regular subjects as an extra-curricular activity of their students

in the colleges or may hold regular classes for giving intensive training in the subjects, similar to the work being done by the Graduate School of Social Service of Bombay. Institutions like those at Gosaba, Santi Niketan and the short training centres for the Officers of the Governments may be made regular schools for such training, under the auspices of the Universities.

MILITARY EDUCATION

G M. JADHAV

II

THERE should be a Central Military College in India. For this C. M. College, Bangalore, would be a suitable place. Good graduates from the different provinces and states should be selected in the following proportion: 100 each from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, United Province and Punjab; 50 each from Assam, Orissa, Central Province and Berar, Sind and North West Frontier Province; and 150 from the different states. This would give a total of 1,000 cadets at the C. M. College. These graduate cadets should be over 21 and under 23 at the time they join the C. M. College. A fixed number of cadets from Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Persia, China, Russia, Japan, France, Germany, England, Italy, United State of America should also attend the Central Military College every year. A fixed number of Indian cadets should be sent to the different countries for military training in exchange for the cadets attending the C. M. College in India. The Indian cadets would benefit by contact with the cadets from different countries. Friendships would develop which would later on be of use to India as well as to other countries. In this matter India should take a farsighted view of the whole problem of defence. Hundreds and thousands of Indians must be trained to do this work thoroughly. The following Two Year Course is suggested:

(1) Employment of the Various Arms; (2) History; (3) Geography; (4) Administration; (5) Legislation; (6) Topography; (7) Infantry and Artillery Munitions and Firing; (8) Artillery; (9) Engineering; (10) Aviation; (11) Applied Sciences; (12) Hygiene; (13) Languages.

During the first year the course should cover in a general but elementary fashion, all of the subjects which in the second year should be more fully developed. The object set out should be that at the end of his first nine months' work a cadet should get a fair notion of what is indispensable for an infantry officer in campaign; during the second year's course, this notion should be more fully developed

and its application explained upon the terrain, with the idea of giving clear conceptions as to the different phases of the offensive and defensive battle.

By far the largest amount of time and weight for class standing should be assigned to two subjects: The Employment of the Various Arms and Military History and Geography.

The Employment of the Various Arms should be covered in the first year in seventeen lectures, one oral test and one written test. During the second year there should be sixteen lectures and two written tests.

The courses in Military History and Geography.—These two subjects should be taught in close co-ordination with the Employment of the Various Arms, the object should be to bring out the permanent principles of the art of war by showing what ensues by obeying them or disregarding them, and the influence of the terrain upon these principles. The evolution of methods during the last two centuries should be covered in a general way, while those resulting from the 1914-18 war and the 1939 war should be brought out in greater detail. An effort should be made to initiate students into the material and moral realities of modern combat from the point of view of the private soldier and that of the man who commands a small or large unit.

The course in History during the first year should be developed in eleven lectures, one written and one oral test. In the second year, in twelve lectures one written and one oral test. Military Geography during the first and second year should be covered in thirteen lectures, one written and one oral test. It will thus be seen that these two subjects taken together, as they habitually are, occupy more time than the Employment of Various Arms, the latter being assigned thirty-three lectures in the two years and History and Geography 45.

In Geography the following titles of lectures are suggested: method of studying a theatre of operation; application of this method to the Maratha and Sikh Wars; the application of this method to the military operations of 1857-58; a careful study of the Maratha country or Sikh country or of Delhi or Lucknow operations in 1857-58.

In the second year the students should study method for studying the war-power of a nation; the demographic and ethnic questions; number and race; food supply and importations; the question of coal; coke; electric energy with the needs and resources of the principal powers; iron, steel, fuel, oil and gasoline; regions providing

them and transportation ; textiles, rubber and raw material needed for powders ; the great international lines of communication ; wireless and cables ; the strong and weak points of India's war-potential ; the same of Japan, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Persia, Burma, Thailand, Afghanistan, Egypt.

Topography.—The students should have knowledge of descriptive geometry and map-reading before they join the C. M. College. This fact should be made known to all. At the C. M. College practical work and lectures should be organised.

The Battalion and Company (" tactical ") officers should have a large share in this instruction. They should assist the " professors " at lectures and questioning and examination ; they should be required to develop and confirm the topographical knowledge of the cadets during the exercises over which they themselves preside at the sand pile, at the papier maché maquettes and on the terrain.

A single department should embrace the subjects of Fire-arms, Artillery and Shooting. There should be eighteen lectures and three written tests during the two years. Some of the subjects treated in the first year should be explosives, internal and external ballistics, the automatic weapon ; during the second year, fire of divisional artillery on the defensive and on the offensive ; deployment of artillery support on the offensive and defensive ; there should be practical exercises and written tests in laying, observation of fire, indirect fire, fire against tanks. Only technical details should be covered by the department, the tactical side should be confided to the department of " Employment of the Various Arms."

In Engineering there should be nine lectures and two written tests in two years, supplemented by visits to an engineering battalion for bridge building and destructions.

Aviation—material, reconnaissances, defence—should be covered in nine lectures and one test in the two years with three visits to aviation establishments. (It is for this reason that I suggest Bangalore as the right place for the C. M. College. Vizagapatam is not far away. There should be ship-building yards and a good Naval School at Vizagapatam. The military officers should know something not only about aviation but also about navigation and naval defence—it may be all elementary knowledge but it will complete the picture of national defence. In the same way Indian naval officers must know something about the army and air force ; and Indian air force officers

must also know something about the other two services. We do not want watertight compartments in the three defence services. From the very beginning sincere co-operation should be encouraged among the officers of the three services).

The course in Applied Sciences should cover, in seventeen lectures during the two years, optics, gas, telephones, wireless and motors. Twelve of these lectures should be devoted to automobiles, in combination with practical demonstration and driving lessons. The instructors should be all specialists.

Administration should be taught in lectures devoted entirely to the practical paper-work of the company.

Hygiene should be taught in twelve lectures and two written tests in two years. These should cover the personal hygiene of soldiers, their clothing, equipment, marches, camps and trenches; the rôle of officers in the matter of food supervision, barracks, alcoholism, venereal diseases, over-fatigue, horse and mule hygiene.

Legislation.—There should be 6 lectures in two years. The object is to acquaint cadets with the general organisation of the army and of the nation in time of war, recruitment mobilisation and the most important provisions of the military and civil codes.

Languages.—French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Modern Greek, Turkish, Persian, Chinese, Burmese, Japanese, and Siamese, should be taught. A cadet should choose any one language he likes. In this way India would have military officers knowing different languages. Five teachers each from the twelve countries mentioned above should be invited to the Central Military College to teach their respective languages. The teachers should be given free board and lodging at the Central Military College. They should be paid by their own Governments.

Miscellaneous.—From 10 to 15 lectures should be given during the two years, mostly by outside authorities, on foreign armies, on economics, on aviation and navy and on some of the great questions of the day.

Lectures should always be delivered to a whole class; some lessons and some interrogations should be by company. Questions, practical work and written tests should constantly intervene. Theoretical instruction in military subjects should usually be followed by application on the terrain.

For chemistry, geology, physics, mathematics, drawing, electricity, wireless, etc., necessary arrangements should be made.

Sports should be encouraged.

There should be a good library. The cadets should be encouraged to work in groups. The instructors should guide the cadets and tell them how to work in groups. Collective work and co-operation will help the cadets in their studies.

Great pains should be taken to co-ordinate not only indoor and outdoor instruction, but that given in the several departments; for example, the Commandant of cadets should be charged with ensuring co-ordination between what is taught in class or in practice (1) by the artillery officers, (2) by the infantry officers and (3) by the company instructors, in the matter of ranging, ballistics, fire-control and observation.

The Employment of the Various Arms is the most important department. The most important text-books will deal with this department. All of the subjects taught in class should be feeders to this course and find their application in it. For example, the class-work dealing with artillery, engineering, topography, small arms, aviation and gas should find its daily tactical application in the outdoor exercises and indoor problems that make up the course in Employment of Various Arms. This should ensure that Indian military doctrines, as developed year by year at the War College (about this I shall write later), shall penetrate the minds of cadets from the first week they join the Central Military College; after two years of persistent teaching and illustration they should have so entered the bone and marrow of these young men that when they join regiments, they should find themselves intellectually and morally at home in the great family of Indian officers. Their knowledge may be less wide than that of older comrades, but it is the same knowledge.

Next in importance to Employment of the Various Arms, come the subjects of military history, military geography, and topography.

The whole effort at the Central Military College should be concentrated upon sending the graduate forth equipped with a method of work and study upon which he can build. Each day of his experience at the Central Military College should be arranged to further this purpose. He will have to study, answer questions, put down in writing what he

has learned and pass examinations ; but this should not be the most essential part of his life at the Central Military College. His mental and moral experiences there should be made as nearly as possible the same that any recruit called to the colours will probably pass through and that the cadet, become an officer, must help him to pass through. The early impressions which a first year cadet should get of military life should be exactly those which mobilised men will undergo during their first contacts with officers, their comrades and barrack-life. The Central Military College battalion, outside of the class-room, should be made the image of what a good battalion in the Indian army ought to be. The enforcement of discipline, the mechanism of practical instruction, the methods of rewarding and punishing should be the same ; so also should be the relations between instructors and their men. All that a cadet absorbs of these relations he should apply the day he joins.

The teaching staff of the Central Military College should be composed of army officers and civilian professors and lecturers.

The plan of the Central Military College for India came to my mind in 1912 when with a number of boy-scouts from the Manchester Grammar School I spent six weeks in France—a trek of 500 miles on foot. I remember that trek even today as clearly as if I had returned from France only this September instead of 28 years ago. Our leader was the late Mr. A. H. Hope, one of the best and kindest of men. Mr. Hope is no more ; but can Hope ever die ? I told Mr. Hope in 1912 in France that one day I would write about a Central Military College for India and that I would take Saint-Cyr Military School as my model. We live in Hope.

In the *Army and Navy Journal*, Washington, February 3, 1940, there is an article on Saint-Cyr Military School by Colonel T. Bentley Mott. He has described the School as he saw it working. I have taken the whole plan and made certain changes to suit Indian conditions. I have done this with full acknowledgment to Col. Bentley. From the Commandant of Saint-Cyr I have received an illustrated booklet. It was posted just before the Germans entered Paris. I knew many officers from Saint-Cyr. Many of them were killed in 1914-18. Marshal Petain has written a Foreword to the prospectus of Saint-Cyr, a copy of which I have here on my table. I believe that the spirit of Joan of Arc will give back to France what she has lost since June, 1940.

INDIAN DEFENCE

"Whoever writes on strategy and on tactics ought to confine himself to teaching *national* strategy and tactics only, for no other can be profitable to the nation he is addressing." Von der Goltz.

"Our task is to study and teach *war*. Before we undertake that study, it behoves us to determine exactly what this thing 'war' of which we are speaking really is. Do we all agree about the subject we have in mind when we use the word 'war' ?

If we do not, if we are not engaged in analysing the same idea, misunderstandings and therefore mistakes are bound to arise.

Let us, then, fix today the general features of war, in particular its *object* and *means*, the rational way in which the goal must be conceived in the France of to-day, so that we may find in that study the foundation of our conduct, that is, of our tactics.

For "*war is produced by, and receives its form from the ideas, feelings and relations which obtain at the moment it breaks out*" (Clausewitz.)

The lines quoted above are from Chapter II, Principles of War by Marshal Foch. The Marshal goes on to explain that the idea and theory of war and national defence in Brussels is quite different from that in Paris and in Paris it is quite different from that in London, Rome, Madrid, Tokyo, etc. This is quite clear to all. Each nation has its own national problem of defence to solve. In India we have a big problem before us. I have suggested how 1,000 Indian officers can be brought together and trained to defend India. We have 100 young men each from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, United Province and Punjab; 50 each from Assam, Orissa, Central Province and Berar, Sind and North West Frontier Province; and 150 from the states. We have India together on a small scale. During the first year there are 1,000 cadets. During the second year another 1,000 cadets arrive. It does not require a prophet to come and tell us that these young men will benefit by their mutual contact and that India will have a fine set of officers ready to defend her. All the problems of national defence can be studied by the cadets. The collective work which they do for the defence of India is a sure guarantee that India will be properly defended. To the Central Military College let me add a Central Air Force College and a Central Naval College. We have here the three defence services and their officers. The C.M. College and the C.A. College should be at Bangalore. The

C.N. College should be at Vizagapatam. The young men who are trained will become good military, naval and air force officers. They will understand all the problems of national defence and in course of time they will evolve a theory of national defence. It is by collective work that we can solve the problem of national defence. Hundreds and thousands of Indians must give their brain power to this work.

COUNTRY OR CONTINENT ?

"Some means of summing up India and the Indians may yet be found. Always at the back of my mind has been the idea that there is a real unity in India. I am very well aware that many keen and experienced observers who have written about India have said that India is not a country but a continent, and that it contains not one race but many races. Yet I have always been conscious that there is some kind of a thread which binds together all the provinces and all the races of which India is composed. Dashing about India in fast trains, in the course of a journey from one end to the other, one passes through provinces which contain populations differing from each other in respect of race, language, social customs and in a hundred other ways. Yet one never feels that one is out of India. Bengal is India, Behar is India, Agra and Oudh are India, the Punjab is India, Madras is as different from Bombay as Spain is from Russia, or Italy from Sweden. But the inhabitants of all these provinces are undoubtedly Indians." (Indian Peepshow by Henry Newiman.)

I have also found that Bombay is India, Satara is India, Bangalore is India, Madras is India, Delhi, Lahore, the Khyber, Lucknow, Calcutta, Cuttack, Shillong, etc., are all India. It is for this reason that I have suggested that 1,000 young men from the different parts of India should be trained together at the Central Military College; at the Central Naval College; at the Central Air-Force College. This gives us 3,000 young men every year busy learning everything about the defence of India. It is only with this nationwide outlook on life that we can lay the foundations of a national defence. If the British help this work, so much the better for them and also for India. It is quite clear that Indians will no longer tolerate the idea of the defence of India by outsiders. The defence of India is the birthright of the people of India. I am convinced that the British will recognise the force and sincerity of

this claim. In the meanwhile Indians must also do their best to create this feeling.

GREAT THOUGHTS

I am very fond of nature study. I was reading what Henry Newman had to say about caterpillars and moths. I quote the following lines:—

“These great lepidoptera are to the insect world what great and amazing thoughts are in the world of human activity. They come from where we know not and are off again after having flushed the cheek for a bare minute. When we want to capture, and reproduce on paper, the thought that has illuminated and amazed the mind, we fail. A similar thought may flush another cheek on another day, and perhaps for this once it is caught and retained. The man who can do that is a poet. Do you remember, reader, the theory put into a story by a poet that the greatest thoughts had an existence by themselves in ether? There were some men who had the capacity of reaching up and catching these thoughts and putting them into words. Keats was such a man, and when he wrote the ‘Eve of St. Agnes,’ he was particularly in a mood to tune himself in with the ether, just as one tunes in with a radio set. What I would like to suggest is that the atlas and the moon moth and similar moths are great thoughts that have been materialised into winged but elusive forms.”

For the Library of the Bihar Military School I bought books on butterflies and moths. I was asked why I bought these books. I replied that military education is not a watertight compartment. One subject leads on to another and in course of time I am sure to talk about nature study when I give a lecture on military history or military science. Why not? I can connect the subject in my talk. We have just read above what Henry Newman has to say about moths and great thoughts. In this article I have put an idea before the nation. There are many Indians who share that idea. I can only hope that all will co-operate and make the idea a realised fact. Some time will be necessary for its metamorphosis. On the 17th of December, 1939, I found a big green caterpillar at Ranchi. It made a cocoon for itself. I brought the cocoon to Batna with me. On the last day of May, 1940, I saw a blaze of colours in the glass jar in which the cocoon was placed. I had never seen

such a wonderful moth before. I was amazed at the glory I saw. In September, 1940, I read "Indian Peepshow" by Henry Newman. The first time I opened the book it was at the place where Indian unity is mentioned. The next time it was opened I found an account of the life history of moths. This may have been a pure coincidence. But I think it was more than that. I had been thinking about the beautiful moth I had seen and it was more than mere coincidence that I came across "Indian Peepshow". I have given some space to this thought because I also believe that in ether somewhere great thoughts are in existence. We have to tune ourselves in with them, just as we tune in with a radio set.

I am now thinking about something that happened in December, 1900. I was given a good book about the Rani of Jhansi and I was told about the great men and women of India. I still remember that time. A great idea was firmly fixed in my mind. It has taken many years to realise that idea as a concrete and accomplished fact. I do not know when India will have a Central Military College of the type I have suggested in this article. Many factors have to be taken into consideration. There is the important question of finance. Every province and state must make a definite contribution every year to the Central Military College. There are all the details of time table, fees, rules, regulations, etc. to be arranged. My own estimate is that each cadet should pay Rs. 500/- (five hundred) per year for his course of studies and for his board and lodging. Simple camp-life for two years will do the cadets good. In the matter of simplicity we should follow the example of the Japanese and not the expensive habits of the British. Indians should learn to live in a simple manner. Please read the Military Side of Japanese Life by Kennedy for further information. The Central Military College will help the cause of military education and national defence.

LIBRARY

I used to go regularly to the Free Reference Library, Manchester, during my school days. There I found books on subjects in which I was interested—and I was interested in almost every subject under the sun. Science, literature, history, astronomy, army, navy, air-force, geology, botany, zoology, architecture, etc. etc. In London the British Museum Library was a place where I spent many happy hours. In Germany and France also I found good libraries.

The Central Military College should have a good library. The cadets who study there are already graduates in different subjects. In order to keep up their interest in their subject a good library and good laboratories are absolutely necessary. There will be definite hours for practical work and theoretical work. In their free hours the students should go to the Library and read whatever books they like best. Freedom of teaching and freedom of learning should be the motto of the C. M. College. This may come as a shock to people who are old fashioned and believe that there should be no freedom of thought in a Military College. Imagine for a moment what progress there would have been in medicine, chemistry, physics, botany, etc. if there had been no freedom of thought and if all the scientists had been tied down by laws and regulations which cripple all mental activities and bring them under "sealed pattern" rule. This is perhaps one reason why military science has not made the same progress as say medicine, electricity, etc. have made. Military thought has been too much under the rule of the War Office. We can hope for better results after the present war. I think it was Carlyle who said that a good Library was a University. I should suggest that the students of the C. M. College live in the University atmosphere with all its advantages and also all the advantages of military virtues.

"The completion of the greatest work demands
One guiding spirit to a thousand hands."

Goethe (Faust)

INDIAN ARMY

In the Indian Army we must have the following branches under the command of Indian officers:

Infantry (mechanised)	Tank Corps
Field Artillery	Army Service Corps
Mounted Artillery	Railway Corps
Mountain Artillery	Telegraph Corps
Heavy Artillery	Balloon Corps
Heavy Field Artillery	Signal Corps
Anti-aircraft Artillery	Air force
Cavalry (mechanised)	Army Education Corps
Engineers	Ordnance Corps
Parachute Corps	Army Medical Corps

In the Central Military College education and training should be given to the students who will become good officers in the Indian Army. In every province also there should be a Military College for training officers for the National Militia.

There should be 500,000 Indian soldiers, 200,000 Indian sailors and 200,000 Indian airmen under the command of Indian officers. These men and officers should be selected from the different provinces in the following proportion :

10 per cent. each from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, United Province and Punjab ;

5 per cent. each from Assam, Orissa, Central Province and Berar, Sind and North West Frontier Province.

15 per cent. from the Indian states.

The strength of the National Militia should be :

100,000 men each in Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, United Province and the Punjab ;

50,000 men each in Assam, Orissa, Central Province and Berar, Sind and North West Frontier Province.

150,000 should be trained by the Indian states.

Similar arrangements must be made also for the navy and the air force. Every Indian is a born defender of India.

HINDU CONTRIBUTION TO MUSIC

TARUN GHOSHAL

THE development of the present diatonic scales (both major and minor) is a controversial subject and no Western historian would yield an inch of ground to admit that the Hindus had any hand in it. We are taught to learn that a sort of a system of tetrachord existed in Greece about the eighth century B.C., forming the four strings of their lyre and that a certain Terpander (early 7th cent.) added another three strings to it, making what we call two tetrachords, viz., E, F, G, A—A, B, C, D. But it was through the ingeniousness of Pythagorus, the greatest musician of all times, who lived nearly a century later, that the present form of scale was obtained. Instead of two correlated tetrachords with the note 'A' (mese) as common, he arranged two separate ones with the interval of a tone between them and completed the octave. Thus, E, F, G, A—B, C, D, E are two distinct parts of an octave with an interval of a full note between A and B. The higher of the tetrachords was called Diezeugtic (disjunct). We need not go into detail about the Pythagorean musical philosophy by means of which he fixed up the exact positions in the scale of the fifth and the fourth, because that would lead us astray from the path of our objective; suffice it to bear in mind that he has remained the "founder of theoretical music" from whom has evolved what we term as the "great system."

We do not dispute the Western assumption that Pythagorus established the octave as the natural great division for the musical scale. But was he really the inventor of the system? Or, was he subjected to a considerable outside influence before he could decide upon such a revolutionary change on Terpander's system? This is the problem that confronts us and let us see what light can be thrown on an intricate point like this.

Dr. William Pole tells us in 'The Philosophy of Music':
"We find in the sanscrit literature traces of a distinct musical system in India, some three thousand years old, and which is still cultivated there. They also have the octave division, which is sub-divided theoretically into 22 parts...their practical scale

consists of 7 degrees, among which the 22 theoretical intervals are unequally divided."

He has found that the Hindu system has many analogies with that of the Greeks and that the Hindus form diverse modes by effecting changes in the disposition of the intervals of the scale. Further, he remarks :

"...the sub-division of the octave by the fifth and fourth is clearly acknowledged."

Dr. Pole thinks that the Hindus foreran the Greeks in the invention of the scale.

Another great Aryan division—the Persians—had possessed a system resembling our own, with only this difference that instead of 22, they had 24 parts (enharmonies). Some of these Persians are said to have migrated westwards, particularly to Greece, and settled there and in Asia Minor some two thousand years before the Christian era. The Phrygians probably were their descendants. They afterwards mixed with other colonists, such as, Dorians, Ionians, etc., upon whom they exercised considerable influence. Dr. Pole thinks that the Persian music is the remote ancestor of the present European music, since " their connection with our music is genealogically established."

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins in the ' Music of Orient and Occident ' points out :

" Strabo states that Pythagorus derived his knowledge of music from India, "

and affirms :

" Musical researches prove more and more that if Greek and Egyptian music were not derived from the root stock of Indian music, then there must have been some forgotten race which acted as musical parent to all three. The old Greek modes are all found in common use amongst Indian musicians."

She wails the misfortune of Hindusthan in the following words :

" Western musicians do not know that India is a musical nation or that it has developed its own musical science."

The source of Strabo, the Greek Geographer, who lived about the 1st century A.D., is the Greek Eratosthenes (ca. 196 B.C.) (see Prof.

P. K. Hitti's 'History of the Arabs'). That Pythagorus came to Egypt is certain ; only the extent of his travels is not sufficiently known. But, there too, clarification is gradually dawning. Dr. Philippe A. Sandre, the worthy Principal of the Calcutta School of Music, whilst taking his Doctorate in London some 35 years back, stormed his examiners with his research work which clearly enunciated with reference to Strabo that Pythagorus did not stop in Egypt, but came as far as India. This was news to the Directors of Higher Studies.

These facts notwithstanding, authors are not rare who would arbitrarily sing hallelujah to all that is Western. An instance will make this clear. Mr. S. J. Sarkies is of opinion in his own original way :

" There is a belief in India that the Indian scales...have existed for several thousand years. Considering what history tells us of the origin and development of scales from the time of Pythagorus down to the period when scales of seven notes were established, it is not possible for us to accept that belief."

The same author in discussing the probable date of composition of Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra writes :

" I do not believe in the fifth century or earlier period for it."

According to him, 12th century A.D. will be an approximation. Why not the other way round ? That even in pre-historic period, Greece was in communication with Hindusthan is unquestionable. The South Arabians were the intermediaries and acted as a connecting link between the Greeks on the one hand and the Hindus on the other. Prof. Hitti gives out :

" Its (Arabia's) South-Eastern people were possibly the ones who acted as intermediaries between Egypt, Messopotamia and the Punjab—the three focal centres of earliest trade."

Is it too much to suggest that the land of the many temples attracted Pythagorus as much as that of the pyramids ? Is it also unwarranted to assume that the intelligent Pythagorus was struck by the strange intonation of an alien scale sung or played by a compatriot just returning from a long trade voyage in the East and, hence, started on a painful journey with the intention of verifying for himself the origin and authenticity of the musical scale ? It can be presumed that his

first conviction was that the home of the scale was Egypt ; and, since Egypt disappointed him, he had no other alternative than to extend the sphere of his voyage. This is probably the truth, since Strabo corroborates it.

Let us take the thread of discussion from the other end. The four Vedas, the religious works of the Hindus, are said to have been composed between 1500 B.C. and 900 B.C., three to five thousand years before the birth of Christ. One of these Vedas, the Sāmaveda, was mainly that portion of the Ṛgveda which was suitable for singing. The reason that there is no mention in the Bauddha Jātakas of the fourth Veda, i.e., Sāmaveda, is probably because it is not an original composition, but only a collection from the Samhitās (Vedic texts) of the chantable hymns. The scale-names: Ārcik, Gāthik, Sāmik, Swarāntara, Aūdava, Śāḍava and Sampūrṇa,—clearly signify how gradually a scale of one note developed into a scale of seven notes from the Vaidic Yuga. The monotonous uttering of one note during Pūjāhs (Archanā) was Ārcik. In reciting a Gāthā (ballad), two notes were taken recourse to. And the Sāmaveda was principally chanted in a scale of three notes, although in several instances more than three were used (see *infra*), thus explaining the term: Sāmik. Western scholars have observed that even in the other Vedas, notes more than three were sometimes used. From this we can conclude that the earlier part of the Sāmaveda, i.e., Pūrvārcik, collected for the sake of giving impetus to those who intended to develop the art of singing—the art that had already taken root in the minds of the Vaidic Aryans, closely followed in the wake of the other Vedas. A further proof that music was already a developed fine art can be given from Kaūṭilya's Arthaśāstra, where the Ṛṣi is desirous of encouraging it by government subsidies. Swarāntara was an unstable note, because another Grāma (prob. Mā-Grāma) could be taken from it. Hence, it was not possible for a singer to fix with the help of this note the tessitura of his voice ; the fear of going into another key, i.e., modulation was apparent. The importance of a tonic was understood even at that remote period. And, as regards the other three names, they still retain their original significance.

The most ancient authorities on the Sāman scale, viz., Ṛkprātisākhya, Brhaddevatā, etc., are said to have been produced, according to Western orientalists, "at least fourth century B. C." But we may contend historically that no great work based on the Brahminical

Vedas could have been undertaken during a period when clashes between Hinduism and Buddhism were going on and millions were forsaking the fold of Hindu cult. Consequently, it can be alleged that the works on the Sāmaveda were already completed in or about the sixth century B. C. This is also authenticated by the Brāhmaṇas (commentaries on the Vedic texts or Saṁhitās), composed "not later than the sixth century B.C.," which set down rules for singing the Vedic hymns. In all these works we find that the seven notes of a scale: Kruṣṭa, Prathama, Dwitīya, Tṛtīya, Caturtha, Pancama (or Mandra) and Śaṣṭha (or Atiswara, or Antya), were already evolved. Atiswara is an "extra" (or last) note like the Greek Proslambanomenos, but in the opposite direction. But Kruṣṭa (or Kṛṣṭa) holds an apparent ambiguity. If it means 'the note from which others are drawn,' then it also explains the Atiswara, i.e., Antya, 'the last note' of the scale. According to this explanation, Kṛṣṭa occupied a position almost identical with what Śaḍja occupies to-day, and we are corroborated in this assumption by Puṣpasūtra (prob. pre-Buddha era) which mentions 'Kruṣṭādi' for the whole series. The author of this treatise could not have mentioned or coined the word (Kruṣṭa + Ādi), unless Kruṣṭa had a greater importance than the other notes, i.e., unless it was a tonic or a note from which other notes came into existence. As for the other notes, viz., Prathama, Dwitīya, etc., they clearly show that the scale developed in the downward direction.

The same names: Kruṣṭa (Kṛṣṭa), Prathama, Dwitīya, etc., afterwards were converted into those that we know at present. But, before this stage was reached, the Hindus attempted to develop a mnemonic system for their scale, and this can be seen in the process of evolution in the Sāmāntara which was probably composed before the Buddhistic era for the reasons given *supra*. In this work we find that an attempt was being made to invent some facile system with the help of the five Varnas: labial, dental, lingual, palatal and guttural. The Hindus at that time were realising that for an extensive musical education and for its spread it was necessary to invent some well-chosen words that could replace the original Kruṣṭādi words, without at the same time impairing the sense conveyed by them. In fact, they were after some words, the first letters of which could be uttered with ease, so that the whole series of the gamut, when taken in the mouth, could be pronounced in a sweep in a glissando. The first letters of the Kruṣṭādi series, viz., Kṛ., Pra., Dwi., Tṛ., etc.

are practically untenable in the mouth, and thus, the necessity arose for words of better mnemonic worth. This is probably the explanation for the origin of the later Swaragrāma, Sā, Rī, Gā, Mā, etc., which was found in an embryonic state in the Taittiriya-Prātiśākhya.

The scale was already complete and consisted of seven notes. So, Śaḍja took its origin with the sense of a 'note from which the other six notes were born,' and can be compared to Kṛṣṭa, 'the note from which others are drawn.' Madhyama is the medial note (*cp.* Terpander's Mese), of the Saptaka (cluster of seven), and not of the Grāma (octave). The Śruti arrangement: 4, 3, 2, 4, 4, 3, 2,—of the Hindu scale points out that the major triad was preferred to the tritone. Pañcama, as a term, was retained though it is not possible for us to determine with exactness the position it held in the days of yore, owing to the contradictory explanations put forward by the numerous commentators on the Sāman scale. We know that Pañcama does not undergo alteration and is, like Śaḍja, 'achala' and 'achyuta.' This peculiarity of the Hindu Fifth authorises us to assume that Pañcama, as the present-day Śaḍja does, did hold an important position amongst the notes and probably was the tonic of the scale, as it is at present of the disjunct tetrachord (Uttarāṅga). It is quite likely that the pitch of this note was identical with that of Mandra (*cp.* Sāma-vidhānabrāhmaṇa), or with that of a śruti somewhere between Mandra and Atiswara. That at least one authority (Bṛhaddevatā) considers Mandra as a chest-note helps us further to surmise that all the notes from Pañcama in the descending scale were comprised in the Mandra Saptaka and endorses that Pancama enjoyed some sort of tonal position till the advent of Śaḍja in the field.

As regards the rest of the notes, the following explanation is given by Sjt. Harinārāyaṇ Mukhopādhyāya of Benares for their nomenclature:

"The old Hindus looked upon the bovine as the principal item of their wealth, and necessarily the bellowing of the bull appealed to their ears as nothing short of music. This found expression in the selection of the word, Br̥ṣava (= R̥ṣava). Similarly, the chanting of the Vedas from distant temples or places of worship sounded to them like the humming of the bees or the twang of the strings of a musical instrument; hence, Gāndhāra (= Gankāra = Jhankāra). Dhāivata originated from Dhī (intelligence). And in Niṣāda, we find a note 'in which all the notes terminate'."

Now, let us turn our attention to the greatest European scholar on Hindu music, Mr. A. H. Fox Strangways, who better than anybody else in the field has studied its history and principles, and see what he has to say on this subject. From the notation of the first hymn of the Sāmaveda: ' Ūgnāi āyāhī voitoyāi gr̥ṇāno '—as given by Mr. A. C. Burnell and as cited by Mr. Fox Strangways, we find that the compass comprises a scale: Dhā—Mā (—six notes). Other illustrations cited by this learned author from Dr. Erwin Felber's ' Die indische Musik der vedischen und der classischen Zeit ' prove that even in the time of the R̥gveda, a sixth note was known. Mr. Fox Strangways further observes:

“ In the Puṣpasūtra (9.26) we find that the Kauthamas sing the majority of their chants to five tones, a few to six, and two of them to seven tones.”

We are therefore convinced that seven tones (equivalent to notes) existed in fact before the Buddha era. Further proofs are available from the Mahābhārata where we find mention of the seven notes of the scale. Interpolations on the original text of the Mahābhārata in successive generations do not disprove that it is a work of a very remote origin. Criticising the phrase: ' the sweet Gāndhāra '—in the Mahābhārata, Mr. Fox Strangways is of opinion that:

“.....this implies a mode or scale, since no note is sweeter than another until it has a context.”

In another place, he observes:

“ But a much more important passage is to be found in the R̥kprātisākhya, which is probably not later than 400 B.C. It is there said that there are twenty-one notes in all, seven for each voice register...” (i.e., Mandra, Madhya and Tārā or Uttama Saptakas).

Though there is little doubt that both the Greeks and the Hindus inherited, from their common forefathers, their languages as well as their musical systems and though this may explain to a certain extent the likeness and the unlikeness between the two systems of scale, still the Hindus were by far the more advanced of the two cannot be denied. The Hindus were conversant with the cyclic rotation of the scale and hence, their Swaragrāma comprised only seven notes. On the other hand, it is likely that the Greeks had

no knowledge of this physical law (cp. Hypate Mesōn and Nete Diezeugmenōn, two different names for the same note, the former being one octave lower than the latter). Mr. Fox Strangways also allows greater credit to the Hindus. The following two passages adduced as evidence by the author of the 'Music of Hindustan' will bear out the above view :

"There is another interest attaching to the word Kruṣṭa (highest). It shows us, as do also the ordinals, Prathama, Çaturthā, that the Hindus, regarded the treble as high and the bass as low ; as we do, and as the Greeks who name the lowest note, Hypate (highest), did not.

"...the Indian Grāma did and the Greek Genos did not begin on a particular note."

From all the above facts and proofs, it is possible for us to deduce that the close correspondence between the Greek and Hindu scale might not have been accidental and that there had been an indirect, if not direct, Hindu influence on the Greek musical theory.

The enchanting pentatonic and hexatonic scales of the Hindus, which occupy a considerable portion of the number of our modes and which give pleasure to millions of our population even now, are, according to Mr. S. J. Sarkies, 'of historical interest.' He has 'never taken such scales seriously,' undoubtedly, since he has never cared to be initiated into the Hindu musical philosophy. This is probably the reason for his irony in the following passage :

"Melodies containing as few as the first four notes of the scale are sung even to-day in India by those who have never heard of scales of five or six notes."

And he takes the bullock-cart drivers for his illustration. Why only the poor cartmen?—the best of the musicians would delight us with expositions of a three-note Mālaśrī or a four-note Hindole which is a transilient Rāga with four notes in the Ārohi (ascending scale) and five in the Avarohi (descending) such as (Sā, Gā, Mā, Dhā, Sā (high)—Sā (higher), Ni, Dhā, Mā (sharp), Gā, Sā. Mr. Sarkies thinks that 'Śāḍava and Aūḍava Rāgas originated in either of the two following ways :

1. In ancient times (during Terpander's days), when scales were limited to very few notes.

2. After scales of seven notes have been developed and other musicians vied with each other in composing Rāgas of different notes.

Since musicians of Hindusthan have not followed the Westerners in their method of harmonisation of melodies and of popular or folk songs and have confined themselves in their own sphere from time immemorial, the reasoning No. 2. cited above holds good, for this country. In European compositions, occasional passages, in which notes fewer than seven have been inserted, are only for the sake of diversion. The accompaniment certainly fulfils the gaps. But the reason for which a permanent place is kept for our Śāḍava and Aūḍava Rāgas is altogether different. We cannot dissociate ourselves from the Rāgas that utilise less than seven notes, unless we adopt a policy of harmonising our melodies on a European scale. But then, too, a system has to be evolved so as not to mar the purity of the mode. It must be emphasised that the European major mode is one of the many modes in India and not at all the most admired one. It has just been noticed by Mrs. Cousins.

In the history of a country, there is always to be found a period that makes an epoch for itself. During the same period, the development of all arts and sciences reaches the pinnacle of that country's achievements. And the contribution thus made to the store of knowledge is commemorated by successive generations through ages. The same period is the period of glory for that country and historians cannot separate the one from the other. To recollect the history of a nation is to recollect their accomplishments during a certain well-defined part of their existence. When we compare the present-day history of Europe, we at once remember the 16th century and a portion of the 17th century. This period has been the Golden Age for the Europeans, since the development of all artistic attainments reached its culminating point at this epoch. It reminds us of the names of some immortal sculptors, painters and musicians. Similar history has been known to occur in Hindusthan during the reigns of the Moguls and the Guptas and could be traced even to a remoter period, when, for instance, the epic poems: Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, were produced. The sculpture of Ellora, the painting of Ajanta, the carvings of Amravati and Sanchi, etc., bear excellent testimonials of the nation's achievements in respect of art; and the development of these arts signifies that others, too, existed in other directions near about the same period. The more solid pieces of

craftsmanship have lived long enough to come down to us, because these could not easily be destroyed as canvas paintings, or books on music, or works on other fine arts, have probably been done away with by the numerous barbaric invasions. And if even according to the Western archæologists who have in many cases attempted to prove the lesser antiquity of the Hindu civilisation, two thousand years could be imputed to the life of these artistic attainments, where is the difficulty in supposing that they were produced a few centuries earlier? This would push us backward to a period, if not earlier than that noted for Pythagorus's invention, at least "beyond the time of Aristoxenus to the fifth century B. C." And we know that grammarians came long after languages have been developed, and music is a language too. Mr. Fox Strangways observes also the same natural phenomenon:

"...the official rules lagging decades or centuries behind the practice."

Even Mr. Sarkies has to admit:

"I have for years past held the view that the melodies came first and then came along the theorist who explained it by inventing scale and Rāga for the benefit of students.

How then is it possible for the theorist Pythagorus to anticipate the scale without experiencing an existing one? The Nāṭya Śāstra is the theoretical portion of the music that existed among the Aryans many centuries before the actual work was undertaken. Some might say that this is mere guesswork. But let us see what the erudite scholar, Dr. Farmer, has to say on this point:

"...much good...work is based on guesswork at the start. Indeed, the key to the Babylonian-Assyrian cuneiform script originated in a guess."

News and Views

[A monthly record of news and views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, events and movements in India and Abroad.]

Indians Win International Prizes

From India the following competitors have won the 2nd and 3rd prizes respectively in the 26th Centennial International Essay Contest commemorating the Founding of the Japanese Empire 660 B.C.—1940 A.D. sponsored by Kakusai Bunka Shinkokai (Society for International Cultural Relations), Tokyo, Japan.

2nd Prize—Dr. Sukumar Dutt, Principal, Ramjas College, Delhi.

3rd Prize—Mr. Digambak Kashinath Garde of Nagpur.

Rangpur College

Mr. Deva Prasad Ghosh has been appointed Principal of the Rangpur Carmichael College in place of Dr. D. N. Mallik, retired.

Mr. Ghosh was Senior Professor of Mathematics of the Ripon College, Calcutta.

Board for Anglo-Indian Education

The Director of Public Information, Bengal, in a Press Note, says :—

At the 30th meeting of the Provincial Board for Anglo-Indian and European Education, Bengal, held recently, Mr. J. M. Bottomley, C.I.E., I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, presided in the unavoidable absence of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister.

The Board considered among other things proposals for the improvement of the Cambridge Local Examinations and of the Higher Grade Schools Examinations as well as arrangements for the treatment of sub-normal children and for special instruction in Bengali for likely candidates for the Bengal Civil Service Examinations.

The Chairman informed the Board that the Advocate-General had been asked whether money voted by the Provincial Legislature for Anglo-Indian and European education could be used for communities which did not conform to the definitions of Anglo-Indians and Europeans contained in Schedule I of the Government of India Act of 1935. The Advocate-General had replied to the effect that the clear purpose of Section 83 of the Act was to safeguard the continuance of the existing educational grants for the benefit of the "Anglo-Indian and European Communities," and, further, that for the proper ascertainment of the meaning of the phrase, it would be permissible to take into consideration who were the persons enjoying the grants previous to the Constitution Act.

A long and constructive discussion took place on technical education. Dr. Pandya, Principal of the Bengal Engineering College, who had been invited to be present at the meeting, was unanimously thanked for his helpful advice.

Researches on Jute Fibres

The relationship between fibre characters and the spinning quality of jute has been one of the most important objects of investigation in the technological research laboratories of the Indian Central Jute Committee ever since they were established about three years ago. A technological research report recently issued by the Committee embodies the provisional results of some experiments carried out on this subject.

The practical value of such work, states a Press *communiqué*, lies in several important directions. First, if spinning quality can be predicted from physical measurements made on the fibre, it will be possible to assess the quality of very small samples (say 8 lbs.). This is very important in connection with the work of breeding new strains of jute and agricultural experiments generally. Secondly, it will give information as to what characters in the fibre make for good quality and thus assist in breeding new jute strain of the best type. Lastly—but by no means of the least importance—results obtained from this investigation will help to lay the foundation of a scientific system of grading the fibre, which has yet to be evolved.

The report describes methods and instruments employed in the Committee's technological research laboratories for measuring the fineness, strength and flexibility of the fibre. Results obtained on a range of samples differing widely in quality show that it is possible to predict the quality of yarn that may be spun from any particular sample of fibre with fair accuracy on the basis of these fibre characters. In this way fibre may be graded into at least five classes with confidence. Further work is in progress embodying the measurement of other characters, and it is anticipated that it will be possible to work out an "index of fibre quality," on the basis of three or four characters, that will enable closer prediction of spinning quality to be made.

Summer School for Adults

Under the auspices of the Bihar Provincial Mass Literacy Committee an Adult Education Summer School will be opened at Ranchi in June when lectures on different subjects connected with adult education, industrial planning for India, forest wealth of Chotanagpur, improvement of agriculture and the defence of India will be delivered.

Paper from Water Hyacinth : Bengal Research

Valuable results are reported to have been obtained by Mr. M. A. Azam, of the Industrial Research Laboratory, Department of Industries, Government of Bengal, in his investigations regarding the utilization of water hyacinth in the manufacture of paper and pressed boards.

Mr. Azam, who has written an article on the subject in "Science and Culture," suggests that the plant, which is a serious menace to agriculture and to the health of the province, may be utilized as a raw material for manufacturing wrapping paper, writing paper and pressed boards.

A process of preparing pulp from the hyacinth has been worked out which, it is stated, may be followed on a cottage scale in the villages of Bengal.

The dried plant is also reported to have been found useful as fodder for cattle as its ashes possess good detergent properties.

Mr. Azam undertook the investigation mainly to find out some practical methods of utilization of the plant which could at the same time provide an incentive to those, who are directly affected by the scourge, for the eradication of the plant on a large scale.

New Building for Teachers' Society

The foundation stone of a building for the All-Bengal Teachers' Association was laid at Princep Street, Calcutta, by Sir Manmathanath Mukerji. The new building is to be a four-storied structure and will contain the offices of the Association, a library and a lecture hall.

Sir Manmathanath Mukerji said, the Association had a good record of work behind it and had done much to improve the condition of secondary education in this country.

Among those present were Dr. H. C. Mookerjee. Rev. A. Cameron, Khan Bahadur Abdul Rahman, Mr. Manoranjan Sengupta, Mr. A. N. Bose, Mr. J. C. Guha and Mr. R. M. Mukherjee.

Bangiya Sahitya Parishad

With effect from the 30th May, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Office remains open from 12 to 6-30 p.m., Thursdays excepted. The lending section of the library remains open from 4 to 6 p.m.

Miscellany

COMPULSORY SANITARY LEGISLATION

An attempt to carry out hygienic measures by beginning with the use of force gives rise to active and passive resistance which always accompany the enforcement of any law which is not supported by public opinion. Therefore any attempt to bring the people to a more hygienic manner of living should be made not by means of laws, but by educational measures. Although great patience and devotion are required of those who carry out such programs, the results obtained seem to be permanent and therefore repay the difficult work.

In the beginning of the work in Netherlands India there was much discussion concerning the use of force. Many thought that better results could be obtained in a shorter time by the use of laws and measures of force. In order to give all possible methods a trial and to satisfy those who supported these claims, a post in a certain residency was organized by a residency doctor and the campaign carried out on the basis of coercion. Law and ordinances were passed, and fines applied, but the work only received the passive resistance of the people. For example, in regard to the prevention of soil pollution, the people were compelled to build latrines, but they could not be compelled to use them. When, after a few months, it was realized that the desired results could not be secured in this way, methods of education were applied in some of the areas and in these places the people began gradually to use their latrines.

In other stations where only educational methods were used, the results obtained were much better. Fewer latrines were built and the areas under control were much smaller, but most of the latrines which were built under the educational methods, were used and well cared for. In other words, those who built latrines built them with the idea of using them. Later, after public opinion in these areas is strong enough, laws may be used to support and protect those who are trying to develop and follow hygienic habits.

It is, of course, possible to compel people who live in rural areas to build fences around their houses ; to exchange the thatched roofs of their houses for tiled roofs, to sweep their yards clean ; to build latrines or heed orders which can be carried out under direct supervision. However, people cannot be compelled to change their personal habits, as for example to use a latrine or to drink boiled water, unless the reasons for these changes in the habits have been thoroughly explained and they feel that the change is for their own good.

In conducting hygiene work in a city where conditions are quite different it is often necessary to use force. For example, the construction of latrines in a city is primarily a question which concerns the municipal authorities and the house owner, and not the tenant of the house. People who live in a city gladly use latrines which have been furnished for them, because the yards are so small that soil or water pollution becomes unpleasant. Health education would, of course, help the carrying out of measures in a city, but force is necessary to protect those who are willing to live properly against those who live unhygienically.

Moreover, in a city it is possible with the help of the police or inspectors to carry out the details of laws and to secure results. In the rural areas the distances are too great and in densely populated areas the jails are not large enough to make the use of force possible.

Also it is, of course, necessary to use force temporarily for quarantine, and at times during epidemics, but in the rural areas coercion should be used only to carry out measures which have already secured the support and the co-operation of at least 90% of the people of that area.

In order to secure results in rural areas one must use methods which secure the active interest and the co-operation of the people and teach them measures which they themselves can carry out to protect their own health.

Proper food, proper amounts of vitamins, etc., concern the people of many cities and rural areas of many different countries, but no one can force these people to eat the proper foods. They must be taught that certain foods are good for them and their co-operation in regard to this question must be obtained.

There would be no objection whatever to the use of coercion if its use could secure permanent results. But it has been tried so often without success, and it is so much more difficult to secure the co-operation of the people after a failure due to the use of coercion that it is not advisable to begin with the use of force. Work should be begun with educational measures and coercion should be added only after the educational measures have built up a public opinion which is strong enough to give support to the measures of force.

Work based on coercion requires a large personnel to enforce all the rules and regulations and this makes it far too expensive.

If it were possible to secure results at a reasonable cost by coercion then conditions in all countries would be much better than they actually now are.—J. L. Hydrick: *Intensive Rural Hygiene Work in Netherlands India* (Batavia).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM *

Divested of its metaphysical verbiage, its scientific pretensions, and its theological dogmatism, Marxism, broadly viewed, can be epitomized in the moral precept: Treat human beings humanely, that is, treat men as moral ends in themselves, not simply as means to ends. Much of Marx's radical attack upon capitalist production has its roots in this very human protest against an economic order that systematically dehumanizes humanity, brutalizes it, and makes endemic the condition of *homo homini lupus*. And, surely, this moral appeal of Marxism is far more responsible for the sympathetic response with which it has been greeted for well nigh a century now than either its incomprehensible metaphysics or its involved economics. Many a Marxist can neither explain the operations of the dialectic nor calculate rates of surplus value. Of course, there is more to Marxism than this moral attack on man's inhumanity to man, but the

* *Le Matérialisme dialectique*. By H. Lefebvre, Paris: Aican, 1989, pp. 158, 15 francs.

The Materialist Conception of History: A Critical Analysis By Karl Federn, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1989, pp. xiv plus 168, \$3.50.

rest; if I may exploit Marxian categories, is ideology and superstructure. The dynamics of Marxism is this ardent affirmation, in a world in which it is so largely denied, of man's essential humanity.

This, I believe, is in part what Lefebvre is driving at in his complicated essay on dialectical materialism, especially in his emphasis on a "total humanism" with its deal of the "total man" who is "the free individual in the free community" (pp. 148-149) and Lefebvre's effort is to show how, in the doctrine of dialectical materialism, Marx has out-Hegelian Hegel—has, indeed, produced a system that "in a sense is more Hegelian than Hegelianism" (p. 86). A summary presentation of the contrast between Hegel's logic and the principles of formal logic is followed by a critique which reduces itself to the proposition that Hegel was not a true Hegelian in that, in contradiction to his own dialectical method, he erected a closed, formalistic, dogmatic, narcissistic and solitary universe born in his own speculative ambition and not corresponding to the "world of men in its dramatic reality." This criticism, Lefebvre maintains, coincides in broad outline with the critical views on Hegel expressed by Marx and Engels. He then proceeds to show how, in the process of surging beyond Hegel, Marx came first to historical materialism, and later, with the acceptance of the dialectical method which he had previously rejected, to dialectical materialism (p. 63). Thus, in its very formulation, dialectical materialism had a dialectical development (p. 83). The second part of Lefebvre's essay is devoted to a dialectical analysis of the relations of man to production, nature, society, and the human.

Since dialectical materialism is the central theme of this essay, one would naturally expect the author to shed light on the meaning of this difficult concept. But Lefebvre not only fails to clarify, he reveals a positive ability to multiply confusion. Moreover, some Marxist will object to his attempt to reaffirm the Hegelian dialectics of Marxism while at the same time denying the "economism" of Marxian thought. Korsch recently referred to the efforts to preserve within the materialistic scheme of Marxism the philosophical dialectics of Hegel as "neither fish, nor fowl, not good red herring."

Federn's volume is a critical polemic against the materialist conception of history as defined by Marx in the Introduction to the *Critique of Political Economy*. Federn considers, in order, the primacy of the productive forces, the relation of social, political, and intellectual life to the mode of production, the application of the Marxian view to social revolutions, the theory of historical epochs, dialectics, and the doctrine of necessity. A final chapter presents in cursory form Federn's own theory of history, which he summarizes as follows: "Production is due to need; the methods of production depend solely on the degree of intellectual development attained by mankind; Power and Intellect combine to determine who is to do the work as well as the distribution of the product. Intellect and Power appear to be the two causal factors which, all through history, determined the economic and political state of mankind" (p. 253). These are undoubtedly rash words, but Federn promises a forthcoming volume in which he will attempt their justification.

Federn's critical attack consists mainly of confronting Marx with Tarde. The French sociologist, it will be re-called, based his social logic on desires and beliefs and erected a sociological system in which primary importance is assigned to the processes of invention and imitation, to creative genius, to the effective and intellectual aspects of human life. Federn's approach

is essentially Tardean. From the outset he insists on the intellectual and mental nature of what the Marxists call the material and productive forces. This, he feels, vitiates the Marxian theses. But it is significant to note, in this connection, that G. D. H. Cole, who knows what Marx really meant, maintains that Marx's phrase "productive forces" refers not to forces of matter as opposed to mind but to "the result of mind's action upon matter," and that the term "materialist" embodies in Marxian thought "the fullest recognition of the conscious determining power of the mind." If this be what Marx really meant Federn is struggling with imaginary windmills.

The major, but by no means original, contribution of Federn's polemic is his calling attention to the "deplorable vagueness and indistinctness" of Marxian terminology, to the semantic difficulties of the Marxists deriving from their reification of social categories, to the tautological and equivocal nature of Marx's formulations, to the fact that Marx did not always agree with Marx and that Marxists are sometimes guilty of historical errors, and to the Marxian underestimation of the rôle of genius. Particularly annoying in Federn is his adherence to an outmoded Spencerian anthropology.—Harry Alpert in the *American Sociological Review* (Oct., 1940). •

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Pakistan: A Nation.—By El Hamza. Published by Sk. Mahammad Ashraf, Publisher, Kashmiri Gate, Lahore. Pp. 135, 1940. Price Rs. 3.

This is a well got-up book and contains 26 maps which are very useful in following up the arguments of the author. He starts by calling the attention of his readers to the diversity and size of India and gradually leads up to the view that North-Western India though included inside India is a distinct unit. This he proves by reference to various economic facts and figures all drawn from well-authenticated sources. It is noteworthy that he has nothing to say so far as the Pakistan of North-East India is concerned. This may be due to the fact that he has no personal knowledge of this particular area.

As one reads the book, one is convinced about the genuineness of the feelings of the author and admires the lucidity with which he advances his arguments. No student of the Pakistan theory can afford to neglect this book. It is desirable that those who hold contrary views should make an attempt at answering the arguments put forward by the author.

The regrettable feature in the Pakistan scheme even in the modified form put forward by this author is the disinclination to recognise the presence in Indian life to-day of certain very important factors which are working slowly but surely to unite us into one nation and this in spite of the existence of the forces of disintegration in many and varied forms.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Grave Danger to the Hindus.—An Address by "An obscure Hindu." Published by the "Harbinger Office," Puthiyara, Malabar, South India, and 'dedicated without permission' to Gandhiji, Jawaharlalji and Raja Gopalachariarji. Pp. 274, 1940. Price 1-8.

This book consisting of a series of private talks to a few friends appeared originally in the form of successive articles in the weekly "Harbinger" of Calicut. The book falls under certain broad headings the first of which deals with Pakistan. This is followed by chapters dealing with the Princes, the religious heads of Hinduism, our fundamental unity, our womanhood, etc. The chapters, which have proved most interesting to the reviewer, are those which deal with Pakistan, Ahimsa and Communalism.

In the opinion of the reviewer, the views of the "Obscure Hindu" with regard to all these matters deserve our respectful consideration. A militant Hindu, he has naturally enough been tempted to the use of rather vigorous language in condemning the Pakistan idea. This may have the effect of antagonising some of our Mussalman brethren from a careful and impartial consideration of the very logical arguments he has advanced against what has been called the vivisection of India. There can, however, be little doubt that those who advocate "Pakistan" owe it to themselves to study this book and to meet the objections put forward by the author.

The views regarding Ahimsa offered by the writer are characterised by a lack of appreciation of the spirit underlying it. As interpreted by

Gandhiji and practised by him and his genuine followers, Ahimsa makes higher demands on its votaries than the ordinary type of warfare. The reviewer is not a Congressman but he has little doubt that fighting injustice and oppression of every type through Ahimsa is ultimately a more satisfactory method of getting rid of them than older methods the utter futility of which has been proved by the experience of the world which now covers thousands of years.

Patriotic Hindus would do well to study carefully the remarks of the author on those shortcomings of their social organisation which are depriving this great community of much of its influence, prestige and power.

The reviewer is grateful to the author for the very kind and sympathetic way in which he has referred to the community to which he belongs.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Sri Sri Hari Lilamrita.—By Tarak Chandra Sarkar. Published by Mahananda Haldar, B.L., Bagerhat, Khulna. Pp. 325. Price Rs. 2-8.

This classic of the sect known as the Matua Samaj is more than a mere reprint of the original work published many years ago by Sriut Tarak Chandra Sarkar. In this new edition of a book, long out of print, the matter has been re-arranged conveniently into certain sections dealing with the different stages in the life of the founder of this sect. Additions from old family records have been incorporated in the original text and some unnecessary materials dropped.

In the note supplied by the publisher, the reader is given some information regarding the genealogy of Sri Sri Hari Thakur from which it appears that he was a Maithili Brahmin who after visiting the different places of pilgrimage in India settled down in Jessore. He came to know that the Namasudra community was also descended from the same Brahminical stock and that a majority of them had become converts to Buddhism. When the tide had turned and they wanted to re-enter the Hindu fold, the Brahmins of the day forced them to occupy a very low place in Hindu society. Identifying himself with this oppressed community, he married his children inside the Namasudra community and came to be recognised as their leader.

Sri Sri Hari Thakur was the seventh in descent from this great man and was an ardent devotee of Sri Krishna. His piety and the interpretation he gave to this cult won him thousands of followers with the result that to-day the sect has a following of nearly five lakhs. It has its own organ, a Bengali monthly, "Anant-Bijoy," the aim of which is not only the propagation of the doctrines of this sect but also the removal of those regrettable social barriers which are destroying Hindu solidarity. The present head of the movement is Mr. Promotho Ranjan Thakur, M.A., Barrister-at-law, M.L.A., great-grandson of Sri Sri Hari Thakur, who is carrying on the work of the ancestor.

Written in very simple Bengali so as to be easily understood by the ordinary man, this book gives a vivid picture of one of the great religious revivalists of one aspect of Hinduism. It should be welcome not only to the admirers and followers of this great reformer and *Bhakta* but also to those who take interest in the sociology and culture of Bengal.

Printed on very good paper, the book contains a number of valuable pictures.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Rajbansi Kshatriya Jatir Itihas.—By Mr. Upendra Nath Barman, B.L., M.L.A., Jalpaiguri, Bengal. Pp. 80. Price Re. 1.

This book gives an account of the Rajbansis at present included by Government among the Scheduled Castes and who claim Kshatriya descent. This community has settled in parts of North Bengal, Assam and Bihar, and numbers about 23 lakhs. There cannot be any doubt that the majority among them are backward educationally and economically. It was in 1891 that the census authorities included the members of the Koch and the Rajbansi communities under one category. This was resented and agitation started by a leader of the community, the late Rai Sahib Panchanon Barman, M.A., B.L., M.B.E., M.L.C. It was then that inquiries were made regarding the origins of this great community. The book under review carries this work a step further. The author has laid under contribution not only the Hindu Shastras and standard works on history but also the publications of different departments of both the Government of India and the Government of Bengal and in the process revealed his industry and his wide learning.

This book should prove interesting not only to the Rajbansi community which, according to the author, belongs to the Kshatriya community, but to every one interested in ethnology and sociology.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Ourselves

[I. The Seventeenth Death Anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.—II. Recruitment of Officers.—III. University Representative on the State Faculty of Unani Medicine, Bengal.—IV. The Fiftieth Anniversary of Chicago University.—V. The Maharaja Manindrachandra College, Calcutta.—VI. Affiliation to Colleges in New Subjects.—VII. A New D.Sc.]

I. THE SEVENTEENTH DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The seventeenth death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee fell on Sunday, the 25th May, 1941. At 7 o'clock in the morning there was a meeting at Chowringhee Square, Calcutta, at the foot of Sir Asutosh's statue, where Sir M. N. Mookerji presided. Another commemoration meeting was held at the Darbhanga Building, Calcutta University, in the evening with the Hon'ble Sir M. Azizul Huque, Khan Bahadur, Vice-Chancellor, as president, who gave an address in Bengali paying homage to the memory of the late Sir Asutosh. Sanskrit hymns, specially composed for the occasion by Pundit Asoknath Sastri, were sung.

The bust of Sir Asutosh at the head of the marble stairs, in the Darbhanga Building was garlanded by the President as well as by numerous admirers. Large quantities of incense were burnt. There was a distinguished gathering representing all sections of the Public.

At the end of the proceedings, there was Kirtan song, which lasted until about 8 p.m.

II. RECRUITMENT OF OFFICERS

A circular announcing vacancies to men of the right type to act as Viceroy's Commissioned Officers and His Majesty's Commissioned Officers, issued from the Headquarters, Presidency & Assam District, Fort William, Calcutta, has been sent to the colleges affiliated to this University. This circular is the result of a meeting between the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the District Commander for discussing

the subject of Recruitment of Officers for His Majesty's Indian Land Forces.

III. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVE ON THE STATE FACULTY OF UNANI MEDICINE, BENGAL

Mr. T. Ahmed, M.B., D.O.M.S., F.R.C.S., F.S.M.F. (Bengal), will be a representative of this University on the General Council and State Faculty of Unani Medicine, Bengal. The Hon'ble Sir M. Azizul Huque, Kt., C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A., Khan Bahadur, Vice-Chancellor, was appointed earlier as a representative of the University on the same body, of which he is now the President.

IV. THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF CHICAGO UNIVERSITY

Dr. John B. Grant, M.D., M.P.H., has been appointed a delegate to represent this University on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the University of Chicago which will be celebrated in the last week of September, 1941.

V. THE MAHARAJA MANINDRACHANDRA COLLEGE, CALCUTTA

Recommendation has been made by the Syndicate that the College may be affiliated in the following subjects to the Intermediate and the B.A. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1941-42 :—

English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, Pali, Logic, History, Civics, Mathematics, Commercial Arithmetic, Commercial Geography and Elements of Book-Keeping to the I.A. Standard.

English (Pass and Honours), Bengali (Vernacular), Economics (Pass), History (Pass), Philosophy (Pass) and Sanskrit (Pass) to the B.A. standard.

VI. AFFILIATION TO COLLEGES IN NEW SUBJECTS

The Syndicate has made recommendation to the Senate that the undermentioned colleges may be granted affiliation, in subjects noted

against the name of each, with effect from the commencement of the next session, in addition to the courses of study which they had previously adopted.

The St. Paul's College (Darjeeling)—Elements of Civics and Economics to the Intermediate standard.

The Union Christian Training College (Berhampur, Bengal)—B.T. standard with provision that admissions should not exceed twenty students.

The Narasinha Dutt College (Howrah)—English, Bengali (Compulsory), History, Philosophy, Economics and Sanskrit to the B.A. pass standard and Biology to I.A. and I.Sc. standards.

The Cotton College (Gauhati)—Botany up to the B.A. and B.Sc. standard and Zoology to the Intermediate standard in Arts and Science.

The Ripon College (Calcutta)—B.Com. standard in English Composition, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Accountancy, Commercial Law, General Economics, Business Organization, Commercial Geography, Advanced Accountancy, Auditing, Trade, Tariff and Transports, Banking and Currency, Public Administration and Public Finance.

The College has also been informed that in the event of its obtaining affiliation in the subjects noted above, it may hold the B.Com. classes in the evening.

The Women's College (Sylhet)—English, Bengali (Compulsory and Second Language), Sanskrit, Persian, Mathematics, History, Elements of Civics and Economics to the Intermediate standard in Arts.

The Jessore College—English, Bengali (Compulsory), Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Mathematics, History, Logic and Elements of Civics and Economics to the I. A. standard.

The Fazlul Huq College (Chakhar, Barisal)—English, Bengali (Compulsory), History, Mathematics, Economics, Philosophy, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian to the B.A. Pass standard.

The Lady Brabourne College (Calcutta)—English, Bengali (Compulsory), Urdu (Vernacular), Mathematics, Geography, Physics, Chemistry, Botany and Biology to the Intermediate standard in Arts and Science.

The Haraganga College (Munshiganj, Dacca)—General Economics, Indian Economics, Commercial Law, Business Organisation, Commercial Geography, Accountancy, English Composition and Précis Writing, Bengali, Public Administration, Public Finance, Accountancy

and Auditing, Banking and Currency, Land Systems, Agricultural Economics, Economic History and Modern Industrial Organisation with special reference to India to the B. Com. standard.

The Loreto House—to the B.T. standard.

The Lady Brabourne College—English (Pass and Honours), Vernacular (Bengali and Urdu), Bengali (Second Language—Pass), Urdu (Second Language), History (Pass), Mental and Moral Philosophy (Pass), Political Economy and Political Philosophy (Pass), Mathematics (Pass), Arabic (Pass) and Persian (Pass) to the B.A. standard.

* * *

VII. A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Dilipkumar Banerjee, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science by a thesis entitled, “(a) Synthetic Investigations on the Degradation Products of Bile Acids ; (b) Synthetic Investigations on the Degradation Products of Sex-Hormones ; and (c) Synthetic Investigations in the Terpene Series,” which was examined by a board consisting of Professors R. P. Linstead, F.R.S., Robert Robinson, F.R.S., and Samuel Smiles, F.R.S.

We congratulate Dr. Banerjee on his success.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

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A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions, by Dr. Bimala
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Poetry, Monads and Society (*Sir George Stanley Lectures*, 1941), by Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 204 + x. Rs. 3-0.

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Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 426. Rs. 2-0.

Books in the Press

JUNE, 1941

1. Gleanings from My Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).
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13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
14. Negative Fact: Negation and Truth, by Dr. Adharchandra Das, M.A., Ph.D.
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Vols. I and II are the translations of the original German works with notes *revised by the author* and published during his lifetime. The sections of Indian Literature not covered by the two volumes already published will be dealt with in a separate volume which is under preparation.

Vol. I. Introduction, the Veda, the National Epics, the Puranas and the Tantras. *Demy 8vo pp. 653. Rs. 10-8.*

Vol. II. Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature. *Demy 8vo pp. 673. Rs. 12-0.*

Some Problems of Indian Literature (*Readership Lectures delivered at the University*), by the same author. *Royal 8vo pp. 130. Rs. 2-8.*

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Sino-Indica, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit.

Dr. Bagchi has undertaken a series of publications called *Sino-Indica*. The work is a study of Chinese documents relating to India. As the researches were begun in France, the volumes had to be written in French.

Vol. I. Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I (In French). Royal 8vo pp. lii + 436. Rs. 15-0

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This work is of capital interest to students of Buddhism, of Indian history, to Sinologists, to linguists and to all those who are interested in the early history of cultural exchange between China and India.

Vol. IV. Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome II. Royal 8vo pp. 306. Rs. 15-0.

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